

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND AND NORMANDY.

BY

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,
AND THE INTRODUCTION OF GUIZOT,

BY THOMAS FORESTER, M.A.

VOL. II.

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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
ORDERICUS VITALIS.

BOOK IV.

CH. I. *The Conqueror founds two abbeys at Caen, and Battle abbey—Restores order in England—The great English nobles submit—Aggrandizes his Norman followers.*

IN the time of Pope Alexander II.,¹ many states throughout the world were a prey to severe calamities; the nations plunging into furious contests to their mutual ruin. This was particularly the case with the western states, which suffered great disasters. On the death of those excellent kings, Henry of France, and Edward of England, the French and English had long reason to lament their loss, as the princes who succeeded were little like them for virtue and gentleness of disposition. When these fathers of their country were removed, they were followed by tyrants who abused the royal authority. England, stained by the cruelties and perjury of Harold, fell to decay, and deprived of its race of native kings, became a prey to foreign adventurers, the adherents of William the Conqueror, presenting a melancholy subject for the pen of the feeling historian.

Writers of learning and eloquence found ample materials for several works, having lived for many years at the court of King William, and had opportunities of observing all he did, and the varied and illustrious events of his reign; they were privy to his most secret counsels, and by his muni-

¹ September 30, 1061—April 20, 1073.

science rose to wealth and eminence, to which their origin gave them no pretensions. The churches he erected, or which were built in his time to the glory of God, both in Normandy and England, are noble monuments of his devotion and his liberality in providing for the service of God, and have left to posterity an example worthy of their imitation. His piety led him also to found a number of monasteries, and to enlarge those which he and others had already built, liberally endowing them with ample possessions, and taking them under his protection against all adversaries. The two convents he founded at Caen, the one for monks the other for nuns, are special witnesses of his munificence. They were both erected in honour of the King Eternal, while he himself was yet a duke only, selecting one for his own tomb, the other for that of his consort.¹

The war in England being terminated, his enemies having submitted to his victorious arms, and the royal crown being placed on his head at London, William founded at Senlac, where the decisive battle was fought, the abbey of the Holy Trinity,² endowing it with revenues and domains fitting a royal foundation. Goisbert, a pious monk of Marmoutier, was appointed the first abbot,³ under whose rule monastic order and regular discipline were duly established. The monastery at Marmoutier, begun by the most holy Martin, bishop of Tours, became by God's grace an increasing seminary of excellent men. In our times Albert and Bartholomew, Bernard, and Hilgot, and afterwards William of

¹ The abbey of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1066, and the church dedicated on the 18th of June of the same year. The foundations of the abbey of St. Stephen were also laid before the conquest, through the exertions of Lanfranc, who became the first abbot, but the works were carried on much more slowly, and it was not consecrated until the 13th of December, 1077.

² This abbey has always been better known as *Sanctus Martinus de Bello*, or Battle Abbey. William determined, notwithstanding the opposition of the monks, to build it on the field of battle, so much, that the high altar was placed on the spot where the body of Harold was found after the battle, as some say, but as others, where the royal standard was taken. Part of the church was built of Caen stone, until a quarry was discovered in the neighbourhood.

³ The first abbot of Battle was not Goisbert, but Robert Blancard, who was drowned in returning from Marmoutier. Goisbert succeeded him in 1076, nine years after the foundation of the abbey.

Nantz, were abbots of that monastery;¹ men by whose sanctity and virtues numbers were benefited, and whose fame was diffused not only throughout the neighbourhood, but in foreign countries. After Goisbert's death, Henry, the prior of Canterbury, was promoted to the government of Battle Abbey, an office which he worthily filled. On his decease, he was succeeded by Rodolph, prior of Rochester,² who was before a monk of Caen. He directed all his efforts by a zeal for holiness and sound doctrine to secure his welfare and that of his contemporaries, and persisted with ardour in his spiritual exercises to a good old age. At length the aged monk departed happily out of this world to God his maker, in the 25th year of the reign of Henry, king of England.

After his coronation at London, King William ordered many affairs with prudence, justice, and clemency. Some of these concerned the profit and honour of that city, others were for the advantage of the whole nation, and the rest were intended for the benefit of the church. He enacted some laws founded on admirable principles. No suitor ever demanded justice of this king without obtaining it: he condemned none but those whom it would have been unjust to acquit. He enjoined his nobles to comport themselves with grave dignity, joining activity to right judgment, having constantly before their eyes the Eternal King who had given them the victory. He forbade their oppressing the conquered, reminding them that they were their own equals by their Christian profession, and that they must be cautious not to excite revolt by their unjust treatment of those whom they had fairly subdued. He prohibited all riotous assemblages, murder, and robbery, and as he restrained the people by force of arms, he set bounds to arms by the laws. The taxes and all things concerning the royal revenues were so regulated as not to be burdensome to the people. Robbers, plunderers, and malefactors had no asylum in his dominions. Merchants found the ports and highways open, and were protected against injury.

¹ Albert, 1037—1063 or 1064; Bartholomew, 1063 or 1064—1084; Bernard, 1084—1100; Helgot, 1100—1105; William de Nantz (of which he had been archdeacon), 1105—1124.

² Prior of the cathedral church of St. Andrew at Rochester.

Thus the first acts of his reign were all excellent, and eminent for the great benefits flowing from good government conferred on his subjects, which were confirmed by perseverance in a right course, with plain indications of a successful result.

The king, quitting London, spent some days at Barking,¹ a place not far off, while some fortifications were completed in the city for defence against any outbreak by the fierce and numerous population. Edward and Morcar, the sons of Earl Algar, and the most powerful of the English nobles from their birth and possessions, now came to the king, asking his pardon, if in aught they had offended him, and submitting themselves and all they had to his mercy. Then Earl Coxo,³ a nobleman of singular courage and prudence, Turkil of Lime,⁴ Siward and Aldred, sons of Ethelgar,⁵ the late king's grandson, with Edric surnamed Guilda, that is, "The Wild,"⁶ nephew of the infamous prince surnamed Streone, that is, "The Rapacious," and many others of high rank and great wealth made their peace with William, and taking the oath of fealty, were honourably restored to their respective domains. The king then made a progress through several parts of the kingdom, making regulations to the

¹ Or Berkhamstead? The Tower of London was built after the plan of the old Tower at Rouen, says Pommeraye in an inedited note to the text of Ordericus Vitalis.

² Edwin, earl of Mercia, and Morcar, earl of Northumbria. All the other historians agree in describing the submission of these powerful earls to have been made at Berkhamstead.

³ Coxo. His real name was Copsi. Though he governed all the country north of the Tyne, under Morcar, it does not appear that he ever received the title of earl himself.

⁴ Not Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire. Most probably this Turkil was son of Alwine, vicount of Warwickshire, who, according to Dugdale, styled himself in the reign of William Rufus, Turkil de Earden, from the forest of Arden. He held twenty-one manors. The name given him by our author may be derived from Lemington, now Leamington Priors, on the river Leam.

⁵ This Siward is the same person as Siward Barn, who shut himself up in the isle of Ely in 1071, with Earl Morcar and Bishop Egelwin. He possessed a great number of manors before the conquest. We do not find any such person as Ethelgar, a nephew of King Edward, but there was an Ethelward banished by Canute in 1020, who may have been the same, having one of Edward's three sisters for his mother.

⁶ The domains of Edric were in the county of Hereford; as to the infamous assassin, his father, see what is said in vol. i. p. 148.

mutual advantage of himself and the inhabitants of the country. He gave the custody of castles to some of his bravest Normans, distributing among them vast possessions as inducements to undergo cheerfully the toils and perils of defending them.

He built a strong castle within the walls of Winchester, a fortified and wealthy city contiguous to the sea, and placing in it William Fitz-Osbern, the best officer in his army, made him his lieutenant in the south of the kingdom. Dover and all Kent he committed to his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, a prelate distinguished by great liberality and worldly activity. These two were entrusted with the chief government of the realm of England; and he joined with them Hugh de Grantmesnil, Hugh Montfort, William de Warrene, and other brave warriors. Some of them governed their vassals well; but others, wanting prudence, shamefully oppressed them.

CH. II. *Rejoicings on William's arrival in Normandy—Abbey churches consecrated—Death of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen—His epitaph, and successor.*

THE king, having thus provided for the security of the kingdom, rode to Pevensey, where many English knights assembled to meet him. Here the stipendiary soldiers who were returning to their own countries received handsome pay. King William then set sail in the month of March, and crossed the sea in safety to his native dominions. He took with him, in honourable attendance, Stigand the archbishop, Edgar Etheling, cousin of King Edward, and the three powerful earls, Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof,¹ with Ethelnoth, governor of Canterbury, and several others of high rank and most graceful person. The king adopted a courteous policy in thus preventing these great lords from plotting a change during his absence, and the people would be less able to rebel when deprived of their chiefs. Besides, it gave him an opportunity of displaying his wealth and honours in Normandy to the English nobles, while he detained as a sort of hostages those whose influence and safety had great weight with their countrymen.

The arrival of King William with all this worldly pomp

¹ Waltheof held the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon.

filled the whole of Normandy with rejoicings. The season was still wintry, and it was Lent; but the bishops and abbots began the festivals belonging to Easter, wherever the new king came in his progress; nothing was omitted which is customary in doing honour to such occasions, and everything new they could invent was added. This zeal was recompensed, on the king's part, by magnificent offerings of rich palls, large sums in gold, and other valuables to the altars and servants of Christ. Those churches also which he could not visit in person were made partakers of the general joy by the gifts he sent to them.

The feast of Easter¹ was kept at the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fécamp, where a great number of bishops, abbots, and nobles assembled. Earl Radulph, father-in-law of Philip king of France² with many of the French nobility, were also there beholding with curiosity the long-haired natives of English-Britain, and admiring the garments of gold tissue, enriched with bullion, worn by the king and his courtiers. They also were greatly struck with the beauty of the gold and silver plate, and the horns tipped with gold at both extremities. The French remarked many things of this sort of a royal magnificence, the novelty of which made them the subject of observation when they returned home.

After Easter, the king caused the church of St. Mary on the Dive to be consecrated,³ at which he himself reverently assisted, with a great attendance both of the nobles and commonalty, on the calends [1st] of May. He there proclaimed by a herald, ordinances which were very beneficial to his whole people. On the calends [1st] of July, he ordered the consecration of the church of St. Mary at Jumièges, and was present himself at the holy ceremony.⁴ He made large endowments on both of these churches out of his own domains, and devoutly assisted at the celebration of the holy mysteries. Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, with his suffragan bishops, humbly and reverently performed

¹ Easter fell this year on the 8th of April.

² Ralph the Great, count of Valois.

³ The abbey of Notre-Dame, at St. Pierre-sur-Dive, was founded in 1046.

⁴ The nave of this church, begun by Robert Champert in 1040, is still standing.

the consecration, and shortly afterwards took to his bed in the twelfth year of his episcopate. Having fulfilled all the duties of a devout servant of God, he departed to him whom he had long served on the 5th of the ides [9th] of August. His body was conveyed to the cathedral church, which five years before [the first indiction] he had dedicated to St. Mary, mother of God, and it was there interred with high honours before the crucifix.¹ His epitaph, composed by Richard, son of Herluin, a canon of that church, and inscribed in letters of gold on a plate of brass, runs thus:—

Men of Rouen! drop a tear
On your honour'd Maurille's bier:
Monk and bishop, such the claim
Of that venerable name.
Lordly Rheims beheld his birth,
Academic Liege his worth,
While he wisdom's treasures gain'd,
From her triple fountain drain'd.
Citizens! to him endear'd,
'Twas for you this fane he rear'd;
Rais'd its pillar'd arches high,
Fill'd it with sweet minstrelsy,
And, amid your joyous throng,
Led the holy prayer and song.
Scarcely past the sacred mirth,
In the consecrated earth
Maurille's honour'd relics rest;
While his soul is with the blest,
And, released from mortal clay
On the eve of Laurent's day,
Borne to mansions in the sky,
Keeps the laurelled feast on high.

After the death of Maurilius, the church of Rouen elected Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, archbishop, a choice which King William with his nobles and the whole people gladly confirmed. But full of devotion to God and unfeigned humility, Lanfranc refused to take upon himself the burden of this

¹ This expression always means the crucifix placed between the choir and the nave. That Maurillius was interred between the choir and the principal nave of the cathedral at Rouen, appears still from an inscription near his tomb. This prelate was a native of Rheims, and had governed an abbey at Florence. The consecration here spoken of by our author was celebrated in the month of October, 1063.

high dignity, and used all his influence for the promotion to it of John, bishop of Avranches.¹ That this might be canonically accomplished, he went to Rome and obtained from Pope Alexander a licence for bishop John's consecration, and brought back with the licence the pallium, which conferred so much honour on himself and the whole of Normandy.

In consequence John was translated from the see of Avranches, which he had filled seven years and three months, to the metropolitan chair of Rouen. He was animated by a lively zeal for virtue both in his words and actions, and like Phineas, his hatred of vice was fervent. As for worldly honour, his birth was most illustrious, being a son of Ralph, count of Baieux, the uterine brother of Richard the elder, duke of Normandy.² He governed the metropolitan see with firmness and activity ten years, taking severe measures to separate incontinent priests from their concubines; and when in a synod he prohibited their intercourse under pain of excommunication, he was assailed with stones, and forced to make his escape, on which occasion when flying from the church he intoned with a loud voice the verse: "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance."³

John was succeeded at Avranches by an Italian named Michael, a prelate of great learning, and venerable for his religious zeal, who was raised by canonical election to the see of Avranches. He worthily filled the pastoral office more than twenty years, and after a happy old age, died in the time of Duke Robert. At his death Turgis was

¹ John, surnamed d'Avranches, became bishop of Avranches in Sept. 1060; and archbishop of Rouen in 1067. He was celebrated for his quarrels with the monks of St. Ouen, and for his great arrogance.

² Ralph, count d'Ivri and de Bayeux, was uterine brother of Richard I., as being son of his mother, Sprote, and Asperleng, a rich miller of Vaudreuil (says the continuator of William de Jumièges), to whom she was married after the death of William Longsword. This union may appear less disproportioned when it is recollected that she was only the duke's concubine, he having a lawful wife, the duchess Leutgarde, who after his death married Theobald, count de Chartres. However this may be, this count Ralph played a distinguished part in the court of his brother and his nephew.

³ Psalm lxxix. 1. The acts of this synod, which caused this disturbance, will be found in a further part of this work, under the year 1072.

appointed, and has now held that bishopric almost thirty years.¹

CH. III. *Norman oppression.—The English secretly form conspiracies.—Large bodies emigrate to Constantinople and join the emperor's body-guard.—Attempt of Eustace, count of Boulogne, to surprise Dover Castle.*

MEANWHILE the English were oppressed by the insolence of the Normans, and subjected to grievous outrages by the haughty governors who disregarded the king's injunctions. The chiefs of inferior rank, who had the custody of the castles, treated the natives, both gentle and simple, with the utmost scorn, and levied on them most unjust exactions. Bishop Odo himself, and William Fitz-Osbern, the king's lieutenants, puffed up with pride, gave no heed to the reasonable complaints of his English subjects and disdained to weigh them in the balance of equity. They screened their men-at-arms who most outrageously robbed the people and ravished the women, and those only incurred their wrath who were driven by these grievous affronts to be loud in their remonstrances. The English deeply lamented the loss of their freedom, and took secret counsel how they might best shake off a yoke so insupportable, and to which they were so little accustomed. They accordingly sent a message to Sweyn,² king of Denmark, entreating him to take measures for recovering the crown of England, which his ancestors Sweyn and Canute had formerly won by their victorious arms. Some went into voluntary exile, either to free themselves from the domination of their Norman masters, or for the purpose of obtaining foreign aid to renew the contest with their conquerors. Some, the very flower of the English youth, made their way to distant regions, and served valiantly in the armies of Alexius, emperor of Constantinople,³ a prince of great sagacity and

¹ Michael was bishop of Avranches A.D. 1067—1094; Turgis, his successor, 1094—1138. It appears, therefore, that this passage was written in 1124.

² Sweyn II. (Erickson), April 28, 1044—1074 or 1076. He was not a descendant of Canute the Great in the direct line, but his nephew. His mother, Estrith, married first Richard II., duke of Normandy, who divorced her.

³ There is no more certain fact than the existence of a corps of Danes,

astonishing munificence. Being attacked by Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, with all his force in support of Michael, whom the Greeks had expelled from the imperial throne for the despotism of his government, the English exiles met a favourable reception, and were arrayed in arms against the Norman bands with which the Greeks were unable to cope. The emperor Alexius laid the foundations of a town called Chevetot,¹ beyond Byzantium, for his English troops, but as the Normans gave them great annoyance in that post, he recalled them to the imperial city, and committed to their guard his principal palace and the royal treasure. In this way the Anglo-Saxons settled in Ionia, they and their posterity becoming faithfully attached to the holy empire, and having gained great honour in Thrace, continue to the present day, beloved by the emperor, senate, and people.

Provoked to rebellion by every sort of oppression on the part of the Normans, the English sent messengers to Eustace, count of Boulogne, inviting him to despatch a powerful fleet to take Dover by surprise. They were formerly much at variance with Eustace, but as differences had now risen between him and the king, and they knew by fatal experience that he was a skilful and fortunate commander, they

Norwegians, and English in the service of the Greek emperors, who formed their body-guard. They were armed with battle-axes, were exceedingly brave and faithful, and possessed great privileges. They are called by the Greek historians *Varanges* or *Baranges*, a word of northern derivation, signifying warrior (*waring*), and found in Normandy as a family name, and in names of places, as *Warrene*, *Varingeville*. This body of Varangi were employed at Constantinople so long back as the reign of the emperor Michael the Paphlagonian, 1034—1041, and consequently at a time far preceding that in which our author places the English exiles among them, or the battle of Hastings. No doubt, the original band were Danes or Norwegians, and the English were incorporated with them, as they successively withdrew from the Norman yoke. Besides, the great body of the English who adhered to Harold were of Dano-Norwegian extraction, as indeed two thirds of the inhabitants of the north of England then were, and it was quite natural for them to join their countrymen at Constantinople with the allurements of high pay and distinction. In the end, their numbers became so great, that several Greek writers speak of the Varangi as exclusively English.

¹ The Chevetot of our author is called by Villehardoun, *Chivetoi*, and he informs us that it was situated on the Gulf of Nicomedia, in the neighbourhood of Nice. The true name is Κιβωτός. Ducange thinks that Alexis Comnenius only rebuilt the city, which was of older date.

were reconciled to him, and used their utmost efforts to wrest Dover castle from the royal garrison and deliver it to Eustace. He no sooner received the message of the Kentish-men, than, his fleet being in readiness, he embarked his troops and made a quick passage in the dead of the night, hoping to find the garrison off their guard. He had with him many knights, but all their horses were left behind, except a very few. The whole neighbourhood was in arms, and especially a strong body of Kentish-men who seconded Eustace's attack with all their might. The bishop of Bayeux and Hugh de Mountfort, who were principally charged with the defence of the coast, were on the other side of the Thames, and had drawn off with them the main part of the troops. If the siege had been prolonged for two days, a large body of the enemy would have assembled from a distance. But while the assailants made desperate attacks upon the place, the garrison were prepared for an obstinate defence, and offered a determined resistance at the points most open to attack. The conflict was maintained with fury on both sides for some hours of the day. But Eustace beginning to be doubtful of success, and being apprehensive of a sally by the besieged, which might force him to a more shameful retreat, gave the signal for retiring to the ships. Upon this the garrison immediately opened the gates, and falling on the rear-guard with spirit, but in good order, killed a great many of them. The fugitives, panic-struck by a report that the bishop of Bayeux had unexpectedly arrived with a strong force, threw themselves in their alarm among the crevices of the perpendicular cliffs, and so perished with more disgrace than if they had fallen by the sword. Many were the forms of death to which their defeat exposed them, many, throwing away their arms, were killed by falling on the sharp rocks ; others, slipping down, destroyed themselves and their comrades by their own weapons ; and many, mortally wounded, or bruised by their fall, rolled yet breathing into the sea ; many more, escaping breathless with haste to the ships, were so eager to reach a place of safety that they crowded the vessels till they upset them and were drowned on the spot. The Norman cavalry took prisoners or slew as many as they could overtake. Eustace escaped by having the advantage of a fleet horse, his knowledge of the road, and

finding a ship ready to put to sea. His nephew, a noble youth who bore arms for the first time, was taken prisoner. The English escaped through by-roads, the garrison of the castle being too few in number to pursue a multitude who thus dispersed themselves.

Not long afterwards Count Eustace effected a reconciliation with King William, and enjoyed his friendship for many years afterwards. This count's origin was most illustrious, as he was a descendant of Charlemagne, the mightiest king of the Franks. His power also was very great, he being sovereign prince of the three counties of Boulogne, Guines, and Terouanne.¹ He married Ida,² a noble and religious woman, who was sister of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine. She bore him three sons, Godfrey, Baldwin, and Eustace, and a daughter who married Henry IV., emperor of Germany.

While most of the English, sighing for their ancient liberties, were plotting rebellion for the purpose of recovering them, there were numbers of that nation who kept the faith they had pledged to God, and were obedient to the king whom he had set up, according to the apostle's precept: "Fear God, honour the king."³ Earl Copsi, one of the most distinguished of the English nobles both by birth and power, and still more by his singular prudence and entire honesty of purpose, faithfully adhered to King William, and espoused his cause with much zeal. His own vassals were, however, very far from following his example, being determined supporters and friends of the malcontents. They therefore assailed him in every way, using prayers, threats, and protestations, to induce him to desert the party of the foreigners and second the wishes of good men of his own race and nation. But finding that his mind was too firmly fixed in the right

¹ Eustace, second of the name, count de Boulogne, about 1049—1093, was indeed descended from Charlemagne by his mother, Maud of Louvain. As to his being count of Terouanne, no such title appears, and Guines belonged to Baldwin I., count d'Ardres. Eustace's first wife was Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, whom he married in 1050.

² Ida of Ardenne, daughter of Godfrey le Barbu, duke of Lower Lorraine, was married to Eustace II. in December, 1057, and died in the odour of sanctity the 13th of August, 1113. Her only children were Godfrey de Bouillon, Eustace III., and Baldwin I., king of Jerusalem after his eldest brother.

³ 1 Peter ii. 17.

course to be diverted from its purpose, his country neighbours rose against him, and he was treacherously slain on account of his devoted fidelity.¹ This excellent man thus sealed with his blood the truth that their lord's dignity ought always to be respected by loyal subjects.

Then Aldred, primate of York, and some other bishops, rendered themselves serviceable to the king, in obedience to justice, remembering the admonition of the wise man: "My son, fear God and the king."² At the same time some of the most discreet citizens of the towns, and noble knights of distinguished names and wealth, with many of the commonalty, espoused the cause of the Normans against their own countrymen with great zeal.

Meanwhile, King William was employing his residence in Normandy to provide carefully for its tranquillity during a long period. With the advice of wise counsellors, he enacted just laws, and rendered equal justice to the poor as well as the rich. He selected the best men for judges and governors in all the provinces of Normandy. He freed the holy monasteries and the domains granted to them from all unjust exactions, by royal privileges and charters of protection. He proclaimed by the voice of heralds security to all, both natives and foreigners, throughout his dominions, and at the same time the severest penalties against thieves, rioters, and those who broke the peace of the country.

CH. IV. *William returns to England—Overawes the malcontents—Besieges Exeter—Queen Matilda comes over and is crowned—The English nobles break into open rebellion.*

WHILE the king was thus occupied, reports reached him from beyond sea, and, mingling evil with his best hopes, caused him great disquietude; for, the disaffection of the English, joined by the efforts of the Danes and other barbarous nations, threatened the Normans with great losses. Leaving the government of Normandy to his Queen

¹ He was assassinated at Newburn, about the middle of March, 1068, by Osulf, his predecessor in his government. Copsi, attacked by surprise, took refuge in a church, which was set on fire, and when he attempted to escape from the flames, Osulf stabbed him.

² Proverbs xxiv. 21.

Matilda, and his young son Robert,¹ with a council of religious prelates and valiant nobles to be guardians of the state. He then rode on the night of the 6th of December to the mouth of the river of Dieppe, below the town of Arques,² and, setting sail with a south wind in the first watch of the cold night, reached in the morning, after a most prosperous voyage, the harbour on the opposite coast called Winchelsea. Hitherto the wintry winds had made the sea very tempestuous, but the church was then celebrating the feast of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, and prayers were offered in Normandy on behalf of their pious prince. The providence of God, therefore, which conducts all those it favours when and where it wills, brought the good king to a port of safety, amid the storms of winter. In his present voyage he was attended by Roger de Montgomery,³ who, at the time of his former expedition to invade England, was left, with his wife, governor of Normandy. The king first conferred on him the earldoms of Chichester and Arundel, and, after a time, made him earl of Shrewsbury.

On the king's landing he was well received by the English, and entertained with fitting honours, both by the monks and secular officers. He kept the feast of Christmas at London, treating the English bishops and nobles with great courtesy. He received each with open arms, gave them the kiss of welcome, and was affable to all. When they made any request it was graciously granted, and he listened favourably to what they reported or advised. By these arts the numbers of the treasonably disposed were reduced. While he sometimes gave instructions to the Normans with equal care and

¹ This prince could not have been older than thirteen years at this time (A.D. 1067), as he died in 1134, at the age of eighty, at Cardiff Castle, where he was detained prisoner by his brother after the battle of Tinchebrai, and if he was then, as it is supposed, twenty-four, he must have been born in 1054. It appears by a charter of Sigand de Mesidon, that he was declared by William his successor in the duchy of Normandy as early as 1063; and this charter bore his signature; though he was not then more than nine years old.

² The river Dieppe, which gave its name to the town built at its mouth after this voyage, is now called the Bethune to its junction with the river at Arques.

³ Ordericus's father probably accompanied his patron on this occasion, and remained in England with him, where our author, who seems proud to style himself an Englishman, was born about five years afterwards.

address, at others he privately warned the English to be continually on their guard, in all quarters, against the crafty designs of their enemies. All the cities and provinces which he had himself visited or had occupied with garrisons, obeyed his will; but, on the frontiers of the kingdom, in the northern and western districts, the same wild independence prevailed which formerly made the people insubordinate except when they pleased, to the kings of England in the times of Edward and his predecessors.

Exeter was the first to contend for freedom, but being attacked with vigour by powerful troops it was compelled to submit. It is a rich and ancient city, built in a plain, and fortified with much care, being distant about two miles from the sea coast, where it is reached by the shortest passage from Ireland or Brittany. The townsmen held it in great force, raging furiously, both young and old, against all Frenchmen. In their zeal they had invited allies from the neighbouring districts, had detained foreign merchants who were fit for war, and built or repaired walls and towers, and added whatever was reckoned wanting to their defences. They had also engaged other towns, by envoys they sent, to join in league with them, and prepared to oppose with all their strength the foreign king, with whom before they had no connection. When the king heard of these proceedings, he commanded the chief citizens to take the oath of fealty to him. But they returned this reply: "We will neither swear allegiance to the king, nor admit him within our walls; but will pay him tribute, according to ancient custom." To this, the king gave this answer: "It does not suit me to have subjects on such conditions." He then marched an army into their territories, and in that expedition called out the English for the first time. The elders of the city, when they learned that the king's army was approaching near, went out to meet him, entreating for peace, promising to obey all his commands, and offering him such hostages as he required. When, however, they returned to their fellow citizens, who were in great alarm at the guilt they had incurred, they found them still determined to persist in their hostilities, and for various reasons roused themselves to stand on their defence. The king, who had halted four

miles from the city, was filled with anger and surprise on receiving this intelligence.

In the first place, therefore, he advanced with five hundred horse to reconnoitre the place and the fortifications, and to ascertain what the enemy was doing. He found the gates shut, and crowds of people posted on the outworks, and round the whole circuit of the walls. In consequence, by the king's order, the whole army moved to the city, and one of the hostages had his eyes put out before the gate. But the mad obstinacy of the people neither yielded to fear nor to commiseration for the fate of the other hostages; but strengthened itself in the determination to defend themselves and their homes to the last. The king therefore strongly invested the city on all sides, assaulted it with the utmost force of his arms, and for many days continued his attacks on the townsmen stationed on the walls, and his efforts to undermine them from beneath.¹ At length the chief citizens were compelled, by the resolute assaults of the enemy, to have recourse to wiser counsels, and humbling themselves, to implore mercy, a procession of the most lovely of the young women, the elders of the city, and the clergy, carrying the sacred books and holy ornaments, went out to the king. Having humbly prostrated themselves at his feet, the king, with great moderation, extended his clemency to the repentant people, and pardoned their offences as if he had forgotten their obstinate resistance to his authority, and that they had before treated with insult and cruelty some knights he had sent from Normandy, and who were driven by a storm into their port. The citizens of Exeter were full of joy, and gave thanks to God at finding that, after so much anger and such terrible threats, they had made their peace with the foreign king better than they expected. William refrained from confiscating their goods, and posted strong and trusty bands of soldiers at the city gates, that the army might not force an entrance, in a body, and pillage the citizens. He then selected a spot within the walls for erecting a castle, and left there Baldwin de Meules, son of Count Gislebert, and other knights of eminence to complete the works and garrison the place. Continuing his march afterwards into Cornwall, the furthest extremity of Britain,²

¹ The siege lasted eighteen days.

² "Cornu-Britanniæ."

and having everywhere restored order by his sudden movements, he disbanded his army, and returned to Guent¹ in time for the vacation at the feast of Easter.

In the year of our Lord, 1068,² King William sent persons of high rank to Normandy to bring over his queen Matilda, who quickly obeyed her husband's commands with a willing mind, and crossed the sea with a great attendance of knights and noble women. Among the clergy who were attached to her court for the performance of sacred offices, the most distinguished was Guy, bishop of Amiens, who had composed a poem on the battle between Harold and William.³ Aldred, archbishop of York, who had crowned and anointed her husband, consecrated Matilda to partake in the honours of royalty, at the feast of Whitsuntide, in the second year of William's reign. Being now a crowned queen, Matilda, before a year was ended, gave birth to a son named Henry,⁴ who was declared heir to all the king's dominions in England. This young prince had his attention turned to a learned education as soon as he was of age to receive instruction, and after the death of both his parents, had a bold career in arms. At last, having distinguished himself by his various claims to merit, he filled his father's throne for many years.

The same year, Edwin and Morcar, sons of Earl Algar, and young men of great promise, broke into open rebellion, and induced many others to fly to arms, which violently disturbed the realm of Albion. King William, however, came to terms with Edwin, who assured him of the submission of his brother and of nearly a third of the kingdom, upon which the king promised to give him his daughter in marriage. Afterwards, however, by a fraudulent decision of the Normans, and through their envy and covetousness, the king refused to give him the princess who was the object of his desire, and for whom he had long waited. Being, therefore, much incensed, he and his brother again broke into rebellion, and the greatest part of

¹ "Guentam," Winchester.

² We have found our author sometimes reckon the commencement of the year from Christmas; he begins this from Easter.

³ See vol. i. p. 492.

⁴ Afterwards King Henry I., surnamed *Beau-clerc*.

the English and Welsh followed their standard. The two brothers were zealous in the worship of God, and respected good men. They were remarkably handsome, their relations were of high birth and very numerous, their estates were vast and gave them immense power, and their popularity great. The clergy and monks offered continual prayers on their behalf, and crowds of poor daily supplications.

Earl Algar had founded a monastery at Coventry,¹ and amply endowed it with large revenues for the subsistence of the monks belonging to it. The countess Godiva also, a devout lady, had contributed all her wealth to the monastery, and employed goldsmiths to convert all the gold and silver she possessed into sacred tapestries, and crosses, and images of saints, and other ecclesiastical ornaments of wonderful beauty, which she devoutly distributed. These excellent parents, thus devoted to God and praiseworthy for their piety, had a fine family which merited the greatest distinction, viz., Edwin, Morcar, and a daughter named Edith, who was first married to Griffith, king of Wales, and after his death to Harold, king of England.²

At the time when the Normans had crushed the English, and were overwhelming them with intolerable oppressions Blethyn, king of Wales,³ came to the aid of his uncles, at the head of a large body of Britons. A general assembly was now held of the chief men of the English and Welsh, at which universal complaints were made of the outrages and tyranny to which the English were subjected by the Normans and their adherents, and messengers were despatched into all parts of Albion to rouse the natives against their enemies, either secretly or openly. All joined in a determined league and bold conspiracy against the Normans for the recovery of their ancient liberties. The rebellion broke out with great violence in the provinces beyond the Humber. The insur-

¹ The abbey of Coventry was founded about the year 1043, by Leofric, earl of Mercia, Algar's father, or rather by Godiva, his mother. She was sister of Torold, sheriff of Lincolnshire, and her name appears several times in the Domesday-book as *Godeva Comitissa*. A passage in it proves that she lived till after the Conquest.

² Our author is mistaken in making Edith, sister of Edwin and Morcar, have for her first husband Griffith, king of Wales. See vol. i. p. 461.

³ Blethyn-ap-Cynvyn, therefore, was not nephew of Edwin and Morcar. He was brother of Griffith.

gents fortified themselves in the woods and marshes, on the estuaries, and in some cities. York was in a state of the highest excitement, which the holiness of its bishop was unable to calm. Numbers lived in tents, disdaining to dwell in houses lest they should become 'enervated'; from which some of them were called savages by the Normans.

In consequence of these commotions, the king carefully surveyed the most inaccessible points in the country, and, selecting suitable spots, fortified them against the enemy's excursions. In the English districts there were very few fortresses, which the Normans call castles; so that, though the English were warlike and brave, they were little able to make a determined resistance. One castle the king built at Warwick, and gave it into the custody of Henry, son of Roger de Beaumont.¹ Edwin and Morcar, now considering the doubtful issue of the contest, and not unwisely preferring peace to war, sought the king's favour, which they obtained, at least, in appearance. The king then built a castle at Nottingham, which he committed to the custody of William Peverell.

When the inhabitants of York heard the state of affairs, they became so alarmed that they made hasty submission, in order to avoid being compelled by force; delivering the keys of the city to the king, and offering him hostages. But, suspecting their faith, he strengthened the fortress within the city walls, and placed in it a garrison of picked men. At this time, Archill, the most powerful chief of the Northumbrians, made a treaty of peace with the king, and gave him his son as a hostage. The bishop of Durham,² also, being reconciled to King William, became the mediator for peace with the king of the Scots, and was the bearer into Scotland of the terms offered by William. Though the aid of Malcolm had been solicited by the English, and he had prepared to come to their succour with a strong force, yet when he heard what the envoy had to propose with respect to a peace, he remained quiet, and joyfully sent back ambassadors in company with the bishop of Durham, who in his name swore fealty to King William. In thus preferring peace to war, he best consulted his own welfare, and the inclinations of his subjects; for the people of Scotland, though fierce in war,

¹ He was created earl of Warwick.

² Egelwin, bishop of Durham.

love ease and quiet, and are not disposed to disturb themselves about their neighbours' affairs, loving rather religious exercises than those of arms. On his return from this expedition, the king erected castles at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, placing in each of them garrisons composed of his bravest soldiers.

Meanwhile, some of the Norman women were so inflamed by passion that they sent frequent messages to their husbands, requiring their speedy return, adding that, if it were not immediate, they should choose others. They would not venture as yet to join their lords, on account of the sea voyage, which was entirely new to them. Nor did they like to pass into England where their husbands were always in arms, and fresh expeditions were daily undertaken, attended with much effusion of blood on both sides. But the king naturally wished to retain his soldiers while the country was in so disturbed a state, and made them great offers of lands with ample revenues and great powers, promising still more when the whole kingdom should be freed from their opponents. The lawfully created barons and leading soldiers were in great perplexity, for they were sensible that, if they took their departure while their sovereign, with their brothers, friends and comrades, were surrounded by the perils of war, they would be publicly branded as base traitors and cowardly deserters. On the other hand, what were these honourable soldiers to do, when their licentious wives threatened to stain the marriage bed with adultery, and stamp the mark of infamy on their offspring?¹ In consequence, Hugh de Grantmesnil, who was governor of the Gewissæ, that is, of the district round Winchester,² and his brother-in-law Humphrey de Tilleul,³ who had received the custody of Hastings from the first day it was built, and many others, departed, deserting, with regret and reluctance, their king struggling

¹ M. Thierry remarks on this passage: "Bitter, and not very decent jests were directed against the Norman women who were in such haste to recall their protectors and the fathers of their children; and imputations of cowardice diffused with reference to those who might abandon their leader in a foreign land."—*History of the Norman Conquest*, Hazlitt's translation, p. 215.

² The present Hampshire; but the Gewissæ, properly speaking, were the inhabitants of a far more extensive district.

³ Tilleul-en-Auge, two leagues north of Grant-mesnil.

amongst foreigners. They returned obsequiously to their lascivious wives in Normandy, but neither they nor their heirs were ever able to recover the honour and domains which they had already gained, and relinquished on this occasion.¹

England was now a scene of general desolation, a prey to the ravages both of natives and foreigners. Fire, robbery, and daily slaughter, did their worst on the wretched people, who were for ever attacked, trampled down, and crushed. Calamity involved both the victors and their victims in the same toils, prostrating them alternately by the sword, pestilence, and famine, according to the dispensations of the Almighty Disposer of events. The king, therefore, taking into consideration the impoverished state of the country, assembled the stipendiary soldiers he had in his pay, and, rewarding their services with royal munificence, kindly permitted them to return to their homes.

CH. V. *Descent of the sons of Harold from Ireland in the west of England—invasion of the east and north by the troops of Sweyn, king of Denmark—They are joined by the Anglo-Danish nobles and population—King William's campaign in Yorkshire and Durham—Lays waste the country between the Humber and the Tees—Marches against the insurgents in Cheshire and the borders of Wales.*

IN the third year of his reign, King William gave the county of Durham to Robert de Comines, who soon afterwards entered the city, with great confidence, at the head of five hundred men. But the citizens assembled early in the night, and massacred Robert and all his troops, except two, who escaped by flight.² The bravest of men were unable to defend themselves, taken at disadvantage, at such an hour, and overwhelmed by numbers.

Not long afterwards, Robert Fitz-Richard, the governor of York, was slain with many of his retainers. Confidence

¹ William's resentment against Hugh de Grantmesnil does not appear to have been so lasting as our author represents it, for Hugh not only returned to England, where at the time of making the Domesday survey he possessed a vast number of manors, and where he filled important offices, but his wife, Adeliza, held directly of the crown several manors in her own name, a distinction granted to very few of the Norman ladies.

² This massacre took place on the 28th of January, 1069.

now became restored among the English in resisting the Normans, by whom their friends and allies were grievously oppressed. Oaths, fealty, and the safety of their hostages, were of little weight to men who became infuriated by the loss of their patrimony and the murder of their kinsfolk and countrymen.

Marlesweyn, Cospatric, Edgar Atheling, Archill, and the four sons of Karol, with other powerful and factious nobles, collected their forces, and joining a band of the townsmen and their neighbours, made a desperate attack on the royal fortress of York. William Malet, the governor of the castle, was, therefore, compelled to inform the king that he must surrender, unless his harassed troops received immediate reinforcements. The king flew to the spot, and fell on the besiegers, none of whom he spared. Many of them were taken prisoners, numbers slain, the rest put to flight. The king spent eight days in the city, making an additional fortification, and committed the place to the custody of the earl William Fitz-Osbern. He then returned in triumph to Winchester, where he celebrated the feast of Easter. After the king's departure, the English re-assembled and renewed their attack, menacing both the fortresses; but Earl William and his troops, falling on the insurgents in a certain valley, defeated them, many being slain or taken prisoners, and the rest, for the present, escaped by flight.

Being thus unceasingly occupied by revolts which broke out in every quarter, King William sent back Matilda, his dearly beloved wife, to Normandy, where, sheltered from the tumults with which England was distracted, she might have leisure to devote herself to religious duties, and watch over the safety of the province and of Robert her son. This princess was cousin to Philip, king of France, and being descended from the royal line of the French kings and the emperors of Germany,¹ she was no less distinguished by her illustrious birth, than by the effulgence of her virtues. Her august husband had by her an enviable family, consisting both of sons and daughters: Robert and Richard, William Rufus and Henry, Agatha and Constance, Adeliza, Adela, and Cicely, who met with different fates in this uncertain

¹ Queen Matilda was daughter of Adela of France, sister of Henry I., and consequently cousin-german of Philip I.

life, and have afforded ample materials from which eloquent writers have composed voluminous works.¹ Beauty of person, high birth, a cultivated mind, and exalted virtue, combined to grace this illustrious queen, and, what is still more worthy of immortal praise, she was firm in the faith, and devoted to the service of Christ. Her charities, which she daily distributed with fervent zeal, contributed more than I am able to express to the prosperity of her husband, continually struggling in his warlike career.

The two sons of Harold,² king of England, took refuge with Dermot, king of Ireland, disconsolate at their father's death and their own expulsion. Obtaining succour from him and his chief nobles, they appeared off Exeter, with sixty-six vessels, full of troops. Landing on the coast they began boldly to ravage the interior of the country, subjecting it to severe losses by fire and sword. But they were quickly encountered by Brian, son of Eudes, count of Brittany, and William Gualdi, at the head of an armed force, which, after two battles on the same day, reduced their fearful numbers so much that those who were left escaped in two vessels, and on their return filled Ireland with grief. Indeed, if night had not put an end to the conflict, not even one would have returned home with tidings of the disaster. So just a fate befell the tyrant's sons, attempting to revenge him and those who aided them in such an enterprize.³

During these occurrences Githa, the wife of Godwin and mother of Harold, secretly collected vast wealth, and from

¹ The histories of the sons of William and Matilda are well known; of the daughters, Agatha, the eldest, was betrothed successively to Harold and to Alphonso, king of Galicia, but died while she was on her way to Spain, as will appear hereafter. Constance married Alan Fergan, duke of Brittany, and Adela, Stephen, count de Blois. Adeliza became a nun in the convent of St. Leger-de-Préaux, and Cecilia in that of the Holy Trinity at Cadiz, of which she was afterwards abbess.

² There were three, not two, sons of Harold, who claimed the protection of Dermot, king of Leinster; Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus.

³ According to our English historians, this expedition, which was undertaken in 1068, was neither so short nor disastrous as our author represents. It was not Brian of Brittany, but Eadnoth, formerly Harold's master-of-the-horse, who put himself at the head of the forces which resisted the sons of his late master. He was killed in the battle, but the fleet though repulsed at this point ravaged the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, returning to Ireland loaded with the plunder of the two counties.

her fear of King William crossed over to France, never to return.¹

At that time Sweyn, king of Denmark, equipped with great care a powerful fleet, in which he embarked both Danes and English under the command of his two sons² and his brother Osbern, with two pontiffs and three distinguished earls, directing the armament against England. For he had often been invited by the earnest prayers of the English, accompanied by large sums of money, and he was also moved by the loss of his countrymen recently slain in the battle with Harold; and being the nephew of King Edward, who was son of Hardicanute, his ambition was excited by his near relationship to the throne. This king was possessed of great power, and he assembled the whole strength of his kingdom, which was augmented by auxiliary forces from neighbouring countries with which he was allied. He was thus supported by Poland, Frisia, and Saxony. Leutecia³ also furnished a body of stipendiary soldiers hired with English wealth. That populous country was inhabited by a nation which, still lost in the errors of paganism, was ignorant of the true God, but, entangled in the toils of ignorance, worshipped Woden, Thor, and Frea, and other false gods, or rather demons. This nation was experienced in war both by sea and land, but Sweyn had often gained victories over it under its king, and had reduced it to submission. Grown arrogant by repeated successes, and seeking to raise his power and glory to a still higher pitch, Sweyn, as we have already mentioned, fitted out an expedition against King William. The Danes attempted a landing at Dover, but were repulsed by the royal troops. Making

¹ This princess, who is also called Edith, escaping from Exeter in 1067, spent some time in concealment on the little island called the Flat-Holmes near the mouth of the Severn. She afterwards reached the coast of Flanders, and took refuge at St. Omer. Her name frequently appears in the Domesday-book, where it is spelt Ghida, Gida, or Gueda. The entries there prove that she held of the crown, before the conquest, 39,600 acres of land.

² The fleet was under the command of Sweyn's second son, Canute, afterwards Canute IV., 1080—July, 1086, who was canonized in 1100.

³ "A country in the north of Germany, on the left bank of the Oder, and near its mouth, and consequently to the north of Saxony."—*Le Pré-vost*. "Probably the country of the Lettons, now called Lithuania."—*Dubois*.

another attempt at Sandwich, they were again repulsed by the Normans. However they found an opportunity of disembarking at Ipswich, and dispersed themselves to pillage the neighbourhood; but the country people assembled, and slaying thirty of them, compelled the rest to save themselves by flight. Having landed at Norwich for a similar incursion, they were encountered by Ralph de Guader, who put numbers of them to the sword, caused many to be drowned, and forced the rest to retire with disgrace to their ships and put to sea. King William was at this time in the forest of Dean following the chase, as it was his custom to do. Receiving intelligence there of these descents of the Danes, he instantly despatched a messenger to York, with directions to his officers to be on their guard against the enemy, and to summon him to their support if necessity required. Those to whom the custody of the fortresses was entrusted sent word in reply that they should need no succour from him for a year to come. By this time the Atheling,¹ Waltheof, Siward, and other powerful English lords, had joined the Danes, who landed at the mouth of the broad river Humber. The Atheling had gone there on a predatory excursion with his own followers, and was separated from the allied troops. But they were unexpectedly attacked by the king's garrisons, sallying forth from Lincoln, who took them all prisoners, except two who escaped with the Atheling, and destroyed their ship which those who were left to guard it abandoned in alarm.

The Danes now invested York, their force being much increased by the number of the natives who assembled to support them. Waltheof, Cospatric, Marisweyn, Elnoc, Archill, and the four sons of Karol, marched in the van, taking their stations in front of the Danes and Norwegians. The garrison of the castle made a rash sally, and, engaging within the city walls, fought at a disadvantage. Being unable to resist the numbers of the assailants, they were all killed or made prisoners. The castles having lost their defenders were open to the enemy. The king was still enjoying a false security when the news of this disaster reached him. Report magnified the force of the invaders, and said that they were prepared to join battle with the king himself.

¹ "Adelinus," Edgar Atheling.

William, roused by grief and anger, hastened his preparations for advancing against them; but they, fearing to measure themselves with so renowned a commander, fled to the Humber, and sailed over to the shore which borders on Lindsey. The king pursued them with his cavalry, and finding some marauders in the almost inaccessible fens, put them to the sword and destroyed some of their fastnesses. The Danes escaped to the opposite shore, waiting an opportunity of revenging themselves and their comrades.

At that time the West Saxons of Dorset and Somerset, and their neighbours, made an attack on Montacute, but by God's providence they were foiled in their attempt; for the men of Winchester, London, and Salisbury, under the command of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, came upon them by surprise, slew some of them, and mutilating a number of the prisoners, put the rest to flight. Meanwhile the Welsh, with the men of Cheshire, laid siege to the king's castle at Shrewsbury, aided by the townsmen under Edric Guilda,¹ a powerful and warlike man, and other fierce English. The same thing was done at Exeter by the people of Devonshire, and a host of men assembled from Cornwall. It is the extreme point of the west of England towards Ireland, from whence it derives its name of *Cornu Britannia*, the *horn* of Britain, or Cornwall. The citizens of Exeter took the king's side, for they had not forgotten the sufferings they had formerly endured. The king receiving this intelligence lost no time in giving orders to two earls, William and Brian,² to march to the relief of the two places which were attacked. But before they reached Shrewsbury, the enemy had burnt the town and retired. The garrison of Exeter made a sudden sally, and charging the besiegers with impetuosity, put them to the rout. William and Brian, meeting the fugitives, punished their rash enterprise with a great slaughter.

Meanwhile the king found no difficulty in crushing con-

¹ Edric the Wild, see before, vol. i. p. 147. The Normans called him *Le Sauvage*, the Forester.

² Probably William Fitz-Osborn, governor of Winchester, and Brian of Brittany, mentioned before, p. 23, who was the second son of Eudes, count de Penthievre, and brother of Alan the Black and Alan the Red, earls of Richmond in Yorkshire.

siderable numbers of the insurgents at Stafford. In so many conflicts blood flowed freely on both sides, and the defenceless population, as well as those who were in arms, suffered from time to time severe disasters. The divine law was everywhere violated, and ecclesiastical discipline became almost universally relaxed. Murders were wretchedly frequent, men's hearts were stimulated to evil by the incentives of covetousness and passion, and they were hurried in crowds to hell, condemned by God whose judgments always prove just. Upon King William's return from Lindsey he left there his half brother Robert Count de Mortaine,¹ and Robert Count d'Eu, to restrain the incursions of the Danes. The invaders lurked for a while in concealment, but when they supposed it was safe, they issued from their dens to join in the festivals of the country people on what are called their farms. Upon this the two earls fell upon them unexpectedly, and mingling their blood with the feasts, followed them up while they were in disorder, and pursued them to their very ships, slaughtering them as they fled. It was again reported that the brigands had gone to York, to celebrate the feast of the nativity, and prepare themselves for battle. The king was hastening thither from Nottingham, but was stopped at Pontefract, where the river was not fordable, and could not be crossed by boats. He would not listen to those who advised him to return; and to those who proposed to construct a bridge he replied that it was not expedient, as the enemy might come upon them unawares, and take the opportunity of their being so engaged to inflict a loss upon them. They were detained there three weeks. At length, a brave knight named Lisois des Moutiers, carefully sounded the river, searching for a ford both above and below the town. At last, with great difficulty, he discovered a place where it was fordable, and crossed over at the head of sixty bold men-at-arms. They were charged by a multitude of the enemy, but stoutly held their ground against the assault. The next day, Lisois returned and announced his discovery, and the army crossed the ford without further delay. The road now lay through forests and marshes, over hills and along valleys, by paths so narrow that two soldiers could not march abreast. In

¹ The king's half-brother by his mother Arlotta.

this way they at last reached the neighbourhood of York, when they learned that the Danes had already retreated. The king, therefore, detached a body of men-at-arms, with commanders and officers, to repair the fortresses inside the city walls, and posted others on the banks of the Humber to oppose the advance of the Danes; while he himself continued his march through an almost inaccessible country, overgrown with wood, in the full intention of pursuing the enemy, without relaxation, into the fastness in which they lurked. His camps were scattered over a surface of one hundred miles; numbers of the insurgents fell beneath his vengeful sword, he levelled their places of shelter to the ground, wasted their lands, and burnt their dwellings with all they contained. Never did William commit so much cruelty; to his lasting disgrace, he yielded to his worst impulse, and set no bounds to his fury, condemning the innocent and the guilty to a common fate. In the fulness of his wrath he ordered the corn and cattle, with the implements of husbandry and every sort of provisions, to be collected in heaps and set on fire till the whole was consumed, and thus destroyed at once all that could serve for the support of life in the whole country lying beyond the Humber. There followed, consequently, so great a scarcity in England in the ensuing years, and severe famine involved the innocent and unarmed population in so much misery, that, in a Christian nation, more than a hundred thousand souls, of both sexes and all ages, perished of want.¹ On many occasions, in the course of the present history, I have been free to extol William according to his merits, but I dare not commend him for an act which levelled both the bad and the good together in one common ruin, by the infliction of a consuming famine. For when I see that innocent children, youths in the prime of their age, and grey headed old men, perished from hunger, I am more disposed to pity the sorrows and sufferings of the wretched people, than to undertake the hopeless task of screening one who was guilty of such wholesale massacre by lying flatteries. I assert, moreover, that such barbarous homicide could not pass unpunished. The Almighty Judge beholds alike the

¹ This famine lasted nine years, but its ravages were most severe in the years 1068, 1069, and 1070.

high and low, scrutinizing and punishing the acts of both with equal justice, that his eternal laws may be plain to all.

While the war was in progres, William ordered the crown and the other ensigns of royalty, and plate of value, to be brought from Winchester, and stationing his army in camps, went himself to York where he spent the feast of Christmas. He learnt that a fresh band of the marauders was lurking in a corner of the country defended on all sides either by the sea or by marshes. There was only one access to this retreat, by a sound strip of land not more than twenty feet wide. They had collected abundance of booty, and lived in perfect security, believing that no force could hurt them. However, when they heard that the royal troops were at hand they quickly decamped by night. The indefatigable king pursued his desperate foes to the river Tees, through such difficult roads that he was obliged sometimes to dismount and march on foot. He remained seven days on the Tees. There he received the submission of Waltheof in person, and of Cospatric by his envoys who swore fealty on his part. Their former allies, the Danes, were now exposed to great perils, having become wandering pirates, tossed by the winds and waves. But they suffered no less from famine than from storms. Part of them perished by shipwreck; the rest sustained life by feeding on a miserable pottage; and these not only common soldiers, but the princes, earls, and pontiffs. Meat entirely failed, even musty and putrid as they had long eaten it. They did not venture to land in search of plunder, nor even touch the shore, so great was their terror of the inhabitants. At last the small remains of that powerful fleet sailed back to Denmark, and carried to Sweyn, their king, a miserable account of all the misfortunes they had undergone, the savage courage of the enemy, and the loss of their comrades.

In the month of January, King William returned from the Tees to Hexham, by a road hitherto unattempted by an army, where the peaked summits of the hills and the deep glens were often covered with snow at a season when the neighbouring plains were clothed with the verdure of spring. The king passed it in the depth of winter during a severe frost, but the troops were encouraged by the cheerfulness with which he surmounted all obstacles. Still the march

was not accomplished without great difficulty and the loss of a great number of horses. Every one had enough to do in providing for his own safety without having much concern for that of his chiefs or his friends. In these straits, the king lost his way, having no escort but six men-at-arms, and spent a whole night without knowing where they were. Having returned to York he repaired the several castles in that place, and ordered affairs advantageously for the city and neighbourhood. He then engaged in another expedition against the people of Chester and the Welsh, who, in addition to their other delinquencies, had lately besieged Shrewsbury. The troops who had just gone through so much suffering were apprehensive that they would be exposed to still greater in the present enterprise. They dreaded the ruggedness of the country, the severity of the winter, the dearth of provisions, and the terrible fierceness of the enemy. The soldiers of Anjou, Brittany, and Maine complained that they were ground down with a service more intolerable than that of guarding the castles, and made vehement claims on the king for their discharge. They said, for their justification, that they could not serve under a lord who was venturing on enterprises which were unexampled and out of all reason, nor carry into effect impracticable orders. The king, in this emergency, imitated the example of Julius Cæsar, and did not condescend to reconcile them to his service by earnest entreaties or fresh promises. He proceeded boldly on his march, commanding the faithful among his troops to follow him, and giving out that he cared little for these who would desert him, considering them as cowards, poltroons, and faint-hearted. He promised repose to such as contended successfully with the difficulties they had to surmount, declaring that there was no road to honour but through toilsome exertions. With unwearied vigour he made his way through roads never before travelled by horses, across lofty mountains and deep valleys, rivers and rapid streams, and dangerous quagmires in the hollows of the hills. Pursuing their track they were often distressed by torrents of rain, sometimes mingled with hail. At times they were reduced to feed on the flesh of horses which perished in the bogs. The king often led the way on foot with great agility, and lent a ready hand to assist others in

their difficulties. At length he conducted his whole force safely to Chester, and put down all hostile movements throughout the province of Mercia by the power of a royal army. He then built a castle at Chester, and another on his return at Shrewsbury, leaving strong garrisons and abundant stores of provisions in both. From thence marching to Salisbury, he recompensed his soldiers for all their sufferings by an ample distribution of rewards, giving due praise to all who deserved it, and dismissing them with many thanks. To mark his displeasure with those who had threatened desertion, he detained them forty days longer than their comrades, a slight penalty for men who deserved a much severer punishment.

CH. VI. *King William's care of the church in England—Digression on its origin, eminent men, and monastic establishments—Lanfranc's early life; he is appointed archbishop of Canterbury.*

AFTER these events, King William kept the feast of Easter at Winchester, where certain cardinals of the Roman church solemnly crowned him. For, at his request, Pope Alexander had sent over to him, as his most beloved son, three special legates, Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion,¹ and two cardinal canons. He detained them at his court for a year, listening to and honouring them as if they were the angels of God. They so ordered affairs with respect to various places and on several occasions, as to distinguish the districts which needed canonical examination and orders.

But what was most important, a numerous synod was held at Windsor² in the year of our Lord 1070, at which the king and the cardinals presided. In this synod, Stigand, who had been already excommunicated, was deposed. His hands were stained by perjury and homicide, and he had not entered on his archiepiscopal functions by the lawful door, having been raised to his dignity by the two bishops of Norfolk and Winchester, by the steps of an infamous ambition, and by supplanting others. Some suffragans were also deposed for having disgraced the episcopal office by

¹ In the Valais. The cardinals' names were Peter and John.

² The synod was not held at Windsor but at Winchester, immediately after Easter.

their criminal life and ignorance of pastoral duties. Two Norman prelates, chaplains of the king, were nominated bishops, Walkelin of Winchester, and Thomas of York;¹ the first in the place of one who was deposed, the second of one who was dead. Both of these prelates were prudent, full of gentleness and humanity, venerated and beloved by men, and venerating and loving God. Others were replaced by bishops translated from France, men of letters, of excellent character, and zealous promoters of religion.

King William exhibited in various ways his desire to further what was good, and especially he always esteemed true piety in the servants of God, on which the peace and prosperity of the world depend. This is abundantly proved by general report, and it is most clearly established by his actions. When one of the chief shepherds was at any time removed by death from the scene of his labours, and the church of God deprived of her ruler was sorrowing in her widowhood, the careful prince sent prudent commissioners to the bereaved house, and caused an inventory to be made of the goods of the church, that they might not be wasted by sacrilegious guardians. He then assembled bishops and abbots and other wise counsellors, and with their assistance made inquiry who was most fit and proper to have the government of the house of God, both as regarded its spiritual and temporal wants. Accordingly, the person recommended by them for his virtuous life and proficiency in learning, was appointed by the king's tender care to the vacant bishopric or abbey. He acted on this principle during the fifty-six years² he governed the dukedom of Normandy and the kingdom of England, leaving thus an excellent example and pious custom to his successors. He held simony in the utmost detestation, being influenced in his choice of abbots and bishops by their sanctity and wisdom, and not by their wealth or power. He advanced persons of worth to the government of the English monas-

¹ Thomas, archbishop of York, was a native of Bayeux, of which he was canon, but not a chaplain to the king. The nomination was made at Whitsuntide.

² There is some exaggeration in this computation. William's government, reckoning from his accession to the dukedom of Normandy, only lasted fifty-two years, and as he was then only eight years old, he could not have exercised much discretion in the choice of bishops and abbots.

teries, by whose zeal and discipline the monastic rule, which had somewhat relaxed, became more strict, and, where it seemed to have failed, was restored to its former vigour.

It must be recollected that Augustine and Lawrence,¹ and the other first missionaries in England were monks, and, instead of canons, piously established monks in their episcopal sees, a system rarely found in other countries. They founded a number of famous abbeys, and recommended to their converts monastic institutions both by word and example. This order, therefore, flourished in England with great lustre for more than two hundred years, and Christian perfection happily numbered among its votaries the English kings Ethelbert and Edwin, Oswald and Offa, with many others, whom it raised for their souls' health to the highest pitch of virtue, until the time that Edmund, king of the East-Angles, and two other English kings received martyrdom at the hands of the pagans.² After that, the Danish kings, Oskytel and Guthrum, Anwind and Halfdene, Inguar and Hubba, invaded England with their heathen bands, giving to the flames the monasteries and churches of the monks and clergy, and butchering the flock of Christ like sheep.

After some years, Alfred king of the Gewissæ³ and son of King Ethelwulph, made a bold stand against the pagans; and having, by God's help, slain, expelled, or subjugated his enemies, was the first of the English kings who united in his person the monarchy of the whole of England. In my

¹ These missionaries, sent by Pope Gregory the Great, arrived in England in the year 596. Augustine and Lawrence were successively archbishops of Canterbury.

² St. Edmund the Martyr was murdered on the 20th of November, 870. The two other kings alluded to in this passage are Osbert and Ella, competitors for the kingdom of Northumbria, who were killed by the Danes in the year 866.

³ Gewissæ is the Anglo-Saxon term for the people of the west of England, signifying the "west." They were not, therefore, confined to the small county of Hants, as M. Le Prévost observes. The Visigoths are a name of similar signification. Wessex was Alfred's proper hereditary kingdom, to which he succeeded in 872. Sussex had been long absorbed in it; Kent and Mercia were annexed, and he gradually extended his sovereignty over all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the portions still possessed by the Danes after his conquests being governed by tributary princes of that nation. Alfred died on the 26th of October, 901.

opinion he surpassed all the kings of England, before or after him, in courage, munificence, and above all in prudence, and after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years left his sceptre to his son Edward the elder. When peace and order were re-established throughout the realm, pious princes and bishops began to employ themselves in restoring the monasteries; and as all the monks in England had either perished or been driven out by the fury of the heathens in the troublesome times already mentioned, they commissioned a young man of high character whose name was Oswald, to proceed to the abbey of Fleury in France, built by Leodebod of Orleans on the banks of the Loire in the time of Clovis, son of Dagobert, king of the Franks.¹ The place is held in great reverence on account of the bones of St. Benedict, the founder and master of the monastic order, which the monk Aigulf sent by the abbot Mummolus, translated from Beneventum to the country of Orleans.² This happened after the devastation of the abbey of Monte Cassino, which the holy father Benedict foretold with tears to the monk Theoprobis, a worthy servant of God, as we read in the second book of the dialogues which Pope Gregory, the illustrious doctor of the church, so eloquently addressed to Peter the sub-deacon.³

After the death of King Clepo, before his son Autarith was of age to govern, when the whole Lombard nation, having no king, was subject to thirty-four dukes; some Lombard brigands made an attack in the night with a view to plunder and pillage the abbey of Monte Cassino; but all the monks, by God's protection, escaped in safety with their Abbot Bonitus. For a hundred and ten years afterwards the abbey remained desolate, until Petronax, bishop of Brescia, went there, and by the help of Pope Zachary rebuilt it in a style of great magnificence, and from that day to this the abbey of Monte Cassino has continually increased in splendour.⁴ During, however, the continuance of the deso-

¹ This abbey was founded in the year 641, the fourth of the reign of Clovis, by Leodebaud, abbot of St. Aignau, at Orleans.

² The translation of the relics of St. Benedict was made about the year 653. See an account of it in the *Acta SS. Ordinis S. Benedicti*, t. ii.

³ *Vita S. Benedicti abbat.* cap. xvii.

⁴ Ordericus states the destruction of Monte Cassino to have taken place

lation, and while the abbey was destitute of worshippers, the house of Fleury was, according to God's will, enriched by the possession of the precious remains of the illustrious father Benedict, whose translation the Cisalpine monks commemorate yearly, with solemn and pious offices, on the fifth of the ides [11th] of July. To Fleury, therefore, was the reverend youth Oswald sent, to be professed a monk, and, being instructed in the monastic rule, order his own life well according to the will of God, as well as conduct others who should attach themselves to that discipline, in the footsteps of the apostles, to the summit of their heavenly vocation. And so it happened.

For, after some years, Oswald was sent back to England¹ by the abbot of Fleury, at the courteous request of his countrymen, and being distinguished by great sagacity, as well as excellence, he was placed at the head of all the monastic institutions in England. Those venerable men, Dunstan and Athelwold, seconded him with all their influence, and their first effort was to introduce the regular discipline at Glastonbury and Abingdon. These doctors were faithfully obeyed by Athelstan, Edred, Edmund, and (especially) Edgar, son of Edmund, kings of England. In their reigns Dunstan was raised to be metropolitan of Canterbury, and Athelwold to be bishop of Winchester, and Oswald became, first, bishop of Worcester and afterwards archbishop of York. At their entreaty Abbo, a wise and pious monk of Fleury, was sent over the sea and instituted the monastic rule at Ramsey,² and other English monasteries, after the same manner in which it was practised in France at that period. He inspired the bishops just named with

some time between the death of Clepo, second king of the Lombards, 5th of January, 575, and his son Autarith coming of age, 584. It appears to have actually occurred about the year 582, when Bonitus was the sixth abbot. St. Petronax, who was never a bishop, but abbot of Monte Cassino, began to restore it from its ruins about the year 720, and died there the 6th of May, 750, or thereabout.

¹ St. Oswald's residence at Fleury-sur-Loire appears to have been about the middle of the tenth century; his return to England in 961; his promotion to the bishopric of Worcester the year following; and to the archbishopric of York in 970.

² The abbey of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, was founded by Oswald in 971. Abbo appears to have undertaken his journey to England about the year 980, remaining there nearly two years.

the love of holiness and all goodness, shedding lustre on them by their doctrines, and the miracles they performed, thus rendering great services to men of learning as well as to the vulgar.

Bishop Athelwold then restored in the time of King Edgar, in the town now called Burg, the abbey of Medeshamsted, which bishop Sexulf founded in the reign of Wulfere, king of the Mercians.¹ He also endowed with great wealth the church dedicated to St. Peter, prince of the apostles. Afterwards, Thorney abbey, Ely abbey,² and many other monasteries, were built in different places; and societies of monks, clerks, or nuns, were suitably established in them. Abundant revenues were assigned to each of these houses, sufficient to supply the servants of the altar with meat and clothing, in order that they might not fail in the divine service for want of necessaries.

Monastic discipline being thus restored in England, a glorious army of monks was furnished with the arms of the Spirit to contend against Satan, and taught to persevere in fighting the Lord's battle until victory was gained. But after the lapse of some years, in the time of King Ethelred, son of Edgar, a violent storm rose in the north, to winnow the wheat in which tares had abundantly multiplied. Sweyn, king of Denmark, a bigoted idolater, sailed to the coast of England with a powerful fleet, manned by pagans, and, making a descent with formidable numbers when it was least expected, drove the terrified king Ethelred, with his sons Edward and Alfred, and his queen Emma, to take refuge in Normandy.³ It was not however long before, by God's providence, Sweyn, the cruel persecutor of the Christians, was killed by St. Edmund, and Ethelred, on learning his death, returned to his own kingdom. Then Canute, king of Denmark, when he heard his father's fortunes, made an alliance with Lacman, king of Sweden, and Olave, king of Norway, and their allied forces landed in England. In the

¹ This abbey, afterwards called Peterborough, or Peter's "Burg," was founded about the middle of the seventh century, and restored by Bishop Athelwold in 972.

² Thorney abbey was founded in 472; Ely restored in 970.

³ The events here recapitulated occurred in the year 1013, but Ethelred did not at first accompany his wife and children to Normandy, but retired for some time to the Isle of Wight.

end, after many defeats, on the death of King Ethelred and his son Edmund Ironside, he ascended the throne of England, which he and his sons, Harold and Hardicanute, possessed for more than forty years.¹

During these events Canterbury, the metropolitan city, was besieged and burnt, and St. Elphege, the archbishop, was tortured by the heathen Danes and suffered martyrdom.² At that time other cities were also burnt, and episcopal and abbey churches destroyed, with their sacred books and ornaments. The flock of the faithful was dispersed by these storms through various quarters, and dreadfully torn by the ravages of the wolves, to which it became a prey.

I have made a long digression, I trust to some advantage, and collected facts from former annals, for the purpose of showing to the attentive reader how it was that the Normans found the people of England so clownish and almost illiterate, notwithstanding the Roman pontiffs had long since supplied them with institutions best calculated for their instruction. Gregory and Boniface had sent excellent teachers, with sacred books and all the necessities for performing the offices of the church for the service of the English people, and had taught them, as their dear children, all that was good. After that, Pope Vitalian, in the reigns of Oswy and Egbert, sent into England those learned men, Theodore, archbishop, and Adrian, abbot, by whose labours and intelligence the English clergy were well instructed, both in Latin and Greek literature, and became much distinguished. In the next age flourished Abbot Albinus and Bishop Aldelm, whose learning and piety enlightened numbers, and whose writings have handed down to posterity memorable proofs of their virtues.³ All these and many

¹ See before, b. i. vol. i. p. 146. The reign of Canute in England lasted from 1017—1035; Harold-Harefoot, 1035—1040; Hardicanute, 1040—1042; which together are far from making up the forty years assigned to these reigns by our author. For Lacman and Olave, see the preceding reference.

² The destruction of Canterbury Cathedral, and the murder of Archbishop Elphege, occurred in the spring of the year 1011; the latter on Easter Eve, the 19th of April, the former some weeks preceding.

³ The mission of Theodore and Abbot Hadrian took place in 668. See *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* p. 171, *Bohn's Edition*. Albinus succeeded Hadrian as abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 709, *ib.* p. 276. Bede acknow-

more have been rendered illustrious by the labours of the eloquent Bede, who has equalled them to the most accomplished masters of the liberal arts, and inquirers into the secrets of nature. This venerable man divided the life-giving bread of the Old and New Testament among the children of Christ, by his lucid commentaries, explaining in his works more than sixty mysterious subjects, and thus gained lasting honour, both in his own and foreign countries.¹

When the precious stones were happily set in the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, and the grains of wheat safely housed in the garner of the true Joseph, the stones were scattered in the streets, and the chaff was cast on the dung-hill, and carelessly trodden under foot by those who passed by. Thus, by the just judgment of Almighty God, when his chosen servants had passed out of this transitory world to that which is eternal, the Danes, as we have already seen, restrained by no fear of God or man, long revelled in the ruin of England, practising, without remorse, innumerable breaches of the divine law. Human actions, always prone to evil, become by an infamous course truly abominable, when rulers, who ought to govern with the rod of discipline, are taken away. This freedom from control had relaxed the bonds both of the clergy and laity, and inclined both sexes to every species of license. The abundance of meat and drink led to excess, and levity and wantonness paved the way to crime. With the ruin of the monasteries, religious discipline was enfeebled, and canonical rules were not restored till the times of the Normans.

For a long period the monastic life had fallen into decay among the islanders, and the lives of monks little differed from those of men of the world; their dress and their name

ledges the assistance he received from this learned monk in the compilation of his history. Aldelm, abbot of Malmesbury, became the first bishop of the new see of Sherborne about the same time, and died in 709. His works were published in London in 1842, in vols. i. and ii. of *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

¹ The venerable Bede flourished 673—May 26, 735. His well known *Ecclesiastical History* has been several times translated, and is published in the first volume of *Bohn's Antiquarian Library*. The Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, and other works alluded to by Ordericus Vitalis, are enumerated in the preface to that volume.

was a mere deception; they were abandoned to gluttony, to endless speculation, and foul prevarication. By the care of King William the order was reformed according to the canonical rules, and its blessed usages being restored, became highly honoured. Some new abbots were appointed by the king, and several monks received instruction in the monasteries of France, who, placed by the king's command in the English abbeys, perfected the discipline and gave examples of a religious life. Scolland, an abbot, distinguished for his learning and great worth, was instituted to the abbey of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, founded by Augustine, the first doctor of the English nation. Born in Normandy, of a noble family, and strictly educated at the monastery of Mount St. Michael the archangel-in-peril-of-the-sea, he was preferred by the Normans to be abbot for the reformation of the monks of Canterbury.¹ In like manner there was a change of rulers in other monasteries, which in some was profitable, in others dangerous, both to those who governed and to those who were placed under them.

The see of Canterbury, in which St. Augustine sat, and which, by a decree of Pope Gregory, obtained the primacy over all the bishops of Britain, was, on the deposition of Stigand, committed to Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, by the choice of the king and all his council. Born of a noble family, in the city of Pavia, in Italy, he learnt from childhood in the schools the liberal arts, and applied himself with zeal to the study of the civil law, according to the custom of his country, with the intention of continuing a layman. The youthful orator, when pleading a cause, frequently triumphed over his veteran opponents, and by a torrent of eloquence won the prize from men long in the habit of eloquent speaking. At a ripe age his opinions were given with so much wisdom, that learned doctors, judges, and prætors of the city, readily adopted them. But when in exile, the former academician, like Plato, learnt to philosophize, the light eternal flashed into his mind, and the

¹ He was abbot of St. Peter's of Canterbury before the year 1092, when he attended the synod at Winchester; and died in September, 1087. M. Le Prévost conjectures that he belonged to a Norman family which gave its name to the village of Pontécoulant, *Pons-Scollandi*.

love of true wisdom enlightened his soul. He saw with Ecclesiastes, though he had not as yet learnt the use of ecclesiastical writings, that the things of the world are but vanity. Casting off the world therefore with sovereign contempt, he took on himself the profession of religion, and submitted to the yoke of the monastic rule. He selected for his retreat the abbey of Bec in Normandy, for its secluded site and poor endowment, enriching it by his prudent and ever watchful care, and bringing it into a state of the most perfect order, ruling the brotherhood with a discipline at once mild and strict, and aiding the holy abbot, Herluins, with profitable counsel.¹ A novice and an exile, while he mortified himself from sin and the world, and laboured most for what was spiritual and heavenly, God, the searcher of hearts, decreed, that his light should be set in a candlestick, that it might lighten the spacious house of the Lord. Forced from the quiet of the cloister by his sense of obedience, he became a master, in whose teaching a whole library of philosophy and divinity was displayed. He was a powerful expositor of difficult questions in both sciences. It was under this master that the Normans received the first rudiments of literature, and from the school of Bec that so many philosophers proceeded of distinguished attainments, both in divine and secular learning. For before, in the time of six dukes of Normandy, scarce any Norman devoted himself to liberal studies, nor did any doctor arise among them until, by the Providence of God, Lanfranc landed on the shores of Normandy. His reputation for learning spread throughout all Europe, and many hastened to receive lessons from him out of France, Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders.

To understand the admirable genius and erudition of Lanfranc, one ought to be an Herodian in grammar, an Aristotle in dialectics, a Tully in rhetoric, an Augustine and Jerome, and other expositors of the law and grace, in the sacred scriptures. Athens itself, in its most flourishing state, renowned for the excellency of its teaching, would have honoured Lanfranc in every branch of eloquence and

¹ After spending some time at Avranches, Lanfranc came to Bec in 1042. He was named prior there in 1045, and immediately afterwards opened his school.

discipline, and would have desired to receive instruction from his wise maxims. Our monk was full of zeal to cleave asunder, with the sword of the word, whatever sects attacked the Catholic faith. In the counsels of Rome and Vercelli¹ he crushed, with the weapons of spiritual eloquence, Berenger of Tours, esteemed by some an heresiarch, condemning his doctrine, which made the consecrated host the ruin instead of the salvation of souls. Lanfranc there explained, with deep reverence, and most conclusively proved, that the bread and wine which are placed on the Lord's table are, after consecration, the true flesh and the true blood of the Lord our Saviour. He publicly defeated Berenger, after a most elaborate controversy, both at Rome and at Tours, and compelled him to abjure his heresy, and to profess in writing the orthodox belief. Afterwards the blasphemous heretic, blushing for shame at having cast into the fire at Rome, with his own hands, the books containing his perverted doctrines, to save himself from being burned, corrupted his disciples by his money and his deceitful arguments, to conceal at home his latest writings, and afterwards convey them to foreign countries, that his old errors might receive fresh support, and their duration be extended to future years. To refute which Lanfranc published a work, written in a clear and agreeable style, and founded on sacred authorities, which treats on the subject of the eucharist² with the strongest force of reasoning, and while it is lucid with eloquent discourse, is not prolix and tedious. Many churches earnestly desired to have Lanfranc for their bishop or abbot, and even Rome, the capital of Christendom, solicited him by letters to come there, and used prayers and even force to detain him. So illustrious in the sight of all

¹ The two councils here mentioned, in which Lanfranc confuted the errors of Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, were held in the year 1050, the first after Easter, and that of Vercelli in the month of September. It is very doubtful whether Lanfranc assisted at the council of Tours, but he was present at that of Rome in April, 1059, when Berenger was compelled to abjure his errors.

² Lanfranc's principal work against this heretic, to which he gave the strange title of *Liber Scintillarum*, but which is commonly known by that of *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, was written in the year 1079.

men was one whom virtue and wisdom especially ornamented.

When the bishop of Sion had deposed Stigand, as before related, he invited Lanfranc to undertake the primacy, and announced to him the petition of the church of God in a synod of the bishops and abbots of Normandy. Lanfranc, in much distress of mind, and fearing to take on himself so great a charge, begged for time to consider, holding it for certain that the retirement of a monk and the active duties of an archbishop could not be reconciled. Abbot Herluin laid his commands upon him, and he was accustomed to obey him as he would Christ. The queen and her son the prince entreated him; the elders of the council also who were assembled earnestly exhorted him. He would not give a hasty reply, because every word and act of his was guided by the rule of discretion. He was unwilling to forfeit his obedience, and to offend those who entreated, persuaded, admonished him. He, therefore, mournfully crossed the sea to make his excuses, hoping for a happy return. The king cordially received his coadjutor in Christian culture, and, combating with dignity and grace the excuses his humility offered, succeeded in overcoming his reluctance.

In the year of our Lord, 1070, Lanfranc, the first abbot of Caen,¹ was sent by divine providence, to become the teacher of the English, and after a canonical election, and lawful consecration enthroned in the archiepiscopal see of the church of Canterbury on the fourth of the calends of September [August 29th.] A number of bishops and abbots, with a great concourse of the clergy and people, were present at the ceremony. The inhabitants of the whole of England, whether present or absent, were raised to the highest pitch of joy, and would indeed have offered boundless thanks to God if they had known how much good Heaven was then bestowing upon them.

In the church of Caen, Lanfranc was succeeded by William, son of Radbod, bishop of Séez, who, I think, nine years afterwards was translated by King William to the

¹ The French editors of Ordericus place the nomination of Lanfranc to his abbey of St. Stephen at Caen in the middle of the year 1066, contrary to the general opinion. See book iii. c. xii. (vol. i. p. 466).

metropolitan see of Rouen. He was cousin of William bishop of Evreux, son of Girard Fleitel, the influence of which family was extremely powerful in Normandy in the time of the Richards.¹ As canon and archdeacon of Rouen he was under Maurilius, archbishop of that see, and becoming more ardent in his love of God, he went abroad with Theodoric, abbot of St. Evroult, devoutly making a pilgrimage to the glorious sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem. After his return, being apprehensive of losing the fruit of his former labours, he withdrew altogether from the temptations of the world, and devoted himself with delight to his holy warfare in the abbey of Bec. He was afterwards sent with Lanfranc to instruct the novices who assembled from all parts for the service of Christ in the city of Caen, and in the course of time became their worthy father and superior.

At the death of William, bishop of Evreux, he was succeeded by Baldwin, the duke's chaplain, who regularly governed the bishopric nearly seven years. At his decease Gislebert Fitz-Osbern, canon and archdeacon of Lisieux, became his successor. He held the see to its great benefit more than thirty years, augmenting its revenues in various ways, and skilfully regulating its affairs. On the death of Ives, bishop of Sééz, Robert, son of Hubert de Rie, succeeded him, governing the see nearly twelve years, and being himself zealous for the service of God, was a kind friend to the monks.²

CH. VII. *The earls Edwin and Morcar slain or imprisoned—
—Their vast estates distributed among the Norman lords—
Names and titles of the new possessors.*

IN these times, by God's gracious providence, tranquillity prevailed in England, and the brigands being driven to a

¹ William Bonne-Ame, son of Radbod, bishop of Sééz (1025—1032), was made archbishop of Rouen after John d'Avranches in 1079. Our author is right in stating him to be cousin of Gerard Fleitel, father of William I., bishop of Evreux from 1046—1066. From a charter of his, signed by William the Conqueror, giving the commune of St. Denis-du-Bosc-Guerard, which derived its name from him, to St. Wrandrille's abbey, it appears that he long survived the dukes Richard I. and Richard II.

² It is supposed that a bishop named Michael intervened between William Fleitel and Baldwin. The latter was bishop of Evreux before

distance, the cultivators of the soil renewed their labours in some sort of security. The English and Normans lived amicably together in the villages, towns, and cities, and intermarriages between them formed bonds of mutual alliance. Then might be seen in some of the towns and country fairs French traders with the merchandize they imported, and the English, who before in their homely dress cut a sorry figure in the eyes of the Normans, appeared in their foreign garb a different people. No one dared any longer to live by robbery, but all cultivated their lands in safety, and, though this did not last long, lived happily with their neighbours. Churches were built and repaired, and the ministers of religion zealously performed in them the service of God. The king's great activity watched over the public good, and roused the people by all possible means to profitable pursuits. He took some pains to make himself master of the English language, to enable himself to hear the complaints of his subjects without an interpreter, and to render equal justice to all according to the rules of equity; but his time of life rendered this study a work of difficulty, and his attention was necessarily diverted to other objects by the multiplicity of his occupations.¹

But as the enemy of man goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, fresh disturbances of a serious character arose between the English and Normans, so that the relentless furies were again let loose, and for a long period wrought endless mischief. This originated in the evil counsels which led King William, much to the injury of his reputation, to a breach of faith in shutting up the illustrious earl Morcar, in the Isle of Ely, where he was besieged, though at the time he was in alliance with the king, and neither plotted nor suspected any evil. Their

June, 1066. He died in 1070, and our author is mistaken as to the number of years he held that see. Gislebert, his successor, filled it thirty-four years, as we shall find hereafter. Ives de Belesme also died in 1070, and Robert de Rie about 1082.

¹ Hume charges the Conqueror with the preposterous design of eradicating the English, and substituting the Norman language. The use of the latter in the courts, generally alleged in evidence of this design, was only the natural consequence of almost all the ecclesiastics, who were also the lawyers, being Normans. The Conqueror's own charters are either in Anglo-Saxon or Latin.

differences were fomented by wily newsmongers, who went to and fro propounding the treacherous terms that the earl should surrender himself to the king, and the king restore him to his favour as a trusty adherent. The earl might have defended himself for a considerable time in his inaccessible retreat, or when things came to the worst, have taken advantage of the river which surrounded it to escape by sea. But weakly listening to false representations, he left the island, and came to court with his attendants in peaceable guise. The king, however, was apprehensive that Morcar would avenge the evils unjustly inflicted on himself and his countrymen, and be the means of raising endless disturbances in his English dominions; he, therefore, threw him into prison without any distinct charge, and committing him to the custody of Roger de Beaumont, confined him in his castle all the rest of his life.¹ When Earl Edwin, that handsome youth, heard of his brother's imprisonment, he declared that he would prefer death to life unless he could deliver Morcar from captivity, or have his revenge by a plentiful effusion of Norman blood.² For six months he solicited aid from the Scotch, the Welsh, and the English. Meanwhile three brothers who were admitted to his familiarity, and were his principal attendants, betrayed him to the Normans, assassinating him, though he made a desperate defence at the head of twenty men-at-arms. The high tide, which rendered it necessary for Edwin to halt on the bank of a stream, aided the Normans in perpetrating this outrage, by cutting off his retreat. The report of Edwin's death, spread throughout the kingdom, was the cause of deep sorrow, not only to the English, but even to the Normans and French, who lamented his loss like that of a friend

¹ Ordericus has not related these circumstances quite correctly. King William did not shut up Morcar in the Isle of Ely, but the earl retired there, and took refuge with Hereward to escape the king's persecutions. We find that he was committed to the custody of Roger de Beaumont, who probably guarded him in one of his castles of Beaumont, Brionne, or Pontaudemer. Morcar was restored to liberty by the Conqueror on his death-bed, but almost immediately afterwards sent back to prison by William Rufus.

² It does not appear that Edwin was induced to become insurgent in consequence of his brother's arrest, but that, on the contrary, he was the first to break with the Conqueror.

or kinsman. This young nobleman was, as I have before said, born of pious parents, and lent himself to all good works as far as his multifarious engagements in difficult worldly affairs allowed. The graces of his person were so striking that he might be distinguished among thousands, and he was full of kindness for the clergy, the monks, and the poor. King William was moved to tears when he heard of the treason which had cut off the young earl of Mercia, and with a just severity sentenced to banishment the traitors who, to gain his favour, brought him the head of their master.

Thus far William of Poitiers carries his history,¹ which, imitating the style of Sallust, eloquently and acutely recounts the acts of King William. This author was by birth a Norman, being a native of the town of Préaux,² where his sister was abbess of a convent of nuns dedicated to St. Leger. He is called William of Poitiers, because in that city he drank deeply at the fountain of learning. Returning into his own country, he became eminent as the most learned of all his neighbours and fellow students, and made himself useful to Hugh and Gislebert, bishops of Lisieux, in ecclesiastical affairs, as archdeacon of that diocese. He had served with courage in a military career before he took orders, fighting bravely for his earthly sovereign, so that he was the better able to describe with precision the scenes of war, from having himself been present and encountered their perils. As age came on he devoted himself to science and prayer, and was more capable of composing in prose or verse than of preaching. He frequently wrote clever and agreeable poems, adapted for recitation, submitting them without jealousy to the correction of his juniors. I have briefly followed, in many parts, his narrative of King William and his adherents without copying all he has written, or attempting to imitate his elegant style. I come now, with God's help, to recount events which took place among

¹. If the history of William de Poitiers extended as far as this period, as it is impossible to doubt after what our author here says, an important part of it has been lost, for in the state we now possess it, the narrative goes no further than the murder of Copsi.

² Near Pont Audemer. There were two abbeys here; a convent of monks dedicated to St. Peter, and one of nuns to St. Leger. A sister of William de Poitiers, named Emma, was the first abbess of St. Leger.

our neighbours in the times which succeeded, not allowing myself to doubt that, as I have freely made use of what my predecessors have published, so those who come after me and are yet unborn, will diligently investigate the history of the present age.

The two great earls of the Mercians having been got rid of, Edwin by death, and Morcar by strict confinement, King William distributed their vast domains in the richest districts of England among his adherents, raising the lowest of his Norman followers to wealth and power. He granted the Isle of Wight and the county of Hereford to William Fitz-Osbern, high-steward of Normandy, giving him the charge, in conjunction with Walter de Lacy and other tried soldiers, of defending the frontier against the Welsh, who were breathing defiance. Their first expedition was a bold attack on the people of Brecknock, in which the Welsh princes, Rhys, Cadogan, and Meredith,¹ with many others, were defeated. The king had already granted the city and county of Chester to Gherbod of Flanders, who had been greatly harassed by the hostilities both of the English and Welsh. Afterwards, being summoned by a message from his dependants in Flanders, to whom he had entrusted his hereditary domains, he obtained leave from the king to make a short visit to that country, but while there his evil fortune led him into a snare, and, falling into the hands of his enemies, and thrown into a dungeon, he had to endure the sufferings of a long captivity, cut off from all the blessings of life. In consequence, the king gave the earldom of Chester to Hugh d'Avranches, son of Richard surnamed Goz, who, in concert with Robert of Rhuddlan, and Robert of Malpas, and other fierce knights, made great slaughter among the Welsh. This Hugh was not merely liberal but prodigal; not satisfied with being surrounded by his own retainers, he kept an army on foot. He set no bounds either to his generosity or his rapacity. He continually

¹ Rhys-ap-Owen, Cadogan-ap-Blethyn, and Meredith-ap-Owen. Ordericus probably in his youth heard frequent mention of these Welsh chiefs and others he has named before. Shrewsbury, the seat of his father's patron, Roger, earl of Montgomery, was a frontier garrison, intended, like those of Chester and Malpas also mentioned, to curb the inroads of the tribes of North Wales.

wasted even his own domains, and gave more encouragement to those who attended him in hawking and hunting, than to the cultivators of the soil, and the votaries of heaven. He indulged in gluttony to such a degree as to become so fat that he could scarcely walk. He abandoned himself immoderately to carnal pleasures, and had a numerous offspring of both sexes by his concubines, but they have almost all been carried off by one misfortune or another. He married Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Clermont, in the Beauvais, by whom he had Richard, who succeeded him as his heir in the earldom of Chester, and when yet young and childless perished by shipwreck in company with William, son and heir apparent of Henry, king of England, and many of the nobility, on the seventh of the calends of November [26th October].¹

King William gave first to Roger de Montgomery the castle of Arundel and the city of Chichester, and afterwards the earldom of Shrewsbury,² which town is situated on a hill by the river Severn. This earl was wise, moderate, and a lover of justice; and cherished the gentle society of intelligent and unassuming men. For a long time he had about him three well-informed clerks, Godebald, Odelirius,³ and Herbert, whose advice he followed with great advantage. He gave his niece Emerie and the command of Shrewsbury to Warin the Bald,⁴ a man of small stature but great courage, who bravely encountered the earl's enemies, and maintained tranquillity throughout the district entrusted to his government. Roger de Montgomery also gave commands in his earldom to William, surnamed Pantoul, Picot de Say, and Corbet,⁵ with his sons Roger and Robert, as well as other

¹ Our author gives a full account, in the twelfth book of this history, of the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef*, in which the young Earl of Chester, and many others of the nobility, were lost on the 25th of November, 1119, off Barfleur, with two sons and a daughter and niece of King Henry I. See also *Henry of Huntingdon's History*, b. vii. p. 249, *Bohn's edition*.

² Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury in England, was count of Belesme and Alençon in Normandy, through his wife, Mabel de Belesme.

³ Odelirius was the father of Ordericus Vitalis.

⁴ Warin is probably the person mentioned in the fifth book as *Guarinus Vicecomes*.

⁵ William Pantoul was lord of Noron, near Falaise. See b. v. c. 16. Pigot de Say, a place in the neighbourhood of Argentan. He had twenty-nine manors in Shropshire, and a castle on the coast of Pembrokeshire, in

brave and faithful knights, supported by whose wisdom and courage he ranked high among the greatest nobles.

King William conferred the earldom of Northampton on Waltheof, son of Earl Siward,¹ the most powerful of the English nobility, and, in order to cement a firm alliance with him, gave him in marriage his niece Judith,² who bore him two beautiful daughters. The earldom of Buckingham was given to Walter Giffard,³ and Surrey to William de Warrenne, who married Gundred, Gherbod's sister. King William granted the earldom of Holderness to Eudes, of Champagne, nephew of Count Theobald, who married the king's sister, that is, Duke Robert's daughter;⁴ and the earldom of Norwich to Ralph de Guader, son-in-law of William Fitz-Osbern. To Hugh Grantmesnil he granted the town of Leicester, and distributed cities and counties among other lords, with great honours and domains. The castle of Tutbury, which Hugh d'Avranches before held, he granted to Henry, son of Walkelin de Ferrers,⁵ conferring on other foreigners who had attached themselves to his fortunes, such vast possessions that they had in England many vassals more rich and powerful than their own fathers ever were in Normandy.

What shall I say of Odo, bishop of Baieux, who was earl palatine, and generally dreaded by the English people, issuing his orders everywhere like a second king. He had the command over all the earls and barons of the realm, South Wales. It appears by Domesday Book, that Roger Corbet held lands in Shropshire, where the family still flourishes.

¹ King William did not confer on Waltheof the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, as he possessed them before the conquest, but only confirmed his right to them. His father, Siward, was earl of Northumbria, but counties or earldoms were not yet strictly hereditary, and Henry of Huntingdon informs us that on account of Waltheof's being of tender years at his father's death, the earldom of that powerful and turbulent province was conferred on Tosti, Earl Godwin's son. Siward himself, the stout earl immortalized by Shakespeare in *Macbeth*, was of Danish or Norwegian extraction.

² Judith was the daughter of William's half-sister Adelaide, countess d'Aumale.

³ Walter Giffard, lord of Longueville, near Dieppe.

⁴ Our author is mistaken here; Adelaide was daughter of Herluin de Coutteville, and not of Duke Robert.

⁵ In the county of Stafford, with seven lordships, and created him earl of Derby.

and with the treasures collected from ancient times, was in possession of Kent, the former kingdom of Ethelbert, son of Ermenric, Eadbald, Egbert, and his brother Lothaire, and where the first English kings were converted to the faith of Christ by the disciples of Pope Gregory, and obtained the crown of eternal life by their obedience to the divine law. The character of this prelate, if I am not deceived, was a compound of vices and virtues; but he was more occupied with worldly affairs than in the exercise of spiritual graces. The monasteries of the saints make great complaints of the injuries they received at the hands of Odo, who, with violence and injustice, robbed them of the funds with which the English had piously endowed them in ancient times.¹

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, of an ancient Norman family, who rendered essential services and support at the battle of Senlac, and was a commander of troops in other conflicts, in which natives and foreigners crushed each other, received for his share, by grant from King William, two hundred and eighty vills, which are commonly called manors, which, at his death, he left to his nephew De Mowbray, who speedily lost them by his rashness and misconduct.²

Likewise, Eustace de Boulogne, and Robert Morton, William d'Evreux, Robert d'Eu, Geoffrey, son of Rotrou de Mortagne, and other counts and lords, more than I can enumerate, received from King William great revenues and honours in England. Thus strangers were enriched with English wealth, while her sons were iniquitously slain, or driven into hopeless exile in foreign lands. It is stated that the king himself received daily one thousand and sixty pounds, thirty pence, and three farthings, sterling money, from his regular revenues in England alone, independently of presents, fines for offences, and many other matters which constantly enrich a royal treasury. King William also caused

¹ Lanfranc, with great firmness, claimed before the inquest of the county resided over by Geoffry, bishop of Coutances, certain estates of which Odo had deprived the see of Canterbury, and obtained their restoration.

² Geoffry de Mowbray, a commune in the canton of Perci, was made bishop of Coutances in April, 1048, and died the 2nd of February, 1093. It will hereafter appear how his nephew lost the immense heritage bequeathed to him.

a careful survey to be taken of the whole kingdom, and an accurate record to be made of all the revenues as they stood in the time of King Edward.¹ The land was distributed into knights' fees with such order that the realm of England should always possess a force of sixty thousand men, ready at any moment to obey the king's commands, as his occasions required.

CH. VIII. *Tyranny of the conquerors—Abuses of ecclesiastical patronage—The English ejected to make way for Normans—Story of Guitmond, afterwards bishop of Aversa.*

POSSESSED of enormous wealth, gathered by others, the Normans gave the reigns to their pride and fury, and put to death without compunction the native inhabitants, who for their sins were subjected by divine Providence to the scourge. In them we find fulfilled the couplet of the Mantuan Maro:—

O mortals! blind of fate, who never know
To bear high fortune, or endure the low.²

Young women of high rank were subject to the insults of grooms, and mourned their dishonour by filthy ruffians. Matrons, distinguished by their birth and elegance, lamented in solitude; and, bereaved of their husbands and deprived of the consolation of friends, preferred death to life. Ignorant upstarts, driven almost mad by their sudden elevation, wondered how they arrived at such a pitch of power, and thought that they might do whatever they liked. Fools and perverse, not to reflect, with contrite hearts, that, not by their own strength, but by the providence of God, who ordereth all things, they had conquered their enemies, and subjugated a nation greater, and richer, and more ancient than their own; illustrious for its saints, and wise men, and powerful kings, who had earned a noble reputation by their deeds, both in war and peace! They ought to have recollected with fear, and

¹ This famous record is called *The Domesday Book*, and sometimes *Rotulus*, or *Liber Wintoniæ*, it having been kept in the treasury at Winchester. The survey was begun in 1080, and completed in 1086.

² Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ,
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis!

Virg. *Æn.* X. 501.

deeply inscribed in their hearts, the word which says : " With the same measure that ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." ¹

Some churchmen, who, to all appearance, were wise and religious, constantly followed the court, and became abject flatterers, to the no small disgrace of their Christian profession, that they might obtain the dignities they coveted. As the hire for their services is demanded of princes by newly enlisted soldiers, so some of the laity repaid the clergy for paying them court by gifts of bishoprics and abbeys, wardenships, archdeaconries, deaneries, and other offices of power and dignity, which ought to be conferred for the merits of holiness and learning. The clergy and monks now attached themselves to an earthly prince to obtain such rewards, and, for their worldly advantage, lent themselves without decency to a service which was incompatible with their spiritual duties. The old abbots were terrified by the threats of secular power, and, unjustly driven from their seats without the sentence of a synod, to make way for hirelings, who, more tyrants than monks, were intruded in their places. Then such traffic and agreements took place between prelates of this class and the flocks committed to their charge, as may be supposed between wolves and sheep having no protector. This may be easily proved by what happened in the case of Turstin, of Caen, and the convent of Glastonbury.² This shameless abbot, attempting to compel the monks of Glastonbury to disuse the chant which had been introduced into England by the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory, and to adopt the chant of the Flemings or Normans, which they had never learned or heard before, a violent tumult arose, which ended in disgrace to the holy order. For when the monks refused new fashions, and their haughty superior persisted in his obstinacy, all of a sudden, laymen, armed with spears, came to their master's aid, and surrounding the monks severely beat some of them, and, as report says, mortally wounded them. I could relate many such instances, if they would edify the reader's mind ; but such subjects are by no means

¹ Luke vi. 38.

² Turstin was intruded on the monks of Glastonbury in 1081. The tumults here described broke out in 1083.

agreeable, and, therefore, without dwelling on them, I gladly employ my pen on other matters.

Guitmond was a venerable monk of the monastery called La Croix d'Helton, where we read that Leudfred, the glorious confessor of Christ, happily served the Lord forty-eight years in the reigns of Childebert and Chilperic.¹ Guitmond crossed the sea on a royal summons, and was offered by the king and great men of the realm a high ecclesiastical office, but he positively refused to undertake the charge. He was in the prime of years, devout and deeply learned; having left to the world a remarkable proof of his genius in the book he wrote against Berenger, *On the Body and Blood of our Lord*,² as well as in his other works. When the king entreated him to remain in England until he should have an opportunity of suitably promoting him, Guitmond took time to consider the matter carefully, and pointed out how much his own views differed from the proposal which had been made, in a long letter replying to the king to the following effect:—

“I am averse to undertaking any ecclesiastical function for many reasons, which I am not willing, nor would it become me, fully to detail. In the first place, when I consider well the infirmities, both bodily and mental, which I continually suffer, I painfully feel my inability to undergo the scrutiny of the divine Judge, for even now I lament that in my daily struggles to keep the path of life I am in continual danger of erring from the truth. But if I cannot safely rule myself, how shall I be able to direct the course of others in the way to salvation? Besides, after carefully considering all circumstances, I do not see by what means I can fitly undertake the government of a community whose foreign manners and barbarous language are strange to me; a wretched people, whose fathers and near relations and friends have either fallen by your sword, or have been disinherited by you, driven into exile, imprisoned, or subjected to an unjust and intolerable slavery. Search the scriptures

¹ La Croix St. Leufroi, between Evreux and Gaillon, in the diocese of Evreux. St. Leufroi died about the year 738, in this monastery which he founded, after governing it forty-eight years.

² *Guitmundi episcopi Aversani, de corporis et sanguinis veritate in Eucharistiâ*. This work was written in the year 1075.

and see if there be any law by which a pastor chosen by enemies can be intruded by violence on the Lord's flock. Every ecclesiastical election ought to be purely made in the first instance by the society of the faithful who are to be governed, and then confirmed by assent of the fathers of the church and their friends, if it be canonical; if not, it should be rectified in a spirit of charity. How can that which you have wrung from the people by war and bloodshed be innocently conferred on myself and others who despise the world and have voluntarily stripped ourselves of our own substance for Christ sake? It is the general rule of all who take religious vows to have no part in robbery, and, for the maintenance of justice, to reject offerings which are the fruits of pillage. For the scripture saith: 'The sacrifice of injustice is a polluted offering;' and a little afterwards: 'Whoso offereth a sacrifice of the substance of the poor is like one that slayeth a son in his father's sight.' Reflecting on these and other precepts of the divine law, I cannot but tremble. I look upon England as altogether one vast heap of booty, and I am afraid to touch it and its treasures as if it were a burning fire. As God commands every man to love his neighbour as himself, I will tell you sincerely what I learn from divine inspiration: what I think profitable for myself is also for your good. Let not that which is spoken in friendship be considered offensive; but do you, brave prince, and your fellow soldiers, who have encountered with you the greatest perils, receive with kindness the expression of my advice. Reflect every day of your lives on the operations of the Lord, and in all your undertakings have his judgments, which are incomprehensible, before your eyes, so weighing your course of life in the scales of justice according to the will of God, that the righteous Judge, who orders all things rightly, may be merciful to you in the day of doom. Let not flatterers betray you into a deceitful security, and from the success which has attended you in the present life lull you into the death-sleep of worldly prosperity. Vaunt not yourself that the English have been conquered by your arms, but gird yourself carefully for that more difficult and dangerous combat with your spiritual enemies which still remains and is to be fought daily. The

¹ Eccclus. xxxiv. 21 and 24.

revolutions of earthly kingdoms are exhibited in the pages of scripture in which the knowledge of past events is divinely furnished. The Babylonians, under their king Nebuchodnosor, subdued Judea, Egypt, and many other countries, but seventy years afterwards they were themselves conquered and subjugated by the Medes and Persians under Darius and his grandson Cyrus. Two hundred and thirty years afterwards, the Macedemonians, under the command of Alexander the Great, defeated Darius the king of Persia and his innumerable hosts ; and many years afterwards, when the Romans sent forth their legions into every quarter of the globe, the Parthians were utterly subdued under their king Perseus. The Greeks, led by Agamemnon and the son of Palamede, laid siege to Troy, and having slain the king Priamus, son of Laomedon, and his sons Hector and Troilus, Paris, Deiphobus and Amphimacus, after a ten years' siege, destroyed with fire and sword the famous kingdom of Phrygia. A remnant of the Trojans, with Eneas for their chief, established themselves in Italy ; another band, under the command of Antenor, after a long and difficult journey, reached Denmark, and made a settlement there which their posterity inhabit to the present time. The kingdom of Jerusalem, enriched by David and his powerful successors with the spoils of other nations and aggrandized by their conquest of the surrounding barbarous tribes, was overturned by the Romans in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, and the stately temple of the Jews destroyed one thousand and eighty-nine years after its foundation, eleven hundred thousand Jews perishing by the sword or famine. The Franks formed an alliance with the Gauls in the time of their duke Sunno, and having resolutely shaken off the Roman yoke began to lord over them. It is now almost six hundred years since the Anglo-Saxons, under their chiefs Hengist and Horsa, wrested by force or fraud the government of Britain from the natives now called Welsh. The Guinili, driven by chance from the Scandinavian island invaded that part of Italy now called Lombardy in the reign of Alboin, son of Audo, and, long resisting the Romans, have held possession of it to the present day. All these great men whom I have described, as elated by victory, not long afterwards miserably perished, and together with their victims are subject to endless tor-

tures, under which they groan in the noisome caverns of hell. The Normans, under their chief Rollo, wrested Neustria from Charles the Simple, and have now held it for one hundred and ninety years,¹ against all the efforts of the French, notwithstanding their frequent attacks. Need I speak of the Gepidi and the Vandals, the Goths and the Turks, the Huns and the Heruli, and other barbarous nations? Their whole business is to ravage and rob, and to tread under foot every vestige of peace. They lay waste the soil, burn houses, disturb the world, scatter the means of subsistence, butcher the population, spread every where barbarism and confusion. Such signs as these are omens of the end of the world, as we are plainly told in the word of truth: 'Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and famines and pestilences: and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven.'²

So sinks the reeling world with woes oppressed.

"Reflecting thoughtfully on these and such like revolutions in human affairs, let not the conqueror glory in the ruin of his rivals; for he himself shall hold his footing no longer than his Maker wills. I will now, O king, apply what I have said to your own case, beseeching you to listen to me with patience for your soul's sake. Before you, no one of your race obtained the kingly dignity; that high honour did not accrue to you by inheritance, but by the free gift of Almighty God, and the kind preference of your kinsman King Edward. Edgar Atheling and many other scions of the royal stock, are, according to the laws of the Hebrews and other nations, nearer in degree than yourself as heirs to the crown of England. They have been set aside by the lot which has led to your advancement: but the more mysterious is God's providence, the more terrible is the account you will have to give of the stewardship committed to you. I submit these considerations to your highness

¹ Without its being necessary to follow the venerable monk through all his historical disquisitions, it may be proper to remark that this calculation would carry back the grant of territory made by Charles the Simple to Rollo and his followers to the year 880.

² Luke xxi. 11, 12.

with the fullest good wishes, humbly beseeching you to be ever mindful of what must come at last, and not to be wholly engrossed with present prosperity, which is too often followed by intolerable suffering, wailing, and gnashing of teeth. And now I commit you, your friends and followers, to the grace of God, intending, with your permission, to return to Normandy, and leave the rich spoils of England to the lovers of this world, as dross and dung. I truly prefer, for my part, that poverty for the love of Christ which was the choice of Anthony and Benedict, above all the riches of the world which were the coveted portion of Cræsus and Sardanapalus, and when they afterwards miserably perished, became the spoils of their enemies. Christ, the good shepherd, has uttered the warning: 'Woe to the rich of this world,' who enjoy here vain and superfluous luxuries, while he promised the blessings of the world to come to the poor in spirit; which may He vouchsafe to grant us, who liveth and reigneth through all ages. Amen."

The king, who with his great lords admired the firmness of the venerable monk, treated him with deference, and taking leave of him with marked respect, commanded him, with fitting honours, to return to Normandy, and there wait his own presence where he pleased. When Guitmond returned to the enclosure of his own monastery, it was noised abroad that he had preferred monastic poverty to episcopal wealth, and further, that he had in the presence of the king and his nobles stigmatized the conquest of England with the character of robbery, and accused of rapacity all the bishops and abbots who had obtained preferment in England against the feeling of the natives. These allegations of his becoming known throughout the kingdom, and causing much discussion, were very distasteful to numerous persons who being little disposed to follow his example, were extremely exasperated by what he had said. Not long afterwards, on the death of John, archbishop of Rouen, the king and others selected Guitmond for his successor; but his enemies, the men he had so severely rebuked, did all in their power to hinder his preferment. They found nothing, however, to object to, in a man of his worth, but that he was the son of a priest. Upon this, Guitmond, wishing to be clear of all suspicion of covetousness, and preferring to suffer poverty in

a foreign country, rather than foment disturbances in his own, applied respectfully to Odilo, the abbot of his monastery, and humbly petitioned for permission to travel abroad, which was granted.¹ This illiterate abbot little knew what treasures of wisdom were concealed under the humble exterior of the learned monk, and so he made no difficulty in parting with a philosopher of inestimable worth, who was received with joy by Pope Gregory VII. on his arrival at Rome, and made a cardinal of the holy Roman church, and by Pope Urban, after experience of his abilities, solemnly consecrated metropolitan of Aversa.² That city, built in the time of Leo IX., by the Normans when they first settled in Apulia was called Adversa by the Romans, because it was founded by their adversaries. Abounding in wealth, powerful from the warlike character of its Cisalpine inhabitants,³ formidable to its enemies, and respected by its faithful subjects and allies, that city, by the determination of the Normans, was immediately dependent in ecclesiastical affairs on the pope himself, from whom it received the philosopher Guitmond, honoured with the mystical decoration of the pallium, as its bishop. This prelate long governed the church entrusted to his care, enjoying the apostolical privileges of his see free from all the exactions of men. Having diligently taught his flock, and given them the protection of his merits and prayers, after many struggles in the exercise of his virtues he departed in the Lord.⁴

¹ It could not be the result of this affair which induced Guitmond to leave Normandy, for he went to Italy in 1077, and John d'Avranches did not die till 1079. It may even be doubted whether William proposed to prefer him to the archbishopric of Rouen two years after he had entirely renounced his country to attach himself altogether to the court of Rome. He went so far as even to change his name, and adopt that of Christian or Cristin.

² Guitmond was not made a cardinal. The see of Aversa was not an archbishopric, but immediately dependent on the holy see. The city was rebuilt by the Normans, on the site of the ancient Atella, not in the pope-dom of Leo IX., 1048—1054, but about the year 1030. Ranulph, one of their leaders, was invested with the title of Count d'Aversa by the emperor Conrad in 1038.

³ Our author means the Normans, as coming from this side of the Alps.

⁴ The precise date of Guitmond's death is unknown. Like his patron, Pope Urban II., he probably died about the end of the eleventh century. For his life and writings, see *L'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. viii.

CH. IX. *Affairs of Flanders—William Fitz-Osbern killed in battle there—King William crosses over to Normandy.*

IN the fifth year of his reign King William sent William Fitz-Osbern to Normandy to assist Queen Matilda in the defence of the duchy. At that time there was great contention in Flanders between the heirs to that province. Baldwin, son-in-law of Robert king of France, and count of Flanders, of distinguished bravery had by his wife Adela several sons and daughters of great merit. Robert, the Frisian, Arnold, Baldwin, Odo, archbishop of Treves, Henry the clerk, Queen Matilda, and Judith, wife of Earl Tostig, were all children of Baldwin and Adela.¹ Their characters and the various occurrences of their lives, would furnish historians with matter for extended works. Robert the eldest, having offended his father, and being banished by him, sought the court of Florence, duke of Frisia, his father's enemy, and, in reward for his services, received his daughter's hand in marriage; at this the duke of Flanders was much incensed and in his anger gave his son Robert the name of the Frisian, and, proclaiming him an outlaw, appointed his second son Arnold his heir. A short time afterwards, Duke Baldwin died, and Arnold held Flanders for a short time. But Robert the Frisian invaded it vigorously with a large body of Frisian and other troops. Philip king of France, who was their kinsman, came to the aid of Arnold, with a French army, summoning Earl William [Fitz-Osbern] to attend him as governor of Normandy. But Earl William joined the king with only ten men-at-arms, and rode with him gaily to Flanders, as if he was only going to a tournament. Meanwhile, Robert the Frisian, had united his forces with those of the emperor, and on Septuagesima Sunday, the tenth of the calends of March [20th of February], attacked the enemy by surprise early in the morning, and Philip, king of France, and his army flying, Arnold, and his nephew Baldwin, and Earl William were slain.² Robert afterwards held the dukedom of Flanders

¹ Baldwin V. had only four children; Arnold was his grandson, son of Baldwin VI., who succeeded his father, Baldwin V., September 1, 1067.

² This battle was fought at Bavinchove, near Cassel, the 20th of Feb.

for many years, and at his death left it to his sons Robert of Jerusalem and Philip.¹ The body of Earl William was carried to Normandy by his men-at-arms, and interred amid much sorrow in the abbey of Cormeilles. He had founded two abbeys on his patrimonial estates in honour of St. Mary, Mother of God; one at Lire, on the river Rille, where Adeliza his wife was buried, and the other at Cormeilles where, as I have just mentioned, he was himself interred.² This baron, the bravest of all the Normans, was deeply lamented by all who knew his generosity, his good humour, and general virtues. King William thus distributed his inheritance among his sons. William the eldest son had Breteuil, Pacy, and the rest of his patrimonial estates in Normandy which he possessed during all his life, nearly thirty years. Roger, the younger brother, had the earldom of Hereford and his father's other possessions in England; but he shortly afterwards lost all by his perfidy and folly, as will appear in the sequel.

Though Matilda's government was powerful and her resources vast, she was plunged into the deepest affliction by the death of her father, her mother's bereavement, the cruelty of one brother, which caused the loss of another, as well as of her beloved nephew, and a number of her friends. It is thus that the Almighty God punishes the inhabitants of the earth when they forget him, casts down the proud, and makes it plain that he is the Ruler of the universe. Robert the Frisian now subjugated the whole of Flanders, and held possession of it for almost thirty years,³ securing with ease the alliance of Philip king of France. Those two princes were cousins by descent, and both married daughters of Florence, marquis of Frisia;⁴ and their sons are to the

1071. The person described by our author as nephew of Robert the Frisian, was Baldwin, count d'Hainault, Arnold's eldest brother, but he did not fall in the battle, living till the first crusade, which he joined.

¹ Robert the Frisian died suddenly in October, 1093, leaving, as our author states, two sons, and also three daughters; but the sons did not possess his states jointly or successively, the share of Philip being only the burgraviate of Ypres.

² Concerning these two abbeys, see before, vol. i. p. 384. Adeliza, wife of William Fitz-Osbern, was daughter of Roger de Toni.

³ Only twenty-one years.

⁴ These two princes were not brothers-in-law; Philip married Bertha,

present day united in the same bonds of amity. But a new cause of dissension between the Normans and Flemings sprung out of the death of the queen's brother and other relations, and especially that of Earl William [Fitz-Osbern]. Affairs in Normandy becoming thus disturbed, the king put his English dominions into a good condition, and then hastened over to Normandy that he might order things there to the best advantage. The king's arrival being known, the hearts of the peaceable were gladdened, but the promoters of discord, and those stained with crimes, whose consciences reproached them, trembled at the approach of an avenging power. The king assembled the leading men of Normandy and Maine, and in a royal speech recommended them all to maintain peace and do justice. The bishops and churchmen he exhorted to lead good lives, continually to study God's law, to consult together for the welfare of the church, to correct the morals of their flocks according to the canonical decrees, and in all things to govern with prudence.

CH. X. *A synod held at Rouen under John the archbishop—
Acts of the synod.* ✓

IN the year of our Lord 1072 a synod assembled in the city of Rouen, the metropolitan see, in the church of the blessed St. Mary, ever virgin, mother of God. John, archbishop of that see, presided, and following in the steps of the fathers, consulted on various points regarding the necessities of the church with his suffragans, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Hugh of Lisieux, Robert of Séz, Michael of Avranches, and Gislebert of Evreux.¹ The doctrine of the church on the holy and undivided Trinity was first taken into consideration, which they affirmed, ratified, and made profession of their belief with their whole hearts according to the decrees of the sacred councils of Nice, Constantinople, the first of Ephesus, and Chalcedon. After this profession of the

daughter of Florence, count of Holland, and Robert the Frisian, Gertrude of Saxony, the count's widow, who was Philip's mother-in-law.

¹ The account of this synod given by Ordericus Vitalis is the only record we have of it.

Catholic faith, the following articles were added as they are hereunder written.

First. It is ordered by us, that according to the decrees of the fathers, the chrism, and the oil for baptism and the holy unction, be consecrated at a convenient hour, that is, after the second nones, as the aforesaid fathers decreed. The bishop should take care that twelve priests, or as many as he has with him, assist at the consecration in their sacerdotal vestments.

Item. In some dioceses an odious practice has grown up for the archdeacons, in the absence of the bishop, to obtain from some other bishop small portions of oil and chrism, and to mix them with oil of their own; which custom is condemned, and every archdeacon is to present the whole of his chrism and oil to the consecrating bishop, the same as if it was his own diocesan.

Item. The distribution of the chrism and oil shall be made by the deans with the greatest care and reverence, so that they wear albs while the distribution takes place, and it be so made in such vessels, that no portion be lost by carelessness.

Item. It is ordered, that no priest shall celebrate mass without also communicating.

Item. No priest shall baptize a child unless he wear his alb and stole, but upon urgent necessity.

Item. There are some priests who reserve the viaticum and holy water beyond the eighth day, which is condemned. Others, when they have no consecrated host, make a fresh consecration, which is severely forbidden.

Item. It is ordered, that the gifts of the Holy Spirit shall not be conferred without both givers and receivers having fasted, nor the confirmation be made without fire [candles?]. This is enjoined, that in conferring holy orders we may not violate apostolical authority. For we read in the decrees of Pope Leo, that holy orders shall not be given indiscriminately every day, but after Saturday in the beginning of the succeeding night, the holy benediction be given, both those who give and those who receive it being then fasting. The same rule will be observed when the office is performed on the morning of the Lord's day, the fast having been pro-

longed. This portion of time is a prolongation of the commencement of the night preceding, and it is not to be doubted that it belongs to the day of the resurrection as is also declared in our Lord's passion.

Item. The observance of the four seasons, according to the divine institution, is to be kept among us with general accord at the proper periods; viz., the first week in March, the second in June, the third in September, and the same in December, in honour of the nativity of our Lord. It would be unseemly that an institution of the saints should be nullified by worldly cares and occupations.

Item. Clerks, who, without election, vocation, or the intervention of a bishop, intrude themselves into sacred orders; those who have been ordained [priests] by the bishop, supposing them to be already deacons; and those who are ordained priests and deacons, without having had the minor orders; all these ought to be deposed.

Item. Those who have received the tonsure, and afterwards relinquished it, shall be excommunicated until such time as they make due amends. Clerks offering themselves for ordination are to present themselves at the bishop's residence on the fifth day [Thursday]. ✓

Item. Monks and nuns, who, quitting their convents, wander about from place to place, and those who have been expelled for their offences, ought to be compelled by pastoral authority to return to their convents. If the abbots shall refuse to re-admit those who have been expelled, let them be supplied with food as alms, or which they may earn by the labour of their hands, until it be ascertained that they have amended their lives.

Item. Forasmuch as the cure of souls is trafficked in by buying and selling, both by the clergy and laity, and even by monks, such practices are strictly forbidden.

Marriages are not to be solemnized in private, nor after dinner; but the bride and bridegroom shall receive the nuptial benediction fasting, from a priest who is also fasting, at the manse.¹ And, before they are united, their family shall be inquired into; and if there be found to be any con-

¹ "In monasteries." The French editor of Ordericus remarks that the term, in writers of the middle ages, often means the parish church. See the observations, vol. i. p. 396.

sanguinity within the seventh generation, or if either of the parties has been divorced, they must not be married. Any priest who breaks this rule shall be deposed.

Concerning priests, deacons, and subdeacons, who have taken women to live with them, the decree of the synod of Lisieux shall be observed; that they are not to have the care of churches, neither of themselves, or by their vicars, and shall receive no part of the revenues. Archdeacons, who ought to enforce discipline, may not be allowed to have concubines, or handmaids, or any women smuggled in; but should set an example of continence and holiness to their subordinates. Those should be chosen deans who know how to reprove and correct the inferior clergy, whose life is irreproachable, and who merit the preferment more than others.¹

Item. It is forbidden any one who, in the lifetime of his wife, has been charged with adultery, after her death to marry the woman with respect to whom he was accused. For great mischief has ensued from this practice; and men have even murdered their wives.

Item. No one whose wife has taken the veil, shall marry again while she is living.

Item. If the wife of any man who has gone in pilgrimage or elsewhere, shall marry another before she has received certain intelligence of his death, she shall be excommunicated until she has made due satisfaction.

Item. It is decreed that those who fall publicly into mortal sins shall not be very soon reinstated in holy orders. For, as St. Gregory says, if the lapsed obtain license to return to their order, the influence of canonical discipline is undoubtedly weakened, as the hope of being restored diminishes the fear of encouraging the inclination to evil conduct. It should,

¹ This canon caused a tumult, in which the archbishop barely escaped with his life. The controversy about married priests caused great disturbances throughout Europe. A similar decree was made by a synod held at London in 1102. See *Huntingdon's History*, p. 241, 252. No distinction was drawn between wives and concubines; indeed the words of this canon seem studiously to ignore the legal existence of the former—"qui feminas usurpaverint." The term *uxores* is used by the synod of London, but that is understood to apply both to wives and concubines. The synod of Lisieux here mentioned was held in 1055. It deposed Archbishop Mauger. Its acts are lost.

therefore, be an established rule, that those who fall into open sin, should on no account be restored to their former rank, but under special circumstances, and after making amends by a long penance.

Item. If any clerk who has lapsed, is liable to be deposed, and a sufficient number of bishops, according to the canons, cannot be assembled for that purpose, viz. six, in the case of priests, and three, in that of deacons, any bishop who cannot attend may substitute his vicar-general with equal authority.

Item. It is decreed, that during Lent, no one shall dine till the hour of nones is passed, and vespers begin. No one who eats before shall be considered as fasting.

Item. It is decreed, that, on the Saturday of Easter, the office shall not commence before nones. For it has regard to the night of our Lord's resurrection, in honour of which the *Gloria in Excelsis* and *Alleluia* is sung. It is also marked by the benediction of the candle at the beginning of the office. The book of Offices¹ says that, on these two days, the eucharist is not celebrated. By the two days are meant the sixth day [Friday] and Saturday, on which the grief and mourning of the apostles are commemorated.

Item. If the feast of any saint occurs on a day on which it cannot be kept, it shall be celebrated not before but within the octave.

Item. According to the decrees of the holy fathers, Popes Innocent and Leo, we order that general baptism shall only be administered on the Saturday of Easter and Whitsuntide; with this provision, that the washing of regeneration shall not be denied to infants, at whatever time, or on whatever day it is required. However, we entirely forbid the administration of baptism on the eve or the feast of the Epiphany, unless in case of sickness.

The decrees of this synod were subscribed by John, archbishop of Rouen, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Michael, bishop of Avranches, Gislebert, bishop of Evreux, and some venerable abbots, who were at that time the honour of the monasteries of Normandy, and maintained the monastic discipline.

¹ This work, composed by Archbishop John while he was bishop of Avranches, was published at Rouen in 1679.

CH. XI. *Notices of eminent men in the abbeys of Normandy in the author's age—particularly in the abbey of Bec.*

I THINK it well to transmit to posterity an account of the holy fathers who wisely governed the abbeys of Normandy, in the time of King William, and whose study it was worthily to serve the eternal King, who reigns unchangeably. Their disciples, I think, have already committed to writing many of their memoirs for the information of future times, but there are some whom it is pleasant to me, as well as to my superiors, at least to name in these pages, for the particular regard I bear them, and not for any worldly advantage, but simply from my love of learning, and the piety with which they were divinely inspired.

The abbey of Fécamp, which stands in sight of the sea, and is dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, Creator of all things, was nobly founded by Richard I., duke of Normandy, and afterwards richly endowed with lands and possessions by Richard II. After William of Dijon, a man of great wisdom and zealous for religion, the venerable abbot John governed this monastery fifty-one years. Next, it was held for almost twenty-seven years by William de Ros, a clerk of Bayeux and monk of Caen.¹ Like the mystical spikenard, he was an odour of sweet smelling in the house of the Lord by his charity, munificence, and many virtues. The works he diligently performed either before the world, or in secret before few witnesses, bore witness to the spirit which dwelt within him, and entirely possessing him, conducted him to his crown before the throne of the Lord of Sabaoth.

The monk Gontard was removed from the abbey of Fontenelles² by the election of prudent men, and appointed ruler of the abbey of Jumièges, after the death of Abbot Robert. He diligently spread the food of spiritual wisdom before the flock committed to his charge, and sustained with vigour the strictness of monastic discipline. He cherished

¹ William de Dijon, 1001—1023; John, a native of the neighbourhood of Ravenna, 1028—February 22, 1079; William de Ros, 1079—March 26, 1108.

² This abbey, afterwards known by the name of St. Wandrille, its patron saint.

and honoured the gentle and submissive, as a father treats his children, but applied the rod of correction to the reprobate and contumacious and despisers of discipline, like a severe master. At length, having accompanied his colleagues, the bishops of Normandy, to the council of Clermont held by Pope Urban, A.D. 1095, the third indiction, Father Gontard, by God's will, died there on the sixth of the calends of December [November 26]. He was succeeded by Tancard,¹ prior of Fécamp, who proved to be fierce as a lion.

On the death of Herluin, who was the founder and first abbot of the monastery of Bec,² and being endowed with spiritual graces in his lifetime, contributed much to the profit of the children of the church, he was succeeded by the venerable Anselm, a man of deep erudition, who, by God's grace, filled the abbey much to its renown, with devout and learned brethren. As the number of the servants of God increased, their means of subsistence did not fail, but there was abundant provision for the honourable entertainment of the noble friends and attached brothers who flocked to the abbey from all quarters. Learned men of eminence, both clergy and laity, resorted to hear the sweet words of truth which flowed from his mouth, pleasing to the seekers of righteousness as angels' discourses. Anselm, who was a native of Italy, had followed Lanfranc to Bec, and as the Israelites carried off the gold and wealth of the Egyptians, so he entered with joy the land of promise with a full lading of the worldly erudition of the philosophers. Becoming a monk, he gave himself up to the study of theology, and poured forth abundantly the honeyed streams of wisdom from the rich fountain of wisdom. He skilfully cleared up the difficulties of the obscure passages of scripture, threw light upon them by his discourses and writings, and expounded with soundness the mysterious predictions of the prophets. All his words were valuable, and edified his attached hearers. His attentive pupils committed to writing his letters and typical discourses; so that, being deeply imbued with them, they

¹ Gontard, abbot of Jumièges, about 1078—November 26, 1095, the day on which the council closed; Tancard, 1096—about 1101.

² 1034—August 26, 1078.

profited others as well as themselves, to no small degree. His successors, William and Boso, were deeply penetrated with this spirit, and having drawn deeply at the source of so much wisdom, were able to distribute large draughts of the pure stream to their thirsting disciples. Anselm was courteous and affable, replying with kindness to all who questioned him in simplicity. At the instance of his friends he published books, keenly and profoundly written, on the Trinity, on Truth, Freewill, the Fall of Satan, and the question, Why God was made Man? His disciples spread the report of his talents through all the Latin world, and the western church was filled to inebriation with the nectar of his exalted character. The vast deposit of learning and theology at the abbey of Bec, begun by Lanfranc, was nobly added to by Anselm,¹ and thence proceeded a succession of enlightened teachers, careful pilots and spiritual charioteers,² to whom were confided the helm and the reins by which the church is divinely guided in the concerns of the present world. The monks of Bec are thus become so devoted to literary pursuits, and so exercised in raising and solving difficult questions of divinity, and in profitable discussions, that they seem to be almost all philosophers; and those among them who appear to be illiterate, and might be called clowns, derive from their intercourse with the rest the advantages of becoming fluent grammarians. Delighting in God's worship with mutual good-will and sweet affection, and taught by true wisdom, they are unwearied in the offices of devotion. The hospitality of the monks of Bec I cannot sufficiently praise. Ask the Burgundians and Spaniards, and their other visitors from far and near, and their replies will tell truly with what kindness they are entertained; and they will doubtless strive to imitate it under similar circumstances. The gate of the abbey of Bec stands for ever open to every traveller, and their bread is never refused to any one who asks it for charity's sake.

¹ St. Anselm, abbot of Bec, 1079—March 6, 1093, was a native of Aosta in Piedmont. For his works, consult the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. ix. William de Montfort; his successor, August 2, 1094—April 16, 1124; Boso, 1124—June 24, 1136.

² *Providi nautæ et spirituales aurigæ*; the latter phrase sounds strangely in the French translation, "des cochers spirituels."

What more can I say of the merits of the monks of Bec?¹ May He who graciously began and carries on the good works which so eminently distinguishes them, keep them stedfast in the right way, and conduct them safe to the haven of salvation!

Gerbert de Fontenelles, Ainard of Dives, and Durand of Troarn,² three illustrious abbots, shone brilliantly in the temple of the Lord like bright stars in the firmament of heaven. They were no less distinguished by their piety and charity, than by numerous accomplishments, among which they were remarkably eminent for the zeal with which they studied sacred psalmody in the house of God. Standing in the first rank among the masters of music who have applied their art to sweet modulation, they composed some charming chants for antiphons and responses. The King supreme, who is lauded by angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven; Mary, the immaculate virgin who bore the Saviour of the world; angels, apostles, and martyrs; confessors and virgins; these were the themes which drew from them mellifluous streams of heart-felt praise; and with these they carefully instructed the youthful choristers of the church to sing praises to the Lord with Asaph and Eman, Elthan and Idithun, and the sons of Corah.

Nicholas, son of Richard III., duke of Normandy, after being from his boyhood a monk of Fécamp, governed for nearly sixty years the abbey of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, in the suburbs of Rouen. He began building a church, remarkable for its size and elegance, in which reposes the body of St. Ouen, archbishop of that city,

¹ The abbey of Bec long continued to be a distinguished school of learning, and the resort of men of letters and eminence. It gave another archbishop to Canterbury in 1139, in the person of Theobald, who was abbot of Bec. Henry of Huntingdon, the English historian, accompanying that prelate to Rome, soon after his appointment, they rested at Bec on their journey, and there Huntingdon tells us, in his "Letter to Warin," he met the celebrated monk Robert de Torigny, otherwise called Del Monte, a great antiquarian, who showed him the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth recently published, from which Huntingdon extracted his abridged account of the ancient British kings.

² Gerbert, abbot of St. Wandrille, 1055—September 4, 1089; Ainard, abbot of Notre-Dame de St. Pierre-sur-Dive, 1046—January 14, 1078; Durand, abbot of Troarn, May 13, 1059—February 11, 1088.

with many other relics of saints.¹ There were also in Normandy at that time many other superiors of monks, whose numerous virtues I am compelled to omit, least I should weary the reader by too great prolixity.

CH. XII. *Popes Alexander II. and Gregory VII. (Hildebrand)—Singular nomination of Hoel to the see of Mans.*

IN the year of our Lord 1073 (the eleventh indiction), Pope Alexander II. departed this life, after filling the Roman and apostolical see eleven years; and Gregory VII., whose baptismal name was Hildebrand, succeeding him, sat in the chair of St. Peter seventeen years.² A monk from his childhood, Gregory was deeply read in the law of God, and his fervent zeal in the path of justice brought on him much persecution. He launched his apostolical decrees through all the world, and, sparing no one, thundered forth the holy oracles with terrible effect, summoned all men to the marriage feast of the Lord of Sabaoth with both prayers and threats. At the request of this pope, the venerable Hugh, abbot of Cluni, sent to Rome Odo, prior of that monastery, who had been a canon of Rheims, accompanied by other chosen monks, who were joyfully received by the pope as fellow labourers sent him by God.³ He selected Odo for his principal counsellor, and made him bishop of Ostia, which see has the prerogative of having its bishop elected by the clergy of Rome, and consecrated by the pope himself. Benedict also promoted the other monks, as circumstances permitted, preferring them to the government of different churches.

On the death of Arnold, bishop of Mans, King William said to Samson, bishop of Bayeux, his chaplain: "The

¹ Nicholas, son of Richard, abbot of St. Ouen, 1056—February, 1092. The end of the north transept of the church here mentioned is still standing. This striking ruin, which stands between the present church and the hotel of the municipality, examined from the interior, fully justifies, by its fine proportions, the admiration with which our author viewed it.

² Pope Alexander II., September 30, 1061—April 21, 1073; Gregory VII., April 22, 1073—May 25, 1085.

³ It was not Gregory VII., but his successor, Urban II., who on giving up the bishopric of Ostia, when raised to the popedom, invited his old contemporary at Cluni, the learned Odo, to succeed him in the see of Ostia, which he held till the year 1101.

bishopric of Mans being now void, I wish, by God's will, to promote you to that see in his place. Mans, an ancient city which derives its name from canine madness,¹ has a population which is always aggressive and blood-thirsty as regards its neighbours, and insolent and rebellious to its lords. I have, therefore, resolved to place the reins of its ecclesiastical government in your hands, having cherished and dearly loved you from your childhood, and desiring now to place you high among the great men of my dominions." Samson replied: "According to the apostolical precept, a bishop ought to be irreproachable; but I have been far from answering to that character, during the whole course of my life, for I feel that before God I am polluted with sins, both of body and mind; and, wretched and unworthy as I am, my manifold offences forbid me to aspire to so high a dignity." The king said: "With your natural shrewdness you see clearly that you act rightly in confessing yourself a sinner; but I have set my mind on you, and shall not depart from my purpose, unless you either accept the bishopric, or recommend me another to take it in your place." Simon heard this with joy, and replied: "My lord and king, you have now spoken well; and you will find me ready, with God's help, to do what you wish. You have in your chapel a poor clerk, who is well born and of good conversation. Give him the bishopric, in the fear of the Lord, for I think he is worthy of that honour. On the king's inquiring who he meant, Simon replied: "His name is Hoel, and he is a native of Brittany, and a humble and truly good man." Hoel was presently summoned at the king's command, without being informed for what purpose. But when the king saw before him a mere youth, in mean apparel, and of emaciated aspect, he conceived a contempt for him, and, turning to Simon, said: "Is this the person you praised so highly?" To which Samson replied: "Even so, my lord; I honestly recommend him without the slightest hesitation, and it is not without reason that I prefer him to myself and such as me. His gentleness and benevolence make him fit to be a bishop. Do not despise him for his emaciated appearance. His humble dress only makes him

¹ A play upon the Latin term for Mans; *cæno-manis a caninâ rabie dicta.*

more estimable in the eyes of wise men; God himself does not regard a man's exterior, but has respect unto the worth concealed beneath it." The king, in his wisdom, reflected on observations so full of sagacity, and, coming to a better mind, and bringing his scattered thoughts under the control of reason, hastened again to call the clerk we are speaking of to his presence, and committed to him the charge and temporalities of the bishopric of Mans. The royal will being made known among the clergy, testimonies of Hoel's good conversation were universally forthcoming. The faithful offered their devout praises to God for so just and excellent a selection, and the pastor-elect was introduced with fitting honour to the sheepfold of his flock by the bishops and other servants of God who received the king's commands. The new bishop was not more astonished at his sudden promotion than David, when he was scorned by his brethren, at Samuel's raising him to the throne of Judah. Hoel, bishop of Mans, thus elevated to the government of that see, presided over it in great sanctity for fifteen years. He laid the foundations of the cathedral church in which the remains of St. Julian the confessor, and first bishop of Mans, were deposited; and began other works, which the church required, labouring to complete them as opportunity offered.¹ At his death, he was succeeded by Hildebert, a distinguished versifier, who worthily filled the see for thirty years. He completed the cathedral church begun by his predecessor, which he solemnly consecrated amid the great rejoicings of the people. Not long afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1125, the fourth indiction, when Gislebert, archbishop of Tours, died at Rome, at the same time as Pope Callistus II., he was called to the metroplitan see of Tours in the time of Pope Honorius, by the demands and orders of the holy church, and still continues to hold it with laudable care and exemplary conduct.

¹ The appointment of Hoel to the see of Mans was not made in 1073, but after the death of Arnold, his immediate predecessor, the 24th of July, 1097. The historians of Mans repudiate the extraordinary circumstances related by our author on the subject of his election. According to them, Hoel completed the cathedral begun by Vulgrin and Arnold, and Hildebert only erected the chapter-house and sacristy. But as the consecration of the cathedral was not made till 1120, it is hardly probable that it would have been deferred so long, if it had been finished by Hoel.

CH. XIII. *Affairs of Maine—Expedition of King William, which established his power in that province.*

As the ocean never remains in a state of complete rest, but its troubled waves are always in motion; and, though its surface at times appears calm to the unobservant spectator, those who navigate it are not the less in dread of changes and fluctuations: so this world is in a constant state of turmoil from the tide of events, and is always presenting new forms of sorrow or joy. Thus, endless altercations are constantly arising and proceeding to extremities among those unsatisfied worldlings, whose wishes the world itself is insufficient to satisfy. While each strives to be first and endeavours to tread under foot his rivals, the law of God is broken in the disregard for justice, and human blood is shed without mercy in the struggle to obtain what every one covets. This is abundantly shown by the records of ancient history, and modern reports tell the same tale in our very streets and villages. It follows that some rejoice for the moment, while others are filled with sorrow and trouble. I have already treated shortly of some instances of this kind in my present work, and shall add more, faithfully detailing what I have heard from my seniors.

Herbert, count of Maine, who was, it is said, of the race of Charlemagne, merited by his great bravery the name by which he was commonly known, in bad Latin signifying watch-dog. For after the death of Hugh his father, who was subdued by the powerful Fulk the elder, he rose in arms against the conqueror, and by his nightly expeditions, frequently alarmed the men and dogs of the city and fortified towns, so that their fears made them be on the watch against his formidable attacks.¹

¹ It has been remarked that Ordericus is very apt to multiply the number of the descendants of Charlemagne, but it is well known that on the dismemberment of the Carlovingian empire, not only the sovereign princes of the highest rank, but a vast number of the powerful nobles, who under various titles carved out for themselves independent sovereignties in fragments of the empire, strengthened their pretensions by connecting themselves with the common stock of honour and power among the Franks of the ninth and succeeding centuries. Herbert *Eveille-chien* succeeded his father, Hugh, in 1015, or earlier, and died the 15th of April, 1036. Our author has before given, vol. i. p. 448, a different and far less natural account of his strange surname.

Hugh, the son of Herbert, after Alan count of Brittany, died in Normandy from poison given him by the Normans, married his widow Bertha, daughter of Theobald count de Blois, by whom he had a son named Herbert and three daughters;¹ one of them was given in marriage to Azzo, marquis of Liguria; another, named Margaret, was betrothed to Robert, son of William duke of Normandy, but died while she was his ward, before marriage. The third married John, lord of the castle called Flèche, by whom she had three sons, Goisbert, Elias, and Enoch.²

Geoffrey Martel, the brave count of Anjou, dying, was succeeded by his two nephews, sons of his sister by Alberie, count du Gâtinois, one of whom, Geoffrey, a prince of simple and gentle manners, obtained the county in right of his being the eldest. After the death of the younger brother Herbert, William duke of Normandy acquired his share of the inheritance, and Count Geoffrey conferred the fief on Robert, with his daughter's hand in marriage, receiving from him homage and fealty in the presence of his father at Alençon. Not long afterwards Fulk, surnamed Réchin, revolted from Geoffrey his brother and liege lord, and treacherously siezing him kept him prisoner in the castle of Chinon more than thirty years. Such were the revolutions which disturbed the province of Anjou and its neighbours, and in which the nobles of the country took different sides, according to their inclinations.

While Fulk himself was deeply grieved at seeing Maine under the supremacy of the Normans, the turbulent citizens and neighbouring garrisons, with some hired soldiers, joined unanimously in a conspiracy against their foreign masters, and, vigorously assaulting the citadel and other

¹ Hugh, Herbert's son, succeeded him in 1036, and married Bertha, daughter of Eudes, count de Bois and Champagne, and widow of Alan III., duke of Brittany, who was poisoned in Normandy the 1st of October, 1040. Hugh died the 7th of April, 1051, leaving, notwithstanding what our author says, only one son and one daughter.

² Gersende, second wife of Azzo, marquis of Liguria, was sister, not daughter, of Hugh II. The same may be said of Paule or Haberge, the mother, and not the wife of John, lord of Flèche, of the family of the lords of Beauquency. For the dates of the deaths of Herbert II. and Margaret, his sister, betrothed to Robert Court-hose, see before, vol. i. pp. 448 and 449.

fortifications of the city, defeated and expelled Turgis de Traci¹ and William de la Ferté, and the rest of the king's officers. Some were slain, making a brave resistance, others were cruelly thrown into prison, and, ample revenge was taken on the Normans thus deprived of their liberty. All the country was now in a state of disturbance, the Norman power was eclipsed, and assailed by almost all, as by an universal blight. In like manner Geoffrey de Mayenne and other barons of Maine, formed a conspiracy and rose against the Normans; a few only, for their own reasons and under various circumstances, maintained their allegiance to King William.

When this great king heard the dreadful reports of the massacre of his officers, his anger was roused, and he took measures for checking the progress of his enemies, and revenging, by arms, the rebellion of the traitors as it deserved. The Normans and English were quickly summoned to the field, and the several bodies of troops being formed into one army, with horse and foot skilfully arrayed under their several commanders, he marched at the head of this formidable force into the country of Maine. He first besieged the castle of Fresnai, where he knighted Robert de Belesme. Hubert, the governor, however, came to terms, and, surrendering his castles of Fresnai and Beaumont² to the king, continued his submission for some time. Having next laid siege to the castle of Sillé, the governor gave himself up to the king and obtained peace. No one indeed was able to make any resistance to the overwhelming force of the royal army, but all the garrisons of the castles and the country people, with the clerks and monks, decided on receiving the king as the restorer of peace, with fitting honours. At length he came before Maine, and investing the place with several divisions of his army, made his royal commands duly known, imperiously requiring the citizens to consult their own safety by quietly surrendering the place, and so avoiding an assault and the consequent horrors of fire and sword. Listening to this wise counsel, the citizens came the next day, bringing with them the keys of the

¹ Turgis de Traci, near Vire, where there are still the ruins of a magnificent castle of the middle age.

² Fresnai and Beaumont, le Vicomte, both on the Sarthe.

city, and offering their submission, which the king received with favour. The rest of the people of Maine were terrified at seeing so vast and fierce an army marching through their territories, and they found that their fellow conspirators and supporters were unable to make any stand against so experienced a general. They therefore sent delegates to the conqueror to ask for peace, and terms being made, they gladly joined their standards with the royal ensigns, and were permitted thenceforth to live in peace in their own homes and under their vines, and enjoy themselves as they pleased.

Order being thus restored in Maine without much fighting, and the province continuing tranquil under the dominion of King William, Count Fulk¹ became mischievously jealous, and his anger broke forth against some of the adherents of the Normans. John de la Flèche, the most powerful lord in Anjou, who was particularly obnoxious to him on this account, having ascertained that the count was ready to fall upon him with an armed force, summoned his confederates in the neighbourhood to his assistance, and demanded the support of King William, which was granted him. For, without delay, the king sent to him William de Moulins, Robert de Vieux-Pont, and other brave and experienced knights, who were at once united by John with his own followers in the defence of his towns. Fulk, learning these dispositions, was much vexed, and immediately collecting a body of troops laid siege to John's Castle. Count Hoel² also came to the succour of Fulk with a large force of Bretons, with which he did all in his power to second the enterprise of Fulk. King William, knowing that such large bodies of troops must completely surround his own adherents, again issued a royal proclamation for mustering the Normans and English and other people under his rule, and like a resolute general led an army of 60,000 men, as report says, against the enemy. Meanwhile the Angevins and the Bretons, on hearing of the approach of the royal army, did not retire, but boldly crossed the Loire, and after effecting the passage destroyed their boats, that the hope of retreat might not make them less des-

¹ Fulk le Réchin, count d'Anjou, April 4, 1067—April 14, 1109.

² Hoel V., duke of Brittany, 1066—April 15, 1084.

perate in fighting. While, however, the two armies were in face of each other, drawn out for battle, and many hearts quailed at the fearful death, and the still more fearful fate after death, which awaits the reprobate, a cardinal priest of the Roman church, and some pious monks, interfered by divine inspiration, and remonstrated with the chiefs of both armies. They firmly forbade the battle in God's name, and used exhortations and prayers to effect a peace. Their endeavours were powerfully seconded by William of Evreux and Roger [de Montgomery],¹ and other counts and brave soldiers, who, bold and forward as they were in legitimate contests, were slack to engage in odious quarrels, brought about by pride and injustice. The messengers of Christ thus sowing the seeds of concord, the arrogance of the ambitious gave way, and the fears of the timid were gradually allayed. Many conferences were held, a variety of proposals were discussed, there was a contest of words; but by the power of God the ambassadors of peace were successful with both parties. The count of Anjou ceded his rights in Maine to the young prince Robert, the king's son, with all the fiefs which the prince acquired by Margaret his wife from Count Herbert. Finally, Robert performed due homage to Fulk, as a vassal to his superior lord. John and the other Angevins, who had borne arms for the king against the count, were reconciled to their sovereign, while, on the other hand, those of Maine, who had revolted with the count against the king, were included in the treaty. The grace of God thus reconciling the hearts of the princes, offences were repented and forgotten on one side and the other, and the good people made great rejoicings at the peace which delivered them from the lowering storms that disturbed their tranquillity. The peace between the king and the count, which was concluded at a place commonly called Blanch-Land or Blanche-Bruyère,² lasted all the king's life to the advantage of the two states.

¹ William, count d'Evreux, December 13, 1067—April 18, 1118; Roger de Montgomery, earl of Belesme, Alençon, and Shrewsbury, 1070—July 27, 1094.

² There is still a farm called Blancheland, near St. Mards de Cré, at one extremity of the vast sandy desert called the Landes, which at that time extended south of the Loire from the suburbs of La Flèche to this place.

CH. XIV. *Conspiracy of the great English nobles against King William—Arguments used to induce Earl Waltheof to join it—The rest break into open rebellion, and are defeated.*

At the same period [A.D. 1074] there arose another violent storm fraught with trouble and disaster to vast numbers in England. Two powerful English noblemen, Roger, earl of Hereford, and his brother-in-law, Ralph, earl of Norwich,¹ concerted together an open revolt, being resolved to wrest the dominion of England from King William, and to set up themselves as its sovereigns, or rather its tyrants. They therefore, rivalled each other in fortifying their castles, preparing arms, and mustering soldiers, sending frequent messengers far and near to their trusty adherents, and inviting, by entreaties and promises, all over whom they had any influence to aid their enterprise. Having reflected on the revolutions of affairs and the chances of the times, they said to their confederates and allies:² "All prudent men know that a favourable moment must not be neglected, and that when the right time is come, then it is that brave men ought boldly to engage in a work of glory. But there never was a more fitting opportunity than that which is now afforded us by the mysterious dispensations of Providence for aspiring to the throne. He who now bears the title of king is unworthy of it as being a bastard, and it must be evident that it is displeasing to God such a master should govern the kingdom. He is involved in endless quarrels in his dominions over the sea, being at variance not only with strangers but with his own children, and in the midst of his difficulties his own creatures desert him. He has deserved

¹ Roger de Breteuil, earl of Hereford; Ralph de Guader or de Gaül. The Saxon Chronicle says that he was a Welshman on his mother's side, and his father an Englishman named Ralph, and born in Norfolk. It appears, however, that the family was of the Armorican branch of the Welsh, having come from Brittany and been settled in England before the conquest. King William conferred on Ralph II. the earldoms of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the daughter of William Fitz-Osbern in marriage.

² The conspiracy was formed at the bridal feast, where the two great earls, with Waltheof and other nobles, and bishops, and abbots of the party were assembled, and as the Saxon Chronicle quaintly says—

"They quaffed bride-ale,
Source of man's bale."

this by the crimes which are openly talked of all over the world. He disinherited and drove out of Normandy William Werlenc,¹ Count de Mortain, for a single word. Walter, Count de Pontoise, nephew of King Edward, and Biota his wife, being his guests at Falaise, were both his victims by poison in one and the same night.² Conan, also, was taken off by poison at William's instigation; that valiant count whose death was mourned through the whole of Brittany with unutterable grief on account of his great virtues.³ These, and other such crimes have been perpetrated by William in the case of his own kinsfolk and relations, and he is ever ready to act the same part towards us and our peers. He has impudently usurped the glorious crown of England, iniquitously murdering the rightful heirs, or driving them into cruel banishment. He has not even rewarded according to their merits his own adherents, those by whose valour he has been raised to a pitch of eminence exceeding that of all his race. Many of these who shed their blood in his service have been treated with ingratitude, and on slight pretexts have been sentenced to death, as if they were his enemies. To his victorious soldiers, covered

¹ William Werlenc, earl of Mortaine, is only known by two passages in our author's history, and by the nineteenth chapter of the seventh book of William de Jumièges. As the circumstances connected with his being deprived of his earldom appear to have been little honourable to his sovereign, the Norman historians carefully abstain from enlarging upon them.

² See an account of these persons, and the crime of which they were victims, book iii. p. 448 of the first volume. Walter, count du Vexin, de Chaumon, and Mantis, was son of Drogo, count of the Vexin and Amiens, who died on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land with Robert, duke of Normandy, in 1035. He was nephew of Edward the Confessor, by his wife Edith, a daughter of Ethelred and Emma.

³ This is one of the foulest acts imputed to William. Conan, duke of Brittany (1040—1066), finding that the duke was on the point of withdrawing all his troops from Normandy for the invasion of England, prepared to take advantage of it by making an incursion into Lower Normandy. It appears that William could think of no other means of parrying this attack than by procuring Conan's gloves and helmet to be poisoned by one of his chamberlains who held lands in Normandy. This atrocious scheme was entirely successful. According to Conan's epitaph, he did not die till the 11th of December, which suggests the conjecture that the effects of the poison were not instant. See the Continuator of William de Jumièges, book vii. c. 33.

with wounds, were allotted barren farms and domains depopulated by the ravages of war; and even these his avarice subsequently compelled them to surrender in part or in whole. These things cause him to be generally hated, and his death would be the signal for universal joy. Now, the greatest part of his army is detained beyond sea, busily employed in continual wars. The English think of nothing but cultivating their lands, they are more intent on feasting and drinking bouts than on the thoughts of battle; but, notwithstanding, they thirst for revenge for the blood and ruin of their relations." In such language as this the conspirators vented their treason, and encouraging themselves by all sorts of motives to the execution of their wicked project, they called to their councils Waltheof, earl of Northampton, and tempted him to join them by a variety of suggestions, to this effect: "Brave sir, you may plainly see that now is your time for recovering your forfeited honours, and for securing vengeance for the unmerited injuries you have lately suffered. Join our party, and support it without faltering in your resolution, and the third part of England shall be yours, by an equal division among ourselves. It is our object that the realm of England should be restored to the same state in which it lately was in the time of Edward our most pious sovereign. Let one of us be king, the other two dukes, and thus all the honours of England will be divided among us. William is now engaged beyond the sea in endless wars which absorb his whole strength, and we know for certain that he will never land again on the shores of England. Come, then, noble sir, listen to counsels so advantageous to you and your family, and act in the manner which will prove the salvation of our enslaved fellow countrymen."

Waltheof replied as follows: "In such enterprises the utmost caution is required; and in all nations the fealty sworn by every subject to his liege lord should be faithfully kept. King William has received mine, lawfully given as to his superior lord by one holding under him, and to secure my fidelity he gave me his niece in marriage. He also gave me a rich earldom, and admitted me into the number of his familiar companions. How can I be faithless to such a prince without entirely breaking my fealty to him? I am

well known in many countries, and far from me be the disgrace which would attend my being proclaimed a sacrilegious traitor. Never was there a song so sweet as to charm away the disgrace of treason. All nations curse traitors and turncoats, as they do wolves, thinking them only fit to be hanged, and if they can catch them, condemn them to the gibbet, with all the insults and tortures they can devise. Ahitophel and Judas, both traitors and apostates, and each of them doomed to the gallows, to be suspended between heaven and earth as fit for neither, perished by their own hands. The law of England sentences a traitor to lose his head, and on his attainder the inheritance of his children is escheated. God forbid that such a crime should taint my honour, and my name be held up to scorn with such infamy throughout the world! The Lord God, who showed his power in saving David from the hands of Goliah and Saul, Adarezer and Absalom, hath delivered me also from many dangers both by sea and land. I commit myself entirely to his keeping, trusting in him that my life will never be stained with treason, and that I shall not be branded with apostacy like Satan and the fallen angels."

When Ralph the Breton and Roger heard the determination of Waltheof, they were sorely troubled, and bound him by a terrible oath not to divulge their conspiracy. Not long afterwards it suddenly burst forth into open rebellion in all parts of England, and the opposition to the king's officers became general. Upon this, William de Warrene, and Richard de Bienfaite, son of Earl Gislebert, who had been appointed chief justiciaries of England, summoned the rebels to appear in the king's high court. They, however, disdained to pay any attention to the precept, and, following up this contempt of court, set the royal authority at defiance. William and Richard, therefore, without further delay, assembled the English army, and fought a severe battle with the rebels on the plain called Fagadun.¹ By God's help they defeated the enemy, and taking them prisoners, marked every one, without regard to his rank, by amputating his right foot. Ralph the Breton was pursued to his own castle without being taken. They then concentrated

¹ Beecham or Beechamwell, near Swaffham, Norfolk (?)

their forces and invested Norwich, and adding to their strength by their display of valour and military skill, they harassed the besieged with constant assaults and their engines of war, pressing the siege for three months with unwearied vigour. The besieging army was continually augmenting, and was abundantly supplied with abundance of food and other necessities to prevent desertion. Ralph de Guader, finding himself thus shut up and expecting no relief from his accomplices, entrusted the fortress, with many cautions, to the trusty garrison, and embarked at the nearest sea-port to seek for help in Denmark. Meanwhile, the king's lieutenants, William and Robert, pressed the townsmen to surrender, while they despatched hasty messengers over the sea to the king, giving an account of these transactions and begging him to return with all speed for the defence of the kingdom.

No sooner had the indefatigable king received these tidings than he set in order the affairs of Normandy and Maine, and all being arranged, crossed over to England without loss of time. He then summoned all the great men of the realm to attend his court, and having addressed in flattering terms the lords who had been faithful to their allegiance and proved their fidelity, he demanded of the authors and supporters of the rebellion the reason why they preferred wrong to right. The garrison of Norwich having made terms, the place was given up to the king, and Ralph de Guader, earl of Norwich, was disinherited of his English honours and domains. Being banished the kingdom, he returned to Brittany with his wife and settled on his patrimonial estates which his attainder by the sovereign of England could not affect. In that province he had on his domains two noble castles, Guader and Montfort, which his sons possess by hereditary right to the present day. He himself, some years afterwards, took the cross, and accompanying Robert II., duke of Normandy, in his crusade against the Turks, and reaching Jerusalem, died, as well as his wife, a penitent and a pilgrim.

Roger de Breteuil, earl of Hereford, having obeyed the summons to attend the king's court, and an inquiry being made, his treason was so plain that he could not deny it. He was therefore judged by the Norman laws and sentenced

to the forfeiture of his lands and perpetual imprisonment. Even there he often caused the king great annoyance, and rendered him implacable by his obstinate contumacy. For instance, on one occasion when the faithful were celebrating the feast of Easter in due form, and the king had sent to Earl Roger in prison, by the hands of his guards, a box containing a suit of very valuable robes, the earl caused a large fire to be made and committed to the flames the royal presents, the surcoat, and silken tunic, and mantle of the furs of precious ermines brought from abroad. The king, hearing of this, exclaimed in great wrath: "He is very insolent to put such an affront upon me; but, by God's light,¹ he shall never get out of prison while I live." And the royal will was so determined, and so firmly carried out, that even after the king's death the earl was detained in captivity until his own death released him from it. His two sons, Reynold and Roger, young men of great promise, are now in the service of King Henry,² and in great distress, are waiting for the exercise of his clemency, which appears to them sufficiently tardy.

Truly the world's glory droops and withers like the flower of grass, and is spent and scattered like smoke. Where now is William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford, the king's lieutenant, high-steward of Normandy, and the valiant commander of the royal troops? He was, without exception, the first and greatest of the oppressors of the people of England, and amassed an enormous fortune by his exactions, causing the ruin and death of thousands by his severities. But the righteous Judge, who seeth all things, rewards every man according to his deserts. Miserable fate! Earl William falls, and the bold warrior receives the punishment he deserves. Many had fallen by his sword, and by the sword he himself was suddenly cut off. After his death, before five years elapsed, the spirit of discord stirred up his son and son-in-law to hostilities against their lord and kinsman, the same spirit which wrought in the Schechemites against Abimelech whom they had set over them after slaying the seventy sons of Jerobaal. I have thus correctly described

¹ An oath frequently used by William the Conqueror.

² This paragraph, therefore, was written in the reign of Henry I. of England, who died December 1, 1135.

the crime for which the race of William Fitz-Osbern has so entirely disappeared in England, that, if I mistake not, the slightest trace of it cannot there be found.

CH. XV. *Trial and execution of Earl Waltheof for alleged complicity in the rebellion.*

EARL WALTHEOF was summoned before the king, and accused, on the testimony of his wife Judith, of having been privy to and encouraged the conspiracy already spoken of, and thus become guilty of treason against his sovereign. The earl fearlessly acknowledged that the conspirators had communicated to him their nefarious designs, but declared that he had refused all concurrence in such wickedness. This confession caused much discussion on the judgment to be pronounced, and there being great difference in opinion among the members of the court, it was deferred, by successive adjournments, for a whole year. Meanwhile, the earl was kept in close custody in the king's prison at Winchester, where he often deplored his offences, confessing them with tears in his eyes to the good bishops and abbots who visited him in his confinement. For the space of a year, under the direction of the priests, he continued his penance, chanting in his daily devotions the one hundred and fifty psalms of David which he had learnt in his childhood. Waltheof was in person tall and stout, very handsome, and superior to thousands in generosity and courage; devoted to God, he listened with humility to the instructions of the clergy of every class, and was a kind friend to the church and the poor. For these and many other Christian virtues which distinguished him above all the rest of the laity, he was much beloved both by his own people and by strangers who had regard to the will of God, so that his deliverance from prison was anxiously looked for during the year's delay. At last his enemies assembled in such numbers in the king's court as to form the majority, and after much discussion prevailed in getting him sentenced to death for having made himself a party to the treasonable conspiracy of his fellow lords by not openly resisting their designs against the king's life, or at once denouncing their criminal projects. No time for respite was granted, as the Normans were apprehensive of his escape, and greedy to get

possession of his ample domains and high honours. He was therefore hurried, at dawn of day, while the people were yet asleep, to the hill on which the church of St. Giles, abbot and confessor, was afterwards built;¹ and having distributed among the clergy and poor who happened to be present the robes of honour which his rank of earl entitled him to wear, he threw himself on the ground and continued some time in prayer to God, mixed with sobbings and tears. The executioners, dreading that the townsmen when they awoke would rise in arms to resist the king's warrant, and, taking the part of so noble a countryman, massacre the royal guards, called to the kneeling earl: "Rise, sir, that we may execute our lord's commands." To which he replied, "Wait awhile, for the love of God Almighty, at least while I say the Lord's prayer on your behalf and my own." As they gave their consent, the earl rose from the ground, and on bended knees, with eyes raised to heaven and hands uplifted, began to say aloud "Our Father which art in heaven." But when he came to the last petition, having said, "Lead us not into temptation," his tears fell so fast, and his sobbings were so violent, that he was unable to conclude the prayer he had begun. The executioner would wait no longer, but drawing his sword severed the earl's head from his body with a single stroke. But the head, after it was severed,² uttered with a loud and distinct voice, in the hearing of all present, the words: "But deliver us from evil. Amen!" Thus Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester, on the morning of the second of the calends of May [30th April].³ His body was, without ceremony, thrown into a hole dug on the spot, which is now covered with the green turf. The townsmen, roused from their sleep by reports of what was going on, abandoned themselves to grief, men and women

¹ The ruins of the hospital dedicated to St. Giles are still seen on the hill here mentioned, which is separated from Winchester by the river Itchin.

² We should have been glad to have avoided leaving any blemish on a very affecting and interesting narrative, by using the phrase, "in the act of being severed," but the text is too stubborn to be so dealt with: *caput, postquam præsectum fuit*.

³ Earl Waltheof was executed on the 31st of May, and not on the 30th of April, 1075. Consult for further particulars *Ingulphus*, and the *Vita et passio Waldevi Comitiss; Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, t. ii. Rouen, 1836.

joining in loud lamentations for the fate of Earl Waltheof. Fifteen days afterwards, at Judith's request and with the king's permission, Ufkytel, abbot of Croyland, came to the place, and raising the bloody corpse which exhibited no signs of decay, the blood being as fresh as if the earl was just dead, conveyed it to the abbey of Croyland, followed by the lamentations of vast crowds of people, and there gave it honourable interment in the chapter-house of the monks.

CH. XVI. *Life of St. Guthlac, the hermit of Croyland, abridged from the Acts of that saint, written by the monk Felix.*

I TAKE the liberty of inserting in this part of my poor work an abridgment which I have lately made from the Life of St. Guthlac, the hermit, at the desire of the venerable prior Wulfine. A bishop of the East-Angles named Felix, a native of Burgundy, and a prelate of great sanctity, wrote an account of the acts of the holy hermit, which is very long, and the style rather obscure.¹ I have cleared up its difficulties, to the best of my ability, in the short compilation which I made in compliance with the flattering request of the brethren of Croyland Abbey, where I resided five weeks,² the venerable abbot Geoffrey having kindly laid his commands upon me to that effect. My account of Earl Waltheof has given occasion to this notice of the holy hermit, for the earl was a kind brother and ally of the monks of Croyland, as I shall carefully relate in the close of this history from the reports of the older brethren. I have no sort of doubt that the acts of the Saxon and English saints, across the channel, would be no less profitable to the faithful Cisalpines, than those compiled on Greek and Egyptian saints by the zeal of the learned, delightful and useful as those collections are. I think, moreover, that, little as

¹ The history of St. Guthlac could not have been written by Bishop Felix, who was raised to the see of Dunwich by Sigebert, king of East Anglia, and filled it A.D. 629—632. It is the work of another Felix, a disciple of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and monk of Jarrow, who wrote it about the middle of the eighth century. Mabillon has inserted it in the *Acta SS. ord. S. Benedicti*, sæc. iii. p. 1.

² Probably about the time of his visit to Worcester, the only occasion, as it appears, on which Ordericus came over to England, after leaving it at a very early age.

the former are known among our countrymen, they cannot fail of giving satisfaction, so ardent was the charity with which these saints were inflamed, and with such sorrow they deplored their sins from the bottom of their hearts.

Guthlac was born in the time of Ethelred king of the English,¹ Guthlac having Penvald, sprung from Icles lord of the Mercians, for his father, and Tetta for his mother. At his birth a sign in the heavens was manifest to the people; for a hand was seen stretched out from the clouds towards a cross which stood before the door of the house where Tetta was in labour. After eight days the child was baptized, and named Guthlac, that is, the gift of war, from the tribe which is called Guthlacingas. After a gentle childhood, when he felt the impulses of youth and studied the valiant deeds of heroes, he collected his dependants and gave himself up to the career of arms, ravaging and destroying the villages and castles of his adversaries with fire and sword. Gathering immense booty, he made voluntary restitution of a third part of the plunder, for the love of God, to those from whom it was taken. After pursuing this course of life for nine years, causing great losses to his enemies in person and goods, he began to reflect on the uncertainty of this mortal life and the instability of all human things, and coming to himself in a state of alarm, and examining his conduct as if death was before his eyes, he resolved to enter on a better course of life. He therefore left his comrades and relations, quitting his own country, and holding cheap even the companions of his childhood for the sake of Christ, and in the twenty-fourth year of his age renounced all worldly vanities and entered the monastery of Ripandun, when he assumed the tonsure and clerical dress under the abbess whose name was Elfrida.² From that time he abstained from excessive drinking and every kind of debauchery with the utmost care, devoting himself to a good and religious life with all the zeal which human nature

¹ Ethelred, king of Mercia, 675—704, when he resigned his crown, and became a monk at Bardney Abbey.

² According to Mabillon, this is the monastery called Rapendum by William of Malmesbury, and which was in Cheshire. It must not be confounded with that of Ripon in Yorkshire, where there never was a convent of nuns. Another conjecture places it at Repton in Derbyshire where there was a very ancient monastery.

is capable of. For two years he was trained in sacred studies and monastic discipline, but he was not content to rest there, for it was his object to engage in the single combat of a hermit's life and meet the enemy face to face.

Having at length obtained leave from his superiors, he was ferried over in a fishing-boat to a place called Croyland by a man named Tatwine. There lies in the middle district of England a vast and inhospitable marsh, which begins from the bank of the river Granta,¹ and extends over a very extensive tract from south to north, parallel with the sea. The surface is broken into ponds and lakes, and sometimes by dark watercourses, and islands covered with thick underwood, among which the rivulets wind in irregular channels. Many had made the attempt to settle themselves in these fens, but had been so terrified by the strange monsters which made it their habitation, and other alarming objects, that they soon abandoned so gloomy a residence. Guthlac, having surveyed Croyland in the summer season, returned to his brothers and superiors, from whom he had parted without taking leave; but three months afterwards, on the eighth of the calends of September [24th August], he returned, in company with two boys, to the spot he had chosen for his hermitage, being then of the age of twenty-four years. It was the day on which the feast of St. Bartholomew is observed, to whom he prayed to be his friend and defender in all adversities.

For fifteen years the saint used neither woollen nor linen garments, but was covered with skins, and lived on barley-bread and muddy water, using these sparingly after the sun was set. Satan tried a thousand ways to entangle him in his nets, or at least to drive him from his hermitage.

Once he was beginning to despair of completing a work on which he had laboured for three days, when suddenly Bartholomew, his faithful patron, appeared to him visibly during his morning watch, and allaying his fears with spiritual comfort, promised him his continual help; and he faithfully fulfilled his promise on various occasions in which he was tempted.

Another day two demons came to him in human shape,

¹ Every one knows that this is the ancient name of the Cam, on which Cambridge stands.

and tempted him to endeavour to fast like Moses and Elias and the Egyptian fathers ; but the saint began to sing, and to show his contempt of them, proceeded to eat a piece of barley-bread.

At one time when the man of God was employed in watching and prayer through the dreary hours of the night, he saw troops of demons enter his cell from all sides. Having bound him hand and foot, they carried him forth and plunged him into a muddy pond. They then dragged him through the roughest parts of the marsh, where the thorns grew thickest, and having thus torn his flesh, commanded him to quit his hermitage. The saint refusing, they scourged him with iron rods, and after subjecting him to severe tortures, transported him into the cold regions above the clouds. They then, accompanied by legions of devils who assembled from the north, brought him with threatening aspect to the gulf of Tartarus. On seeing the gates of hell Guthlac began to be frightened, but despising the demons' threats, he prayed inwardly to God. Instantly St. Bartholomew stood by him arrayed in robes of celestial light and commanded his foes to carry him back in perfect safety to his own cell. The demons, groaning, obeyed the apostle's commands, and angels rejoicing met him singing : "The just shall go from strength to strength."¹

Overtimes and in various ways the demons tried to terrify Guthlac, but, the Lord being his helper, he foiled all their attempts. He stood fearless in the strength of his virtues, endured severe struggles in the conflict, and defeated all the attacks of the devil. In the time of Cenred, king of Mercia,² Becelin, a clerk who was tempted by the devil to kill the man of God while he was renewing his tonsure, was rebuked by him for conceiving such a crime in his heart. But the clerk, when he saw that his wickedness was known, threw himself at the saint's feet, confessed his crime, and, obtaining pardon, promised thenceforth to become his companion.

A crow, having stolen a piece of parchment, let it fall on some bulrushes hanging over the water in the middle of a pool, but through the merits of the man of God, restored it safe to the writer, who had been sorely afflicted at the loss.

¹ Ps. lxxxiii. 8.

² Cenred, king of Mercia, 704—708.

Two crows which frequented the island were very troublesome to St. Guthlac, destroying, throwing into the water, tearing to pieces, and fouling everything they could; doing all this mischief indoors and out, without any respect to the man of God; but he bore it all with patience, according to his vows. The birds which wandered over that waste wilderness, and the fishes which darted across its muddy waters, came flying and swimming to his call, as sheep come to their shepherd's voice, and took their food from his hand, as the instinct of each required. In the presence of the venerable Wilfrid, when two sparrows were flitting gaily about him, according to their nature, and settled on his arms, and knees, and bosom, singing, he put straw in his chimney, and so showed them where to make their nest; for they would not have ventured to build it in Guthlac's hermitage without his leave.

Wilfrid had one day brought the exiled Ethelbald¹ to visit the man of God, and having left his gloves in the boat which brought them over, the mischievous crows carried them off. The saint presently learned this, while sitting in his porch, by divine inspiration, and mentioned it to Wilfrid during their conference. Shortly afterwards his regrets were ended by the gloves being restored by virtue of the saint's faith and prayers.

Whitred, a noble youth of East Anglia, was possessed by the devil, by whom he was miserably vexed for four years, wounding and tearing himself and all he could get at with wood and iron, his teeth, and his nails. At one time, when a number of men tried to manacle him, he seized an axe, and killed three of them. After the four years were ended, he was brought to Croyland; and the man of God, taking him by the hand, led him into his oratory, and continuing in prayer and fasting three days delivered him from all vexations of the evil spirit.

Egga, Ethelbald's companion in his exile, was so possessed by an unclean spirit that he neither knew what he was, nor where he was, nor what he did. In this state he was brought to the threshold of Guthlac, and, having put the saint's girdle round his loins, he recovered his senses, and for the

¹ Ethelbald became afterwards king of Mercia, and reigned prosperously forty years, from 715—756.

rest of his life kept the girdle, and continued to be of a sound mind.

Moreover, Guthlac, the man of God, was gifted with the spirit of prophecy, and was in the habit of predicting future events, and telling to those who were with him what took place in their absence. In this way he told to a certain abbot, who came to him for a pious conference, all the circumstances attending a visit by two of his clergy to a widow's cottage, before the third hour, to get drunk. He rebuked two other monks for concealing two bottles of beer under the sands in the marsh, and kindly pardoned them as they knelt before him, astonished at the extent of the saint's knowledge.

St. Guthlac's fame being noised abroad far and wide, numbers of all ranks resorted to him; abbots, monks, earls, the rich, the poor, and the oppressed, from the neighbouring districts of Mercia, and from remote quarters of Britain, all seeking relief either for their souls or bodies; and each one who came in faith obtained what he sought: the sick, a cure; the sorrowful, joy; the penitent, consolation; and every anxious soul received comfort from the conversation and efficacious prayers of the man of God.

Obba, one of the companions of the exile Ethelbald, when walking through a rough field, was wounded in the foot by thorns, which were covered by the coarse grass, so that his whole body swelled from his feet to his loins, and the extreme pain would not allow him either to sit, stand, or lie in quiet, and he could scarcely make his way to Croyland. Presently he was brought to the man of God, and the cause of his pain related, upon which Guthlac wrapped round him the sheepskin rug in which he was used to pray, and the thorn darted from his foot, as quick as thought, like an arrow from a bow. The same hour all the inflammation ceased, and the sick man, restored to health, gave thanks to God with those who were witnesses of his cure.

It happened that Chad the bishop,¹ with certain monks and laymen, came to visit Guthlac, and during their journey had various conversations about the holy man. The bishop, finding the holy man enlightened by divine grace and full of wisdom in expounding the holy scriptures, com-

¹ St. Chad, bishop of Dorchester, 676—July 6, 705.

pelled him by his duty of inviolable obedience to receive the office of the priesthood, after he had consecrated the church of Croyland, on the twelfth of the calends of September [August 21st]. On this occasion the holy man was forced to dine with the bishop, contrary to his habits. While there he observed Wigfrid, the librarian, sitting apart, and began to question him relative to the promise he had made the day before to his companions on the road, that he would find out whether the hermit's piety was true or pretended. Wigfrid, blushing, threw himself on the ground and asked for pardon, which he obtained; while all were astonished that their conversation on the road was thus revealed by the Spirit of God to the holy saint.

The very reverend abbess Egburg, daughter of King Aldulf,¹ having humbly requested Guthlac by her messenger, he accepted from her a leaden coffin, with a shroud to wrap his corpse after his death; and when he was asked who would be his successor in that place, he answered, that he was still a heathen. This happened; for Cessa, who afterwards occupied his cell, was baptized some time afterwards in Brittany. Child-Ethelbald,² who was driven from place to place by the persecutions of King Ceolred,³ when his strength was exhausted by the sufferings he underwent, came, as he was wont, to the man of God, that when human counsels failed he might obtain those that were divine. Guthlac administered to him the kindest consolations, promising him, by inspiration of the Spirit of God, the throne of his kingdom and the government of the people, and the subjection of his enemies; and all this, not by force of arms, and shedding of blood, but by the hand of the Lord. These things came to pass in the manner the man of God predicted, for Ceolred died and Ethelbald ascended the throne.

After having spent fifteen years in his hermitage, the venerable Guthlac fell sick four days before Easter; but making an effort beyond his strength he got up and celebrated mass on Easter day. On the seventh day of his sickness he gave orders to Beccel his servant, that when he

¹ Aldulf, king of East Anglia in Bede's time, 664—680 or 683.

² *Clito*; "Child and Etheling," were the Anglo-Saxon titles for the heir apparent.

³ Ceolred, king of Mercia, 709—716.

was dead he should fetch his sister Pega to wind his corpse in the shroud placed in the coffin which Egburg had sent him. Then Beccel began to pray and conjure the man of God to tell him before his death, who it was with whom he heard him converse every morning and evening. The kind-hearted champion of God, taking breath, after a short interval replied: "My son, give yourself no concern on that account. What I would not reveal to any one during my life I shall now open to you. From the second year of my dwelling in this hermitage, the Lord sent an angel morning and evening to comfort me by his discourse; and he made known to me mysteries which it is not lawful for man to relate; he alleviated the sufferings of my painful labours by heavenly consolations; and he showed to me things absent as if they were present. O my son, preserve my words, and tell them to no one but to Pega or the hermit Egbert." When he had finished speaking, so sweet an odour proceeded from his mouth that the perfume filled the whole house. The following night, while the brother Beccel was watching, he perceived the whole house to be irradiated with a brilliant light from midnight to the dawn of day. As the sun was rising, the man of God, raising himself up a little, and stretching out his hands towards the altar, strengthened himself with the communion of the body and blood of Christ. He then lifted his eyes to heaven and raised his hands on high, and so his soul departed to everlasting bliss in the year of our Lord 715.¹

Meanwhile, Beccel beheld the house filled with celestial light, and what seemed to be a tower of flame raised from earth to heaven, compared with which splendour the sun paled its fires like a candle at noonday. The vault of heaven rung with angelic chants, while the whole island was perfumed with the essence of all fragrant and spicy odours. The aforesaid brother, terrified at these wonderful signs, and the flashings of intense light being insupportable, took a boat, and passing over to Pega, the virgin of Christ, he informed her of what had taken place, and communicated to her the last commands of her brother. She mourned his loss with deep sorrow: the next day she accompanied the reverend brother to Croyland, and the third she interred

¹ A.D. 714. *Saxon Chronicle.*

Guthlac's blessed remains in the oratory, according to his wishes. The Lord afterwards wrought there numerous miracles by healing the sick, on account of the merits of his faithful servant. On the anniversary of St. Guthlac, his sister Pega assembled priests and others of the ecclesiastical order, and opened the grave in order to transfer the corpse into another tomb. The body of the saint was then found to be perfect as it was in his life-time, and the clothes in which it was wrapped were as white as ever, and shone with all their former purity. The whole company being astonished and trembling at the miracle they saw, Pega, moved by the Spirit, reverently inclosed the holy body in the shroud which Egburg the abbess had sent for that purpose during Guthlac's life, and caused the coffin to be placed above-ground, as a monument; and as such it is preserved with reverence to the present day.

The exile Ethelbald, already named, on hearing of the holy man's death, came to the spot in much affliction. He was sleeping in a neighbouring hut after pouring out his soul with tears and prayers at the tomb, when the saint appeared to him, and, offering him consolation, promised him that he should ascend the throne before a year was past.¹ On his asking a sign, the saint foretold, that before the third hour of the morrow an unexpected supply of food should be furnished for the maintenance of the dwellers in Croyland; which happened accordingly. Ethelbald, having succeeded to the throne, caused the tomb of the venerable Guthlac to be enclosed with buildings of admirable architecture and richly ornamented.

A certain master of a family, in the province of Wisa,² lost his eyesight a whole year, and failed to recover it by the application of any sort of ointment. At length he was brought to Croyland, full of faith, and seeking a conference with the holy virgin Pega, received permission to enter the oratory and stretch himself by the side of the sacred remains. Meanwhile Pega dissolved in water a particle of

¹ As observed in a former note, Ethelbald succeeded to the throne of Mercia in 716.

² In the narrative of Felix, it is called Wissa; the country of the Huiccii or Wiccii, a British tribe, who inhabited Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and the north of Gloucestershire.

salt, which had been consecrated by the holy man, and inserted some drops within the eyelids of the blind man. As soon as the first drop touched his eyes the sight was restored; and having recovered it by the merits of St. Guthlac, the master of a family offered his thanks. Many others, labouring under various infirmities, having heard reports of the miracles of the blessed Guthlac, resorted to the marshes of Croyland, where the holy remains repose, and, recovering their health through his merits, gave thanks to God.

CH. XVII. *Foundation of Croyland Abbey, by Ethelbald, king of Mercia—Ravages of the Danes—Its restoration by Turkytel—Series of abbots to Ingulphus and Godfrey—Miracles wrought at the tomb of Earl Waltheof—his epitaph.*

THUS far I have followed the account of bishop Felix¹ in my short abridgment of the acts of St. Guthlac, inserted in this work for the glory of God and the edification of the faithful. What now remains to be told of the building of Croyland Abbey and its possession by the monks, I derive from the exact recital made to me by Ansgot the sub-prior, and others of the oldest monks. King Ethelbald, as his blessed comforter was displaying his glory in the working of miracles, visited his tomb with joy, and granted for ever to the servants of the saint the possessions which he had conferred on him on mounting the throne.² For on one occasion, the king coming to Croyland to visit his patron before his departure, the man of God asked for the grant of a quiet abode in the island, and Ethelbald gave him a tract of land five miles long on the east, where it was bounded by a ditch, called Asen-dyk,³ three on the west, two on the south, and two on the north, free from all rent, and secular

¹ See note before, p. 86.

² Ordericus seems to have forgotten that in the preceding chapter he has made St. Guthlac's death precede Ethelbald's accession. We may suppose that this gift may have been promised, or perhaps even made, in anticipation; but our author's language in the succeeding sentence is precise as to an actual grant to the saint. Ingulphus gives the charter, the date of which is 716.

³ This ditch, which was in the neighbourhood of Spalding, lay to the north, and not the east of Croyland.

customs and demands of every sort. The charter granting it was sealed by Ethelbald in the presence of his bishops and great men.

The soil of Croyland being marshy, as the name indicates, (for Croyland signifies a crude or spongy land), it would not allow of a foundation of masonry, and therefore king Ethelbald caused an immense number of oak piles to be driven into the ground, and hard earth to be conveyed in boats from the uplands,¹ at a distance of nine miles, and mixed with the loose soil of the marsh. Thus he laid the foundations of a stone church, which he afterwards completed, but St. Guthlac had been content with an oratory of wattled boughs. The king assembled there men devoted to a religious life, founded a monastery, enriched it with ornaments, revenues, and other possessions, in honour of God and the holy hermit to whom he had been firmly attached by reason of the soothing consolation he had often received from him during his banishment. He showed his regard for the place all his life, and since its first foundation by this king the house of Croyland has not ceased to be a settlement of monks to the present day. Kenulf,² who governed the monastery of St. Guthlac for some time, had a great reputation in those days, and from him the boundary stone which he set up between the abbey lands and those of the people of Deeping,³ is still called Kenulf-stan.

England was soon afterwards shaken by the tempests of successive wars, and the native kings being defeated by Inguar, Halfdene, and Guthrum,⁴ and other Danish and Norwegian chiefs, the abbey of Croyland was ravaged, like many others; it was stripped of its ornaments, the farms laid waste, and subjected to laymen contrary to canonical law. But the divine goodness, which sometimes allows the wicked to prevail for a season to punish the people's sins, saw fit, after their chastisement, to restore quiet times under the government of their lawful rulers. The cruel tyrants

¹ "Uppalonda:" our author has coined a Latin word to render literally an old English phrase.

² Kenulf was a monk of Evesham when Ethelbald selected him to take the charge of the new establishment at Croyland.

³ *Deepingenses*. The village is situated to the west of Croyland.

⁴ Inguar, 870; Halfdene, 876; Guthrum, 877—890. The Danish invasions began in the early part of the reign of Ethelwulf, 837—857.

who had murdered St. Edmund, king of the East Angles, and numbers of the faithful, and had given the churches of the saints and the habitations of Christian men to the flames, were, by God's help, destroyed, subjugated, or expelled; Alfred, son of King Ethelwulf, obtaining the ascendancy, and being the first of the English kings who was monarch of all England. After him, his son Edward, surnamed the Elder, had a long and prosperous reign, and at his death left his dominions to his three sons, Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred. All these successively ascended the throne of England, and each in his time exerted himself to govern well and benefit his subjects.¹

In the time of king Edred, a clerk at London named Turkytel asked the king to give him the abbey of Croyland, with which request the king willingly complied. This clerk was of the royal race, and a relation of Oskytel² metropolitan of York; he was very wealthy, having vast domains, all which he thought of no value compared with the heavenly inheritance. He had asked Croyland of the king, as we have already seen, not to increase his possessions, but because he knew the religious men who dwelt in its solitudes surrounded by swamps and marshes, and determined to devote himself there to God's worship, spurning all the delights of the present world. Having therefore ordered his affairs with prudence, he became a monk of Croyland; and the number of monks having been increased by his zeal, he became their superior and abbot, by the will of God and lawful election of the brethren. Turkytel was an intimate friend of some of the holy bishops who then presided over the English church.

¹ It is singular that, among so many circumstantial details connected with the history of Croyland abbey, our author, after describing its flourishing state at its first foundation, should proceed to give an account of its restoration after the devastations of the Danes, without any particular account of that memorable passage in its annals. This is the more extraordinary as the preceding paragraph has the character of a peroration preparatory to some precise information on the subject of this disaster, and it would almost appear that a paragraph containing it is wanting.

² Turkytel and Oskytel are clearly Danish names, as were those of some of the first abbots and monks of Croyland after its restoration, and many of their domains betray the same origin. In fact, Croyland became the favourite religious house and seat of education of the Anglo-Danes, who formed so large a part of the population of the middle and eastern districts of England.

Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, afterwards archbishop of York, by whose counsels he earnestly strove to be guided. He was, as I have before remarked, of high birth, and, inheriting sixty manors from his ancestors, he gave for the good of their souls six vills to the abbey of Croyland, viz., Wendlinburg, Beby, Wridthorpe, Elminton, Cottenham, and Oakington.¹ The charter was confirmed by the seal of the powerful king Edgar, son of King Edmund. Archbishop Dunstan also and his suffragans ratified the grant of the aforesaid lands by making the sign of the cross on the charter, and the archbishop denounced the penalty of excommunication,² and eternal malediction on those who should plunder the church of any of the possessions before named, unless they made sufficient amends.

A long time afterwards, Turkeytel having died on the 4th of the ides [12th] of July,³ was succeeded by his nephew Egelric, who on his death left the abbey of Croyland to another Egelric, his kinsman. At his decease Oskytel, a monk who was of the royal race, was made abbot. His sister Leniova was abbess of Eynesbury,⁴ where the body of St. Neot, abbot and confessor,⁵ then lay, but the service was not such as befitted the memory of so great a saint. In consequence, this lady removed to Whittlesea, and invited there abbot Oskytel her brother, and some monks of Croyland, and delivered to them the body of St. Neot, which she had brought there with all honour, thinking them more worthy than herself. The monks received with joy the gift God had sent them, and deposited it with great ceremony near the altar of St. Mary, mother of God, on the north

¹ See the charter in Ingulphus. Its date is 966. Beby is in Leicestershire, Wridthorpe and Elminton, in Northamptonshire, and Cottenham and Oakington, in Cambridgeshire.

² Dunstan's name appears subscribed to the charter of Edgar, but the instrument denouncing the excommunication is a distinct document.

³ In the year 957.

⁴ In Huntingdonshire. The ancient name of this place was Arnulphsbury.

⁵ St. Neot was the founder of an abbey, which bore his name, near Liskeard in Cornwall. He afterwards founded another at Eynesbury, where he ended his days. He died about the year 877. St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire became ultimately a priory of Bec.

side of their church. To this day it is the object of the faithful's veneration, and St. Neot's feast is kept on the second of the calends of August [31st July]. On the death of Oskytel, on the twelfth of the calends of November [21st October],¹ he was succeeded by Goodrich, who going the way of all flesh on the fourteenth of the calends of February [14th January],² Brihtmer was appointed abbot.

At that time there was a convent at Pegeland,³ presided over by an abbot named Wulfgate, a man of noble birth. There Pega, St. Guthlac's sister, was for a long time a servant of the Lord. After her brother's death, she used all her endeavours to wear out her life for the love of Christ, by still severer austerities. She therefore undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, to pray at the threshold of the holy apostles for herself and her kinsfolk, and she there triumphantly departed on the sixth of the ides [8th] of January.⁴ Her remains repose in the church built at Rome to her honour by the faithful, and are in high veneration for the many benefits conferred by her on those who faithfully invoke her.

Brihtmer, abbot of Croyland, having died on the seventh of the ides [7th] of April,⁵ Wulfgate, the superior of the monastery of Pegeland, asked permission of King Edward, son of Ethelred, to unite the flocks of the two monasteries, and to make of them, for God's glory, a single convent, under one abbot and one rule, which the king soon afterwards graciously acceded to. After having the charge of Croyland for a number of years, Wulfgate died on the nones [7th] of July,⁶ and Ulfkytel, a monk of Peterborough, by permission of his abbot Leofric, received the government of the abbey of Croyland from King Edward. He held it twenty-four years, and began the building of a new church, the old one threatening to fall to ruins. His great patron in this undertaking was Waltheof, earl of Northampton,

¹ In the year 1005.

² In 1018.

³ "Now Peakirk in Northamptonshire."—*Le Prévost*.

⁴ Pega's journey to Rome is supposed to have been made in the year 717, but we have no account of the honour paid to her memory, or of the church dedicated to her in that city.

⁵ In the year 1048.

⁶ In 1052; Wulfgate, therefore, was abbot only four years.

son of Siward, earl of Northumbria, who gave the vill of Barnack¹ to the servants of God and St. Guthlac. Not long afterwards the malice of the Normans, who were jealous of him, and feared his distinguished qualities, brought him to the block, at Winchester, contrary to all justice, and to the great grief of the people at large, on the day before the calends of June [30th May], his body being carried to Croyland by Abbot Ulfkytel, at the entreaty of his wife Judith, and by permission of King William.

Not long afterwards, this abbot, who was English born, and therefore disliked by the Normans, being accused by his competitors, was deposed by archbishop Lanfranc, and sent into confinement at Glastonbury.² Upon this, the abbey of Croyland was conferred by King William on Ingulfus, a monk of Fontenelles; and he governed it twenty-four years in difficult circumstances. He was an Englishman by birth, had been secretary to the king,³ and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return, he went to Fontenelles and assumed the monastic habit under Abbot Gerbert, from whom, having made proficiency in the conventual rules, he received the office of prior. The king, who had long known him, requested his abbot to give him up, and sent him to preside over the monks of Croyland. After he became abbot, he kindly used his influence with King William on behalf of his predecessor, and obtained permission for him to return to Peterborough abbey, of which he had been a monk, and where he died some years afterwards on the 7th of the ides [7th] of June.⁴

Meanwhile, abbot Ingulfus did all he could to benefit the monastery of which he had undertaken the charge; but he had, by God's will, to struggle with many difficulties. In the first place, part of the abbey church, with the sacristy,

¹ Barnack in Northamptonshire, celebrated for its quarries.

² In 1075. The installation of Ingulphus took place the 25th of January, 1076. See in his history details of the ceremony, and the circumstances which preceded it.

³ He was employed by William in that capacity during his visit to England in 1051. When the invading expedition was fitting out in 1066, Ingulphus, as prior of Fontenelles, or St. Wandrille, presented the duke, on the part of his abbot Gerbert, twelve knights and one hundred silver marks as the contingent of that abbey.

⁴ Ulfkytel died the 30th of September, 1085.

vestments, books, and many other necessary articles, were consumed by a fire which broke out suddenly.¹ Then, he himself, being grievously afflicted with the gout, was in a bad state of health long before his death, but his active mind would not allow the society to suffer by his infirmities. Ingulphus caused the remains of Earl Waltheof to be transferred from the chapter-house into the church, and ordered warm water to be got ready to wash the bones. But when the lid of the coffin was removed, the corpse was discovered to be as sound after its repose of sixteen years as on the day it was buried, and the head was reunited to the body; only there was a red streak round the neck where the head had been severed; and this was seen by the monks and several laymen who had gathered round. The body having been thus translated into the church, and interred with great ceremony near the altar,² miracles were often performed there. The truth of this is experienced by the sick, who, seeking their cure in faith, frequently obtain the benefit they implore.

At length, Abbot Ingulph, dying on the sixteenth of the calends of December [16th November],³ he was succeeded by Geoffrey, who conferred many benefits on the abbey of Croyland and its inhabitants, through his love of goodness and virtue. He was a Frenchman by birth, of the city of Orleans, and having pursued liberal studies from an early age, and become deeply versed in literature, took a distaste to worldly objects, and, inflamed with divine love, devoted himself to a monastic life in the abbey of St. Evroult, which that saint had founded at Ouche in the time of Childebert, king of the Franks.⁴ In that monastery where piety is more abundant than wealth, Geoffrey becoming a novice under Abbot Mainier, whose zeal procured him a great reputation, after a time took the vows and became a monk, and having worthily filled various offices was promoted to

¹ This fire happened in 1091.

² This translation was also made in the year 1091.

³ The real date of Ingulphus's death was the 17th of December, 1109. He was interred on St. Thomas's day, the 21st.

⁴ Childebert I. died in 558. St. Evroult retired to the forest of Ouche about the year 560. Our author probably means Childebert II., king of Austrasia, who paid a visit to the holy monk about the year 593, as we find in b. vi. c. 9.

that of prior fifteen years after his profession. At last, in the year of our Lord 1109,¹ by command of Henry king of England, he undertook the government of the abbey of Croyland. He began the new church in a splendid style of architecture, and many other useful works; and during the fifteen years he held the dignity of abbot, earnestly laboured for their completion, for the benefit of his own soul and of those committed to his charge.

In the third year of abbot Ingulph, miracles began to be wrought at the tomb of Earl Waltheof, the news of which caused great delight among his countrymen. The English common people crowded in great numbers to his tomb, hearing that God had honoured him with many significant tokens of his merits, and both exhibiting their joy at this new thing, and interceding for succour in their various necessities. On seeing this, a Norman monk whose name was Audin, was much enraged, laughing at the crowd of votaries and mocking and disparaging the earl himself, and giving out that he was a base traitor and deserved to lose his head for his crime, as he had done. Abbot Geoffrey, hearing of this, mildly expostulated with Audin, as he was a foreigner, reminding him that it was sinful to disparage the divine operations, because God had promised to display his presence to the faithful to the end of the world, and had declared that the sincerely penitent should drink of the fountain of his inexhaustible mercy. However, while the abbot was thus endeavouring to restrain his folly, and he vented his spleen in words which became continually more unbeseeming, he was suddenly seized with fainting at the heart in the abbot's presence, and died a few days afterwards in the church of St. Alban the first English martyr; where he had made his monastic profession. The following night, when Abbot Geoffrey was lying on his bed reflecting anxiously on the events just related, he presently saw himself in a vision at the tomb of Earl Waltheof, and the holy saints, Bartholomew the apostle and Guthlac the hermit, standing near in robes of shining white. The apostle, as appeared in the vision, laid his hand on the head of the earl reunited to the body, saying: "He is not headless." Guthlac, who stood at the foot of the corpse, now took up the

¹ Abbot Geoffrey was installed on Palm Sunday, 1110.

word, and said: "He was an earl". . . . The apostle interrupted the speaker and thus finished the sentence: "And is now a king."¹ The abbot having heard these things and reported them to the brethren, they were filled with joy and gave glory to the Lord God, who in all ages never ceases to show his mercy to those who believe in him. Having spent fifteen years in his government, the venerable abbot and priest Geoffrey died on the nones [5th] of June; and was succeeded by Waltheof, an Englishman and monk of Croyland, who was brother of Earl Cospatrick,² and of high English lineage. Miracles becoming more frequent at Croyland the monks were filled with joy, and wishing to pay all the honour in their power to the remains of the great earl, engaged Vitalis, the Englishman, to write his epitaph in heroic verse. Paying a ready obedience to their request, after some reflection, he repeated the following verses:—

Beneath this stone a noble warrior lies,
 Earl Waltheof, great in arms, in council wise;
 Stout Siward's son, 'twas his an ancient race
 Through Danish Jarls, Northumbrian earls to trace.
 But honours, power, and riches counting dross,
 With contrite heart he knelt before the cross:
 For Christ he loved, his righteous judgments feared,
 His servants honour'd, and his saints revered.
 But chief, where Croyland spreads her wide domain,
 And holy Guthlac holds his mystic reign,
 He joyed to tread the cloister's hallowed ground,
 Her monks he cherish'd, and her altars crown'd.
 On Winton's hill the patriot bow'd his head,
 By Norman malice numbered with the dead.
 Ah, fatal last of May!³ Unrighteous doom!
 Now marshy Croyland boasts her patron's tomb,
 Where, living, oft he came an honour'd guest:
 God rest his soul in mansions of the blest!

The death of Earl Waltheof was the cause of much censure

¹ This vision of the Abbot Geoffrey is related in much the same language, but with some difference of circumstances, by Peter de Blois, the continuer of Ingulphus. It falls under the year 1112, as well as the chastisement divinely inflicted on the monk Audin.

² Cospatrick was made earl of Northumbria after Copsi's death.

³ This date is exact, and it is difficult to understand how Ordericus, who must have had it clearly in his memory, as the composer of these verses, should have made the mistake respecting it which occurs just before. See p. 85.

on King William from many quarters, and numerous were the troubles, which by the righteous judgment of God he afterwards suffered from various attacks which never afterwards permitted him to enjoy any continuance of tranquillity. He indeed, such was his resolution, still maintained a manful struggle against all his enemies, but success did not attend his enterprises as it had done before, nor were his conflicts often crowned with victory. In the thirteen years which he afterwards lived, he never won a pitched battle, nor succeeded in taking a town he besieged. The Almighty Judge disposes all events aright, suffering no crime to go unpunished, in this world or the next.

CH. XVIII. *King William invades Brittany and lays siege to Dol—Precipitate retreat—The Duke Alan Fergan marries the king's daughter Constance—Her character and death.*

KING WILLIAM being desirous to extend the frontiers of his dominions, and to reduce the Bretons under the same subjection which they had formerly been forced to pay to Rollo and William [Long-sword] and other dukes of Normandy, he laid siege to the town of Dol, endeavouring to terrify the townsmen with tremendous threats, and swearing a great oath that he would not raise the siege till he had taken the place. But by the overruling will of God, things turned out very differently; for while the king, having pitched his tents, was swelling with pride, and glorying in his riches and power, news was brought him that Alan Fergan, earl of Brittany, was at hand with large bodies of troops, hastening to the relief of the besieged town. Alarmed at the intelligence, King William patched up a peace with the defenders of the place, who had as yet received no account of the approaching succour, and decamped at once. But his retreat was attended with severe loss, for in their haste the royal army was forced to abandon their tents, baggage, arms, and all kinds of utensils and equipments, the value of which was estimated, to their deep grief, at 15,000 pounds sterling.¹ The politic king, finding

¹ This disastrous expedition of King William into Brittany belongs to the year 1075, according to the opinion of Simeon of Durham and Roger de Hoveden. His disgraceful retreat was caused not merely by the

that he could not conquer the Bretons by force of arms, prudently adopted measures more advantageous to himself and his successors, concluding a treaty of peace with Alan Fergan, and giving him his daughter Constance in marriage, the ceremonies of which were conducted with great state at Caen.¹ Constance lived virtuously nearly fifteen years with her husband, studying her subjects' good, and that of all connected with her. Diffusing around her the balm of peace, she was kind to the poor, and treated with great respect all the servants of God, who were greatly afflicted at her death, and the more so as she left no offspring. All right-minded persons in Brittany would have been exceedingly delighted if there had been any issue from this happy marriage to govern them worthily, holding fairly, from their innate goodness, the balance of justice among the indomitable Bretons, and curbing them by the restraints of the divine law and civilization. Earl Alan Fergan, after the death of Constance, married the count of Anjou's daughter, by whom he had a son named Conan, to whom Henry, king of England, lately gave his daughter in marriage to cement the peace between them.²

CH. XIX. *Short notice of Ainard, abbot of St. Pierre-sur-Dive—His epitaph.*

ABOUT this time, the revered Ainard, first abbot of Dive, was obliged to take to his bed, and, having caused all that is befitting a servant of God to be done on his behalf, departed this life on the nineteenth of the calends of February [14th January].³ He was a native of Germany, and well taught in both sciences, as well as accomplished in versifying, chanting, and composing charming music. This is approach of Alan Fergan, but by intelligence that the king of France in person was marching to threaten his rear.

¹ "We can hardly suppose that this marriage was contracted immediately after the disastrous expedition against Dol, nor can we, with Lobmeau, fix it in the year 1086, during which William did not quit England. We therefore think that it took place about the year 1077."—*Le Prévost*.

² Constance died on the 13th of August, 1090, without leaving any children. Alan Fergan married again, in 1093, Ermengarde, daughter of Fulk le Rechin. Conan III., their son, married Matilda, the illegitimate daughter of Henry I. This union produced bitter fruits, for he was under the necessity of publicly disclaiming the only son who was the issue of it.

³ In the year 1078.

proved by his histories of Kilian, bishop of Wurtzburg,¹ Catherine the Virgin, and many elegant canticles which he composed in praise of the Creator. Burning with zeal for religion in his youth, he sought out Abbot Isembert, and voluntarily submitted himself to his discipline for the love of God, and made his profession as a monk in the convent of the Holy Trinity founded by Goscelin d'Arques² on the hill at Rouen to the west of the city. Thence he was removed by the rulers of the church in the year of our Lord 1046, and set upon a candlestick, that he might give light to all that are in the house. Having been consecrated abbot of Dive,³ built by the countess Lesceline, wife of William count d'Eu, he profitably filled the charge he had received, both by his life and teaching, for thirty-one years, when at last, old and full of days, he finished his course. The venerable Durandus, abbot of Troarn, interred his body in the church of St. Mary, and composed some memorable verses to be engraved on the face of his tomb, in which the moral virtues of Abbot Ainard, and the Christian graces with which he was divinely inspired, are thus described:—

Odours breathe from AINARD's tomb,
Like the spikenard's rich perfume;
While his virtues blooming round
Flower in consecrated ground.
He with boundless cost and care
Reared this holy house of prayer;
Here he spent his peaceful life,
Lamb-like, innocent of strife;
Gave to learning all his days,
Speeding on in wisdom's ways:
Sober, honest, chaste, and mild,
Humble, simple as a child,
Save when, in his high degree,
Bearing modest dignity.
When the new year's wintry sun
Fourteen times its course had run,¹

¹ St. Kilian, an Irish bishop, preached the gospel in Franconia about the year 685, and suffered martyrdom, with his two companions, the 8th of July, 689.

² Isembert, a fellow countryman of Aynard's, became in 1033, abbot of the monastery founded near Rouen by the viscount Goscelin d'Arques, under the name of La Trinité du Mont, which it afterwards changed to that of St. Catherine.

³ For particulars respecting this abbey, see vol. i. p. 382.

With shrunk form and hoary head
 He was number'd with the dead.
 Passing stranger! breathe a prayer
 That he may Christ's mercy share.

The widowed church of Dive, on the loss of her former lord, was given to Fulk, prior of St. Evroult, who was consecrated abbot by Robert bishop of Sééz. He governed that house for many years in the time of King William and several under duke Robert II., and advanced it nobly as opportunity occurred.² This lord carried with him from St. Evroult the monks Bernard, surnamed Matthew, his cousin, Richard, William de Montreuil, and Turketel, quick and skilful copyists, and well skilled in the services of the church. These were his peaceful coadjutors, and took the lead in zealously putting their shoulders to God's work both by day and night, saying cheerfully to others their associates by word and unwearied example, "Come with us to Bethel."³

CH. XX. *Quarrels between the sons of King William—Robert attempts to seize Rouen by surprise—His followers dispersed—The king marches against the malcontents.*

ROBERT, the king's son, it is reported, was the cause and fomentor of the disturbances which broke out as we have seen, between the people of Maine and the Normans; for Duke William, both before the battle of Senlac,⁴ and afterwards at a time when he fell sick, had declared his eldest son Robert his heir, causing all his barons to do him fealty and homage, which they had readily consented to. But the young prince, after the death of his wife Margaret, urged on by youthful ambition and the imprudent suggestions of those about him, demanded of his father the honours which he claimed as his right, viz., the sovereignty of Maine and Normandy.⁵ His politic father, after much reflec-

¹ Abbot Ainard died on the 14th of January, 1078.

² Fulk, who was consecrated by Robert, bishop of Sééz, disgusted the monks by his great severity, and was obliged to retire beyond sea in 1092; he was restored to his functions towards the close of the century, and died at Winchester in the year 1106.

³ Ordericus evidently means in this place to quote from the bible, but his memory failed, for there is no passage in the Vulgate which can be exactly referred to for this expression.

⁴ It has been already remarked that William's intentions with regard to his son Robert were publicly declared as early as 1063.

⁵ These pretensions of Robert Court-hose could not have been advanced

tion, refused to gratify his pretensions, and recommended his son to wait for a more fitting opportunity of obtaining what he desired. The prince was talkative and prodigal, very bold and valiant, and a strong and sure archer; his voice was loud and clear; his tongue fluent; his features dull and heavy; his body stout, and his stature short; whence he commonly received the surname of Gambaron¹ or Courte-heuse.

One day, when the king was preparing an expedition against the inhabitants of the Corbonnais,² and was entertained at the house of Gunher, in the village of Richer (which is called L'Aigle, on account of an eagle's nest being found in an oak tree while Fulbert was building his castle), a diabolical quarrel arose between the king's sons, from which sprung afterwards endless contentions and crimes.³ For two of the brothers, William Rufus and Henry, took their father's part, and thinking their strength equal to their brother Robert's, were indignant that he alone should make pretensions to their father's inheritance, and affect equality with the king among the crowd of parasites who paid their court to himself. In consequence they came to the castle of L'Aigle to visit Robert, who was sojourning in the house of Robert Calcege, and there began to play at dice in the gallery,⁴ as the custom of military men is. They then made a great noise, and threw water on the heads of Robert and his hangers-on who were underneath.⁵ Upon which Ivo and Aubrey de Grantmesnil⁶ said to

till some years after the conquest of England, for at that period Robert was not more than twelve years old.

¹ "Gambaron:" gambes (jambes), rondes?—*Ducange, Glossar.*

² The Corbonnais was the ancient name of a district in Maine, bounded on the east by the Commanche and L'Huisne, and on the north-west by the Sarthe, and which obtained the name of Perche from the forest which overspread the greatest part of it.

³ It is difficult to fix the period when these family quarrels burst forth. There are several reasons for thinking that it was after the peace of Blancheland, but they cannot be stated as entirely satisfactory.

⁴ *Solario*; a terrace or gallery in a house, where they walk to sun themselves.

⁵ *In cœnaculum.* If our author has not used the two words indiscriminately, we must suppose that the two young princes had retired into the banqueting-room after their sport in the gallery.

⁶ They were the fourth and fifth sons of Hugh de Grant-mesnil and Adeliza of Beaumont-sur-Dive.

Robert: "Why do you put up with this insult? see your brothers have mounted above you, and shower their filth upon you and us, in contempt. Do not you perceive what they mean? if you do not instantly resent this insult, you are a lost man, and can never lift up your head again." This speech roused his fury, and he hurried to the banqueting room where his brothers were, determined to chastise them. The clamour which ensued brought the king from his lodgings, and by interposing his royal authority he put an end, for the time, to his sons' quarrels. But the night afterwards, Robert and his attendants withdrew from the king's troop of horse, and making for Rouen attempted to seize the castle by surprise. However, Roger D'Ivry, the king's butler, who had the custody of the tower, having anticipated the plot, put the fortifications in order to resist the treasonable enterprise, and in all haste sent messengers to his lord the king, to apprize him of the state of affairs. The king in his wrath ordered all the malcontents to be arrested; hearing which they were in the greatest consternation. Some were taken, others fled and secured their safety by taking refuge in foreign countries.

Then Hugh de Chateau-Neuf, nephew and heir of Albert Ribald, was the first to receive the exiles, and opened the gates of Chateau-Neuf, Raimalard, Sorel,¹ and other places belonging to him, in order that they might make predatory incursions on Normandy. He was son-in-law of Earl Roger, having married Mabel,² sister of Robert de Belesme, who had attached himself to the king's son, with Ralph de Conches and many others. These deserters, embarking in a wicked and detestable enterprise, had left their towns and rich farms for vain hopes and worthless promises. The king took their domains into his own hands, and with the rents paid the stipendiary troops who fought against them.

These troubles caused great commotions among the inhabitants of the country and their neighbours, who flew to arms in every quarter either for or against the king. The French, the Bretons, the Manceaux, the Angevins, and other people fluctuated in their opinions, and knew not which side

¹ Remalard, in the department de l'Orme; Sorel in Eure et Loire.

² Mabel de Montgomery, third daughter of Count Roger and Mabel de Belesme.

they ought to take. War threatening them on all sides, the king, full of determination, assembled an army, and marching against the enemy, made terms with Rotrou count de Mortagne. This count had often pillaged the lands of the church of Chartres, which is dedicated to St. Mary-ever-a-Virgin, and having been frequently remonstrated with by the bishop and clergy, and continuing incorrigible, had been excommunicated. By an infliction of divine justice, he became deaf, and remained so to the end of his days. King William took him into his pay, employing him with his own troops in the siege of Raimalard, because it was a fief held of him.

He fortified four castles in the country round, and placed garrisons in them. Meanwhile, on a certain day, Aimer de Villeraï¹ was conducting the steward of the king of France² on his return to his master, and came with three men-at-arms to his own castle, where King William's enemies were protected, when it chanced that four knights of the royal army sallied forth and stopped his way, just as he had nearly reached the castle gate, and falling upon him killed him on the spot. They then laid the body of the unfortunate freebooter across a horse, like the carcass of a pig, and threw it down before the huts of count Roger with whom he had long been in hostilities. Goulfier, Aimer's son, struck with terror at his father's fearful end, made peace with the king, and he and his heirs remained faithful more than fifty years.

The calamities which threaten the sons of earth are endless, and if they were all carefully committed to writing would fill large volumes. It is now winter, and I am suffering from the severity of the cold, and propose to allow myself some respite for other occupations, and fatigued with my work, shall here bring the present book to a close. When the returning spring brings with it serener skies, I will resume in the sequel, my narrative of matters which I have hitherto treated cursorily, or which still remain to be told, and, by God's help, employ my faithful pen in elucidating the causes of peace and war among my countrymen.

¹ Villeraï, a castle in the neighbourhood of L'Huisne, near Alençon, on the Sarthe.

² Probably Frederic, who was high steward of France in 1075, or Robert, who held that office in 1079.

BOOK V.

CH. I. *The author gives a short account of himself and the contents of two of his former books—Proposes to treat of the abbey of St. Evroult and public affairs from the year 1075 to the death of William I.*

TREADING in the steps of those who have gone before us, it is our duty to contend ceaselessly with enervating sloth, devoting ourselves to profitable studies and healthful exercises, by application to which the mind is purified from vice, the life-giving discipline nobly arming it against all wickedness. "Every slothful man," says Solomon, "is a slave to his desires." And again: "The desire of the slothful killeth him."¹ He indeed is slothful and idle who abandons himself to a vicious life for want of a good resolution. That man may be considered as sunk in the lethargy of idleness who fails to meditate on the law of God day and night, that is, in prosperity and adversity, and does not earnestly struggle to resist the wiles and assaults of Satan that he may be worthy to obtain the reward of his heavenly calling. Such a one, doubtless, hurtful "desire killeth;" drawing him into evil courses, while he is lulled to sleep by prosperity, and sinking him into the pit of perdition by the broad road of his own lusts. The ancients therefore strongly condemn idleness and sloth as the enemy of the soul, inviting their followers to profitable labour and exertion, both by word and example; and on this point the heathen poets agree with Christian writers. For Virgil says:—

Ah! what avail his service, what his toil?
 Stern labour all subdues
 And ceaseless toil that urging want pursues.²

¹ Prov. xxi. 25. The preceding quotation is not to be found in the Vulgate.

² Quid labor aut benefacta juvant? . . .
 Virg. Georg. iii. 525.

Labor omnia vincit,
 Improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.
 Virg. Georg. i. 145.

Ovid also gives this advice to those who endeavour to resist their passions and strive against Venus:—

Advised by me, all slothful habits shun,
Those foes to worth by manly vigour won.
'Tis idleness that fosters Cupid's arts,
And lights his torch and points his shining darts.¹

Weighing with attention, father Warin, such sentiments as these, I have determined to publish something which may be useful and interesting to our brethren in the house of the Lord, pursuing with diligence the task I have commenced, that when the Lord cometh to judgment I may not be condemned, like the unprofitable servant, for having buried my talent in the ground. In the first instance, I endeavoured to obey the commands of the venerable abbot Roger, and yours also, received at a later period, by undertaking a short account of the state of the abbey of Ouche, a work which our predecessors have often called on each other to engage in, but which none of them have been willing to undertake: for they chose rather to be silent than to speak, preferring tranquil leisure to the consuming toil of investigating past transactions. They were willing enough to peruse the acts of former abbots and brethren, and the annals of their own house, which, having been slenderly endowed at first by poor but pious founders, have been gradually aggrandized by the indefatigable exertions of our reverend fathers; but they shrunk from bending their minds to the task of dictating or writing the result of their researches. At length it fell to my lot, a stranger and an Englishman, who coming here, when only ten years old, from the furthest borders of Mercia,²

¹ Otia corrodunt mentes et corpora frangunt.

This verse is not in Ovid. The other three are quoted from his poem *De Remedio Amoris*, v. 133, 139, 140, with an unimportant transposition in the first line:

Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis . . .
Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
Contemptque jacent et sine luce faces.

² Ordericus was born at Atcham, anciently Attingham, a village on the banks of the Severn, three miles from Shrewsbury, on the 16th of February, 1075. His father, who was attached to the household of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and had followed him to England, received from that nobleman grants of land in that neighbourhood, which was on the Welsh borders of the ancient kingdom of Mercia. Ordericus was entered as a novice at the abbey of St. Evroult in 1086. See the account of his life in M. Guizot's Notice appended to the preface of this work.

and rude of speech and manners, mixed with a people full of intelligence, to compose, by God's help, a narrative of Norman events and transactions for the use of the natives of Normandy. I have already, by the divine assistance, published two books,¹ in which I have given a true account of the restoration of our house and of three of our abbots, with some public affairs of that period which I have carefully collected from information given me by men of years and experience.

I now begin my third book from the year of our Lord 1075, meaning to treat of my own abbot and the society of St. Evroult, as well as of public affairs generally, during the succeeding period of twelve years, that is, to the time of King William's death.² I choose the former year for the commencement of my present undertaking, because it was then I was born, on the fourteenth of the calends of March [16th February], and was regenerated in the holy font of baptism by the ministry of Ordericus the priest,³ at Attingham, in the church of St. Eata the confessor,⁴ which stands on the bank of the river Severn. Five years afterwards, my father entrusted me to a noble priest, whose name was Siward, for instruction in the first rudiments of learning, to whose mastership I remained subject for five years. Then, being in my eleventh year, I was separated from my father, for the love of God, and sent a young exile from England to Normandy to enter the service of the King Eternal. Here I was received by the venerable father Mainier,⁵ and having assumed the monastic habit, and become indissolubly joined to the company of the monks by solemn vows, have now

¹ Our author here speaks of the *third* and *fourth* books of his history. The first and second were an afterthought, and not as yet written. He, therefore, in the next paragraph calls this *fifth* book, which he is now beginning, the third.

² September 9, 1087.

³ It is elsewhere observed that in baptism, which took place on the Saturday in Easter week (April 11), our author took the name of the officiating priest, who was also his sponsor.

⁴ For the life of St. Eata, a Saxon bishop of great sanctity in the seventh century, see *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* pp. 161—229 (*Bohn's Edition*), and *Acta SS. ord. Benedicti, sæc. iii. P. 1, p. 221.*

⁵ Mainier, the fourth abbot of St. Evroult, flourished from July 16. 1066—March 5, 1089.

cheerfully borne the light yoke of the Lord for forty-two years,¹ and walking in the ways of God with my fellow monks, to the best of my ability, according to the rules of our order, have endeavoured to perfect myself in the service of the church and ecclesiastical duties, at the same time that I have always devoted my talents to some useful employment.

If our bishops and other rulers of the world were so gifted with sanctity that, for them and by them, miracles were divinely wrought, as was frequently the case with the primitive fathers, and these accounts scattered through ancient books sweetly influence the readers' mind, refreshing their memories with the glorious signs and wonders of the early disciples; I also would fain shake off sloth, and employ myself in committing to writing whatever may be worthy of the eager ken of posterity. But in the present age, in which the love of many waxes cold and iniquity abounds, miracles, the tokens of sanctity, cease,² while crimes and lamentable complaints multiply in the world. The litigious quarrels of bishops, and the bloody conflicts of princes, furnish more abundant materials for the writers of history than the propositions of theologians, or the privations or prodigies of ascetics. The time of antichrist is at hand, whose appearance, as the Lord intimated to holy Job,³ will be preceded by the failure of miracles and the rapid growth of outrageous vices in those who are given up to their own fleshly lusts. Now, most reverend abbot, I will resolutely apply myself, in the name of the Lord, to the task I have undertaken, trusting with confidence that your experience will correct whatever errors my own ignorance may suffer to escape.

¹ According to this statement, our author composed this fifth book of his history in the year 1128.

² This is an important admission of our author. He has, indeed, like other monkish writers, made free use of former legends, but he rarely vouches for miracles when he comes to the history of his own times.

³ There seems nothing in the book of Job to justify this allusion. It may be a question whether our author did not mean to refer to the epistle of St. Jude, ver. 16, 18. But the failure of miraculous powers in the church is not expressly predicted either there or in other passages of scripture where the signs of the "last days," and of the coming of antichrist are mentioned. See 2 Thess. i. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Pet. iii. 3.

CH. II. *William's daughter Cecilia becomes a nun at Caen—Mission of three English bishops to Rome—Consecration of cathedrals and abbeys in Normandy—Anselm, abbot of Bec, made archbishop of Canterbury.*

[1075—1127.] IN the year of our Lord 1075, the fourteenth indiction, King William spent the holy feast of Easter at Fécamp, and presented his daughter Cecilia to be consecrated to God by the hands of Archbishop John.¹ She had been brought up with great care, and well educated in the convent at Caen, where, being dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, she became a nun under the venerable abbess Matilda, faithfully submitting to the holy rule. The reverend mother departing this life after governing the convent forty-seven years, Cecilia succeeded her, and having presided over the nuns for nearly fourteen years with great credit, she expired on the third of the ides [13th] of July, in the year of our Lord 1127. She thus worthily devoted herself to the service of God, in the habit, and order, and religious exercises of a nun, for fifty-two years after she was first dedicated by her father,² and her death happened in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of her brother Henry.

While King William was residing in Normandy, and, by God's help, defended his dominions against all adversaries, the English bishops, Lanfranc of Canterbury, Thomas of York, and Remi of Lincoln, undertook a journey to Rome, and were received with great honours by Pope Gregory and the Roman senate.³ The wealth of England supplied pro-

¹ It would appear by the charter of foundation of the abbey of Caen, referred to by the French editor of Ordericus, that it was there, and under Archbishop Maurillius, and not John, and in the year 1066, not 1075, that William and Matilda caused their daughter Cecilia to be consecrated a nun of the abbey of the Holy Trinity on the day it was dedicated. If this be so, it is singular that our author should have fallen into error on facts which, though not of any public importance, occurred so near his own times.

² According to the correction just proposed, Cecilia's religious life extended to sixty-one years, of which she was abbess only seven. The abbess Matilda died on the 6th of July, 1120.

³ The journey of the three prelates took place in 1071, when Alexander II. was pope, not Gregory VII. Alexander having been a pupil of Lanfranc at Bec, condescendingly rose from his seat to receive him, saying

fuse presents for the greedy Romans, and the prelates appeared to the Latins no less admirable for their munificence than for their eloquence and their learning, both sacred and profane. The pope and clergy of Rome received favourably the message of King William, accompanying the offerings, of which the bishops were bearers, and readily confirmed the privileges, formerly granted to his predecessors, which the king demanded by his envoys.¹

In the year of our Lord 1077,² the bishops just named returned to Normandy highly delighted, and the king with all the Norman people were transported with joy at their arrival. At that time several churches in Normandy were consecrated with great ceremony, at which the king and queen, with their sons Robert and William, and vast assemblages of the nobles and commons were present. The mother churches of the bishoprics of Bayeux and Evreux and the abbey church of Bec, were dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, mother of God, always a virgin.

The same year, the abbey church of St. Stephen the proto-martyr, at Caen, was also consecrated, being enriched by the king and his nobles with valuable offerings and large sums of money. The solemnities of these consecrations were performed by John archbishop of Rouen and his suffragans, the reverend metropolitans Lanfranc and Thomas being present, with many abbots and a vast concourse of people.

The venerable abbot Herluin rejoiced in spirit at the

that he paid him this mark of respect, not to do honour to the archbishop of Canterbury, but to his learned master.—*William of Malmesbury, Antiq. Lib.* p. 324. The French editor of Ordericus remarks, that the two other bishops were not so well received, and had to defend themselves, the one for being the son of a priest, the other for obtaining the bishopric of Lincoln in recompence for the supplies he had furnished William towards the conquest of England. (See vol. i. of this work, p. 465.) We find nothing of this in the English historians we have consulted. Henry of Huntingdon, who was a canon of Lincoln, gives a high character of Bishop Remi. See his *History*, p. 220, and *Letter to Warin*, p. 304 of Bohn's edition. Remi transferred the seat of the bishopric from Dorchester (in Oxfordshire) to Lincoln.

¹ Malmesbury inserts the acts of a synod on the subject of these privileges, held in 1072, to which Pope Alexander had referred the question. See *Modern History*, p. 321.

² This date is incorrect; the three bishops were present at the synod at London in 1072, having returned from Rome in the interval.

consecration of the church of Bec, and, having witnessed the accomplishment of his most ardent earthly hopes, was no longer for this world. He had retired from military service in the year of our Lord 1034, and changing his course of life received the religious habit from the Lord Herbert, bishop of Lisieux. Three years afterwards he was ordained by the same bishop and appointed abbot. It was then that the abbey of Bec was first established. He died on the seventh of the calends of September [26th August], in the year of our Lord 1078, being the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his profession as a monk. After an interval of a few days, Anselm, then prior of that house, was elected abbot. The year following he was consecrated abbot in the abbey church at Bec by the lord Gislebert, bishop of Evreux, on the festival called "The Chair of St. Peter."¹ He submitted to the monastic rule when he was twenty-seven years old, and continued three years in the cloister without being preferred to any office. He then succeeded Lanfranc as prior, which rank he held for fifteen years, and then, on the death of Herluin the first abbot of Bec, was appointed to the government of the abbey which he administered for another fifteen years. He was afterwards raised to the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury on the demise of the venerable Lanfranc, and filled the see for sixteen years, during which he was exposed to many trials. He departed out of this life on the eleventh of the calends of May [21st April], being the fourth day before Holy Thursday, in the seventeenth year of his archiepiscopate, the forty-fourth of his monkhood, and the seventy-sixth of his age.⁴

CH. III. *Hugh, bishop of Lieux, his singular death—His epitaph—He is succeeded by Gislebert Maminot—His character.*

[A.D. 1077.] FORASMUCH as thoughtless mortals are apt to be inflated by a false appearance of prosperity, while they are driven to and fro, bending like reeds before the blasts

¹ A feast observed at Rome on the 18th of January, at Antioch on the 22nd of February, in every year.

² St. Anselm, born at Aosta about the year 1034, took the monastic habit at Bec in 1060. He was elected abbot immediately after the death

of adverse fortune, the providence of God, which governs all things, therefore mixes the rough with the smooth, to retain within safe bounds the fickle enterprises of mankind. For while King William was much puffed up with worldly pomp, and the people of Normandy abandoned themselves to every sort of luxury, giving no thought to the punishment which awaited their accumulated offences, a terrible thunder storm burst over the sanctuary of the church of Lisieux, and the awful crash struck down the people assembled on the pavement of the cathedral church. It happened one morning on a Sunday in the summer season, when the holy mysteries of the mass were being celebrated, and a priest named Herbert was standing, mitred,¹ at the altar, that there was suddenly a fearful flash of lightning, immediately followed by a tremendous crash and the falling of a thunderbolt. Striking the cross which stood on the pinnacle of the tower, it shattered and threw it down, and descending from thence into the body of the church it was attracted by the crucifix, from which it tore off a hand and foot and drew the iron nails which attached them to the cross in a most singular manner. A dark cloud concealed all objects from the trembling congregation, and the lightning shot flashes through all the church, killing eight men and one woman. It burnt the beards and hair of men and women, and gave forth a most offensive smell. One woman, whose name was Mary, preserved her footing, under great alarm, in a corner of the church, from whence she beheld the whole crowd of people lying apparently lifeless on the floor of the church, while she herself was ready to faint.

This occurred before the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and soon afterwards Hugh, bishop of Lisieux,²

of the venerable Herluin, but was not consecrated by Gislebert, bishop of Liseux, till the 22nd of February following. He resigned the government of the abbey to succeed to the archbishopric of Canterbury on the 6th or March, 1093, and was installed on the 25th of September following. He died, as here stated, on the 21st of April, 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

¹ *Infulatus*; the ministrant being only a priest, the description, which is literally translated, does not seem applicable.

² Hugh d'Eu, son of William, count d'Eu, and of Lesceline, the foundress of the abbey of Dive and St. Desiderius at Lisieux, was bishop of that see from 1050—July 17, 1077.

fell sick. In the month of July, his disease increasing, the bishop, perceiving that his death was at hand, began carefully to examine himself as the servant of God summoned to his Master's presence, and prepared himself with great reverence to give an account of his stewardship. Purified by confession and penance, washed with prayers and floods of tears, and strengthened by the blessed communion of the life-giving mysteries, he exhorted the clergy and laymen who were assembled about him, and gave them absolution and his blessing. As his end approached, he recollected one thing which caused him especial regret, and in reference to which he thus implored all who were present: "I know that I am now going the way of all flesh, but it troubles me to think that I die at a distance from my see, away from that spouse to which by God's ordinance I have been lawfully united for almost forty years. I therefore entreat all you whom I have formerly loved, nourished, promoted, and raised to honour, that you carry me forth from hence, and transport me to the spouse I have so dearly loved. I have completed the church of St. Peter the apostle, which my venerable predecessor Herbert¹ began; I carefully embellished it, supplied it with clergy, and furnished it with the sacred vessels and all other requisites for divine worship. Humbly commending it to the protection of the Lord of heaven, in its sacred bosom I wish to repose, and there wait in faith the second advent of our Lord." At these words all present immediately arose, and, placing the bishop on a convenient hand-litter, they carried him from the village of Pont l'Eveque to Lisieux, the clergy of the highest rank and the most honourable among the laity bearing their beloved father on their shoulders. But while they were using their utmost efforts to reach the city as quickly as possible, his death becoming imminent, they turned out of the road on a piece of level turf, and tarried there expecting every moment the bishop to breathe his last in the open air amidst their prayers and tears:—

The sun in Cancer, flashing brightest rays,
Shrouded the dying prelate in its blaze.

Laid in the bright sunshine on this delightful spot, the illus-

¹ Herbert, bishop of Liseux, 1022—1050.

trious Bishop Hugh, surrounded by his attached friends, and commended to God by their prayers, breathed his last on the sixteenth of the calends of August [17th July].

Thus calmly died the venerable Hugh :
Such honours to their country are too few ;
The gem of priesthood, and the best of men,
Alas ! we ne'er shall see his like again.

May Christ, the chief bishop, whose vicar on earth he was for a time, be ever propitious to him ! Pont l'Eveque is four leagues distant from Lisieux ; a cross was erected in the field near the road, where the bishop died, which is called to this day the Bishop's Cross.¹ His body was carried to Lisieux, but the funeral was deferred for eight days in consequence of a dispute between the canons and nuns. For the clergy wished to bury him in their cathedral, but the nuns strongly remonstrated, saying : " Our father Hugh built our abbey of Notre Dame ; he assembled us here to serve God,² and brought us up in the fear of the Lord with the love of a father to his daughters ; when death approached he chose the church which he had founded for his burial place ; cursed be he who should attempt to deprive us his daughters of our father's remains."

The case was brought before the king's court at Rouen, and the question was argued on both sides, but the royal decision was in favour of the weaker sex. Whereupon William sent for Archbishop John, and commanded to hasten with all speed to Lisieux, and honourably inter the bishop's corpse in the chapel of St. Mary. But the archbishop, being a harsh and haughty prelate, and having a dreadful enmity to the deceased bishop lurking in his bosom, was much incensed, and, treating the royal command with contempt, refused to go and bury his fellow bishop. As he was returning from the king's court, riding on his mule through the city, speaking arrogantly about the present affair, he

¹ It is supposed that this interesting scene took place on a spot now called Pré-l'Eveque.

² The nuns who were originally settled by Lesceline at the abbey of St. Peter-sur-Dive, having been replaced by monks, were transferred to Lisieux, where their new church was, like the former, dedicated to St. Mary.

was seized with violent spasms, by the divine permission, just as he approached his own house, and, falling to the ground in the sight of the multitude, lost the use of his speech for the two years he survived. Upon this, Gislebert, bishop of Evreux, went to Lisieux, with a great concourse of the faithful, and interred the bishop, as was becoming, in the choir of the nuns, in the presence of Robert, Count d'Eu, his brother. A suitable stone was laid over the grave of this great bishop, and an epitaph in Adonic metre, which consists of a dactyl and a spondee, was engraved in letters of gold, on a brass plate, as follows :

Underneath lies Bishop HUGH,
Honoured lord of Lisieux :
Not more noble was his birth
Than the splendour of his worth.
Doubly gifted, he combined
Wit and sanctity of mind.
France's sceptre Philip sway'd,
England William's rule obey'd,
And the blazing lamp of day
On the verge of Leo¹ lay,
When the bishop pass'd away.
Heavenly mercy speed him well,
With the blest above to dwell !

Gislebert, surnamed Maminot, the king's physician and chaplain, was chosen bishop of Lisieux, and consecrated by Michael, bishop of Avranches, in the presence of the lord archbishop John, who, as we have just said, had lost the use of his speech. He was the son of Robert de Courbepine,² a brave knight ; and, filling the see twenty-three years, managed ecclesiastical affairs with a strong hand. Though deeply skilled in the art of medicine, after he became bishop he was unable to cure himself. He was eminent for his learning and eloquence, abounded in wealth and the luxuries it procured, but was a slave to his own gratification and the care of the flesh. Ease and leisure were his great objects, and he indulged frequently in dice and other games of hazard. Negligent and slothful in his ecclesiastical duties, he was ready and active enough in hunting and hawking. He therefore devoted his life to worldly exercises and

¹ The bishop died, as stated before, on the 17th of July.

² Near Bernai.

employments, and did not give them up till age compelled him. I could write more about him, but I check my pen, because it was by him that I was admitted to the order of subdeacon, with (as well as I can recollect) three hundred others. But, as I have mentioned some things that are not very creditable to him, it is but right that I should record his merits and his doings which are worthy of imitation. He gave alms freely to the poor, and was distinguished for a stately sumptuousness and wise liberality. In his judgments he keenly investigated the truth, and was indefatigable in defending the right, dispensing justice freely to all who came for it. He treated with gentleness offenders who humbly confessed their sins, and judiciously gave wise and salutary counsel to true penitents. He performed the ceremony of conferring sacred orders, and of consecrations, with care and devotion; but he was inert and difficult to be roused to undertake them, nor would he engage in these offices until he was compelled by the united entreaties of numbers. The church of Lisieux at that time numbered among its clergy some honourable persons and eminent archdeacons and canons; such as William de Glanville, dean and archdeacon, Richard de Angerville, and William de Poitiers,¹ archdeacons, Geoffrey de Triqueville the treasurer, Turgis the chanter, and his son Ralph, with many others who had been educated by Bishop Hugh, and advanced to offices of dignity in the church. His successor attached these persons to himself, and gave them instructive lessons in the wide field of arithmetic, astronomy, physics, and other profound sciences, receiving them as his guests, and familiarly conversing with them at his entertainments.

CH. IV. *John d'Avranches, archbishop of Rouen—his epitaph—William Bonne-Ame succeeds—His character—Translates the relics of St. Romanus.*

IN the year of our Lord 1079, the archbishop John died, after governing his church eight years. He was buried in the baptistery of his cathedral church, on the north side,

¹ William de Poitiers, the historian, derived his surname from having studied at Poitiers, but he was a native of Préaux, near Pont-Audemer.

under a tomb of alabaster, on which this epitaph was skillfully cut:—

Reft of thy patron, of thy glory shorn,
Thy honoured primate, widowed ROUEN, mourn!
JOHN sleeps beneath, and, as in days of old,
Devotion flags, and priests again grow cold.
'Twas his with foul incontinence to strive,
The canon's rigour and the laws revive.
No venal bribes the priesthood's honour gain'd,
The church's state his liberal hand maintain'd.
Alas! this little stone, this narrow space—
Is all that genius, eloquence, and grace,
And noblest birth, and wisdom's highest aim,
And purest life, and excellence can claim.
Nine times September's sun had mounted high,¹
And shed its brightness from the autumnal sky,
When bishop JOHN put off this mortal coil;
God rest his soul, and with his grace assoil!

On the death of the primate John, William, abbot of Caen, being canonically elected, was removed from his monastery, where he had duly served God as a professed monk, and called to govern the church of Rouen.² He was consecrated by the great Gislebert, bishop of Evreux, in the church of St. Mary, mother of God, and was the forty-sixth metropolitan of Rouen from St. Nicasius, who was first appointed by St. Dionysius, bishop of Paris, to the see of Rouen.³ William was good, cheerful, and courteous, and continued shepherd of the flock divinely committed to him for thirty-two years.⁴ He furnished the mother church with ample stores of all the ornaments necessary for divine wor-

¹ John d'Avranches, archbishop of Rouen, died on the 9th of September, 1079. He was probably installed in the year 1069, so that he filled the see longer than the term assigned by our author. His infirmities were such, that the active pope Gregory VII. did not wait till his death in taking measures for providing a successor.

² William Bonne-Ame, son of Radbod, bishop of Séz, was abbot of Caen, succeeding Lanfranc, 1070—1079.

³ The story of St. Nicasius is very obscure. He is supposed to have been commissioned by St. Denys to preach at Rouen about the middle of the third century. Having passed the Epte, he suffered martyrdom with his two companions, Quirinus, a priest, and Scuviculus, a deacon, in the neighbourhood of Gani, to which place their bodies were carried.

⁴ William Bonne-Ame died the 9th of February, 1110. Our author states in book iii. (see vol. i. p. 419), that he filled the see nearly thirty-six years. The real time was thirty-one years just commenced.

ship, and rebuilt from the foundations the cloisters of the bishop's palace and convenient offices.¹ The relics of St. Romanus the bishop were translated with great ceremony from his own church to the cathedral, and enshrined in a coffer of gold and silver, exquisitely enriched with precious stones. He appointed his feast to be celebrated throughout the diocese on the tenth of the calends of November (October 23rd); and by a general decree ordered a solemn procession to be made every year to the deposit of the body of the holy bishop without the city, inviting almost all the inhabitants of the diocese to be present by monitions and the promise of absolution and benediction.² Like a tender father, this bishop was kind to the clergy and monks, and all who were under his rule. He occupied himself continually with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, and celebrated regularly the sacred mysteries. He was a stranger to deceit and malice, seeking no one's injury, but succouring the indigent as occasion required. He had naturally a fine voice, and was a skilful chanter; was deeply versed in ecclesiastical law, and had a great command of clear and expressive language in preaching the word of God to the uninstructed. His patience and benevolence charmed all who enjoyed his society, and he committed without jealousy a large share of his official burdens to his deans and arch-priests, admitting good men without reserve to a participation in the honours of his station.

CH. V. *Acts of the synod and assembly of nobles held at Lillebonne, in the year 1080.*

[A.D. 1080.] In the year of our Lord 1080, King William spent the feast of Whitsuntide at Lillebonne, where he summoned William the archbishop, and all the bishops and abbots, with the counts and other barons of Normandy to attend him. The king's commands were obeyed. It was in the eighth year of the papacy of Pope Gregory VII.,

¹ No vestiges remain of the buildings here attributed to William Bonne-Ame.

² The translation of the relics of St. Romanus appears to have been made in 1079, and probably on the 23rd of October. The procession here mentioned seems to have been the origin of the celebrated fair still held at Rouen on that day.

that the celebrated synod was held at Lillebonne, in which the wants of the church and the state generally were carefully provided for by the wisdom of the king, with the advice of his barons. I propose to insert here the canons of the council, as they were faithfully committed to writing by persons present, in order that posterity may know what were the laws of Normandy in the time of King William.

1. The *Peace of God*, or as it is commonly called, the truce of God,¹ is to be strictly observed, as our Duke William established it at first; and let it be proclaimed afresh in every diocese, with the penalties of excommunication. If any contumaciously refuse to observe it, or shall in any manner break it, let the bishops take cognizance of the offence, and do justice according to what is already decreed. But if the offender will not submit to his bishop's decision, the bishop shall report him to the lord under whom he holds his land, and he shall carry into effect the bishop's sentence. And if the lord shall disregard the order, let the king's viscount execute it, all pretences to the contrary notwithstanding.

2. Let the bishops do justice, according to the canons, on those who marry wives within the prohibited degrees of kindred, and on wives who marry their kinsmen. The king will not succour or defend any such, but, on the contrary, admonishes and gives his support to the bishops in strictly enforcing the divine law.

3. Let no priest, deacon, or subdeacon, nor any dean or canon, have in his house a woman under any pretext: if any one shall be found to have relapsed into this sin, after having had the charge brought against him by the bishop's officials, let him clear himself in the episcopal court. But if one of his parishioners or liege lords before accused him, let there be an adjournment till he can refer to the bishop; and if he designs to clear himself, let him do it in the presence of some of his parishioners in the presence of the bishop's officers, who shall give their judgment on his defence. But if he cannot clear himself he shall forfeit his preferment for ever.

¹ The Peace of God, a cessation of hostilities at certain holy seasons, is commonly supposed to have been solemnly introduced in a synod held at Caen in the year 1061; but there are traces in an old chartulary of its having been so established as early as 1046.

The king has decreed this, not for the purpose of encroaching, in perpetuity, on the judicial rights of his bishops, but because the bishops of that time had been supine in that matter; but when he should find them doing their duty, he would restore, as matter of grace, the power of which they were temporarily deprived for their default.

4. Let no layman receive any part of the altar-dues, or burial-fees, or of the third of the tithes; nor take money in any shape for their sale or grant. Let no priest do any service for his preferment, except it be to carry a message from his lord, but so that he return the same day to his duties in the church. He may go with his lord as chaplain, if the lord wishes it, but not out of Normandy; being maintained in the lord's household, and providing a curate to take charge of his church while he is absent.

5. Priests shall not be compelled, by force or threats, to give anything to the bishops or their officers, beyond their just episcopal dues. No money shall be exacted from them on account of their women.

6. The archdeacons shall hold visitations once a year throughout their jurisdictions, at which they shall inspect the vestments, vessels, and books belonging to the church; the bishop appointing three places only in every archdeaconry where the priests of the neighbourhood shall produce them for inspection.

7. While the archdeacon is engaged in his visitations he shall receive from the priests who attend it sustenance for three days.

8. If a priest incurs any forfeiture in the king's forests or those of his barons, the bishop shall receive no part of the fine.

9. Once a year, about the feast of Whitsuntide, the priests shall cause processions to be made to the mother church, and wax from each house of the value of a penny, or the worth of it, shall be offered at the altar for lighting the church. Whoever neglects shall be compelled by the priest, in exercise of his office, to pay the due without deduction.

10. No layman shall prefer a priest to a benefice, nor deprive him, without the bishop's consent. But the bishop

shall not refuse to institute any one who is duly qualified; nor admit any priest who is not fit.

11. In cemeteries which belong to churches, whether in cities, castles, or burghs, the bishops shall retain whatever rights they had in the time of Count Robert, or with the consent of King William.

12. As for the cemeteries in the marches, if there be war, and any persons come to dwell there while hostilities continue, and making the sacred inclosure their habitation on account of the war, the bishop shall amerce them in no fine except such as they incurred before they took refuge in the churchyard. When peace is restored, those who thus sought an asylum during the war shall be compelled to depart, or shall become subject to the bishop's jurisdiction. Those however who had ancient dwellings in the cemeteries, shall possess their former holdings without disturbance.

13. The country churches shall preserve the same extent of cemeteries which belonged to them in the time of Count Robert, or up to the period of the present synod. The bishops shall possess the same rights in those inclosures which they had in the time of Count Robert, or now hold with the consent of King William, unless they have given any release for them with the king's permission.

14. If after this council a new church is built within any village, the bishop shall make a cemetery with the concurrence of the lords of the soil and parishioners. But if a new church is erected where there is no village, it shall have five perches of land round it, allotted for a cemetery.

15. If a church be granted to monks, the priest who is in possession of it shall enjoy whatever belonged to it before it was given to the monks, and so much the more because he is then connected with more holy men. On his death or other avoidance, the abbot shall select a qualified priest, and present him to the bishop, either in person or by letters dimissory. If he is a fit person the bishop shall institute him: but if the priest should wish to live with the monks under their strict rule, let him see that the church to which he has been instituted by episcopal licence, be decently provided with vestments, books, and other things necessary for divine service, according to its means. But if

the priest has no desire to live with the monks, let the abbot make him such allowance from the revenues of the church as will enable him to live comfortably, and to perform properly the service of the church. If the abbot refuse, let him be duly compelled by the bishop. The priest who has the cure is to be under the jurisdiction of his bishop, and shall pay him the dues belonging to his see. What remains, the abbot may take for the use of his monastery; let the same rules be observed with respect to churches held by canons.

16. Profanation of churches and churchyards, as it has been before decreed, and offences causing interruptions to divine worship, shall be punished by fines inflicted by the bishops. Assaults on the road to church shall be punished in the same manner.

17. *Item.* If any person shall pursue another in a rage into the churchyard or church.

18. *Item.* If any one ploughs or builds in the churchyard without the bishop's licence.

19. If a clerk commits a robbery or rape, or strikes, wounds, or kills any one, or engages in a duel, without the bishop's license, or accepts a pledge of battle, or makes an assault, or seizes anything unjustly, or is guilty of arson, or any one in his service, or dwelling in the churchyard; they shall be mulct by the bishop in a fine, in like manner.

20. *Item.* If a clerk commits adultery or incest.

21. *Item.* If a priest forfeits his ministry.

22. *Item.* In the case of priests who neglect to attend the synod.

23. *Item.* If any priest shall not pay the synod and visitation fees at the appointed times.

24. *Item.* If a clerk shall give up the tonsure.

25. *Item.* If a monk or nun, not living under any rule, put off the monastic dress.

26. *Item.* If priests excommunicate any persons, except for breaking the truce of God, and robbery without the bishop's licence.

27. If any stray cattle, commonly called waifs, come to the yard of the priest, or of a clerk living in the churchyard, they shall belong to the church or the bishop.

28. Whatever is left through a dispute, in the house of a priest or a clerk, or in the yard of the priest or clerk or their servant, shall belong to the bishop.

29. If any thing is lost and found in the church or churchyard, it shall belong to the bishop.

30. If any one shall assault or strike a priest, monk, or nun, or shall seize them, or slay them, or burn their houses in the churchyard, he shall be mulcted in the same way.

31. *Item.* If any man commits adultery or incest with his mother, or his godmother, or his daughter.

32. *Item.* If a woman does the like.

33. *Item.* If a husband divorces his wife, or a wife her husband without the bishop's licence.

34. *Item.* If any one consults ghosts, or has dealings with magic.

35. *Item.* If any one repudiates or denies a crime with which he is charged, and is convicted by the ordeal of hot iron, unless during the Peace of God.

36. *Item.* As to any one who, in contempt of a sentence, suffers himself to be excommunicated.

37. The offences of parishioners which belong to the jurisdiction of the bishop, shall, where such is the custom, be judged by the bishop.

38. If a sentence be disputed, let it be decided in the bishop's presence.

39. If the ordeal by hot iron be sentenced, let it take place in the mother church.

40. If the law is to be made clear, let it be done where the plea was first commenced.

41. No one is allowed to preach in a bishop's diocese without his license.

42. Whoever falls into these delinquences, and voluntarily offers to do penance, shall have it assigned him according to the nature of his offence, and no fine shall be exacted.

43. If a layman commits a robbery in the churchyard, he shall be mulct to the bishop; if the robbery is committed elsewhere, whatever be its nature, the bishop shall have nothing.

44. The bishops shall have their customary dues in those places in which they possessed them in the time of Count Robert, or now have them with the consent of King

William. Those which have been released shall have the freedom which they have maintained till now. In all these jurisdictions and customary rights, the king retains in his own power what he has hitherto possessed.

45. If a priest disputes his lord's judgment for some ecclesiastical cause, and unjustly wearies him by proceedings in the bishop's court, he shall pay a fine of ten shillings to the lord.

46. If the bishops can prove in the king's court that they possessed in the time of Count Robert or of King William, with his consent, any thing which is not here mentioned, the king does not deprive them of their right, only let them not take seizin of it until they have shown in his court what it is they claim. Likewise, the king, by this instrument, takes none of their rights from the laity which they can prove in his court to belong to them and not to the bishops; only let them not disseize the bishops, until they have proved in the king's court that the bishops ought not to have it.

This synod was held at a royal country-seat on the Seine, where once stood an ancient city called Caletus. From which the neighbouring district from the sea to Talou is still called Caux. This city, as we read in ancient annals of the Romans, was besieged by Julius Cæsar, and was destroyed on account of the obstinate defence made by the warlike inhabitants. Having reduced the enemy in this place to submit to his will, he was so struck with the advantageous site, that he took the precaution of making it a Roman garrison, and called it after his own name Julia Bona, which the barbarians corrupted into the name it now bears, of Lillebonne.¹

CH. VI. *Description and antiquities of the city of Rouen—
The mission and martyrdom of St. Nicaisius.*

CÆSAR, having over-run the whole of Neustria, commanded the city of Rouen to be built in a desirable situation on the river Seine, where, to the east of the place the rivers

¹ No authority is to be found in any ancient history for any of the statements in this paragraph; and so far from Rouen being founded by Julius Cæsar, it does not appear from his Commentaries that he ever set foot in any part of Normandy.

Aubette and Robec, and on the west, the Maromme, form a junction with the Seine. It was called by its founders Rodomus, signifying the house of the Romans,¹ and became the station of a Roman legion, to overawe and command the provincials in the neighbourhood.

The city of Rouen is populous, and enriched by commerce, its busy port, and flowing rivers, and pleasant meadows, making it a cheerful residence. It abounds in fruits and fish, and is affluent in its supplies of all commodities, is surrounded on all sides by woods and hills, is strongly fortified by walls, trenches, and bulwarks, and its public and private buildings, its houses and churches, make a fine appearance. St. Nicaïsius the bishop, was commissioned to come to this city with his companions by St. Denys, in the time of the Emperor Domitian,² but on the road he was arrested by Sisinnius Fescenninus, at a place called Scammis,³ and remaining constant in the faith of Christ was beheaded, as well as Quirinus the priest, and Scuviculus the deacon, on the fifth of the ides [11th] of October. Their bodies were left by their persecutors to be devoured by birds of prey, dogs, and wild beasts, but by command of the Almighty God, angels preserved them untouched. The heathen guards being withdrawn the night following, the holy martyrs miraculously arose by God's help, and having replaced their heads,⁴ crossed the river Epte by a ford unknown to man, and reposed themselves on a pleasant islet in that river. The place has been called, in memory of the saints, from that day to the present Vani, that is the ford of Nicaïsius;⁵ and there the Almighty conferred many good gifts on those who asked in faith, for the merits of the

¹ This absurd etymology needs no serious refutation. The original name of Rouen was *Rotomagus*, which has nothing in common with Romanus. It was afterwards corrupted to Rotomus, Rodomus, &c.

² See chap. iv. of this book. The mission of St. Nicaïsius was not in the time of Domitian. The mistake arises from the common error in the middle ages of confusing St. Denys the Areopagite, with St. Denys, bishop of Paris.

³ Supposed to be the place since called Roche-Guion.

⁴ The stories of saints carrying their own heads probably arose from images which thus represented to the ignorant the nature of their martyrdom, and to which succeeding generations gave a literal interpretation.

⁵ The author means, it may be supposed *Va-dum Ni-casii*, a strange etymology. Gani was, indeed, anciently called Vadiniacus.

martyrs. Its former heathenism long held possession of Rouen, after the martyrdom of its missionary, and filled it with idolatrous abominations until the time of St. Mellon the archbishop.

CH. VII. *Legends of St. Taurinus, the first bishop of Evreux.*

AT that time the faith of Christ savingly possessed and illuminated the city of the Evantici, that is to say of Evreux, situated on the river Iton. For St. Taurinus was sent there by the blessed¹ Dionysius, and by God's help wrought many miracles, God being always with him and gloriously directing all his works. For this he had chosen to undergo patiently all the trials and sufferings of this present life; and leaving at Rome Tarquinius Romanus his father, and Eutychia his most pious mother, with many other friends and relations, by order of Pope Clemens, the young exile penetrated into Gaul with Dionysius the Greek. When the second persecution raged furiously against the Christians, under Domitian, this Dionysius, who was then bishop of Paris, ordained his godson Taurinus, who was now forty years old, bishop, and, predicting many things he would have to suffer, sent him among the inhabitants of Evreux, in the name of the Lord. As the man of God drew near the gates of the city, a demon encountering him in three different shapes, that of a bear, a lion, and a buffalo, endeavoured to terrify the champion of Christ. But he stood firm in the faith like an impregnable wall, and completing his journey was hospitably entertained in the house of Lucius. On the third day, while Taurinus was preaching to the people, and the charm of the new faith gained him willing hearers, the

¹ *Machario*, Greek for blessed. The following legend is extracted from that found in the Bollandists under 2nd of August. It is of the same stamp as the other fabrications of the ninth or tenth centuries, when all knowledge of the real facts was lost or corrupted, and it was sought to supply them by fables very ill put together, and all servilely copied one from another. Here we have the confusion before referred to between the two St. Denys's, and the introduction of our old acquaintances, the magicians Cambyzes and Zara, to do honour to the miraculous powers of St. Taurinus. All that is known with truth, is that Taurinus first preached Christianity in these parts among the Aulerci, about the beginning of the fifth century.

devil in alarm began to torment Euphrasia, the daughter of Lucius, and cast her into the fire. She immediately died, but shortly afterwards Taurinus, praying, and commanding her to arise, she was restored to life in the name of the Lord. No signs of fire appeared about her. All who were witnesses of this miracle were struck with fear and astonishment, and believed in Jesus Christ. On that same day one hundred and twenty men were baptized, eight blind men received sight, four dumb were cured, and many more were healed of their various infirmities in the name of the Lord.

Then Taurinus entered the temple of Diana, and compelled Zabulon, by the power of God, to stand visible before all the people, at which spectacle the heathen multitude was greatly terrified. For he appeared to them in the shape of an Ethiopian, black as soot, having a long beard, and breathing out flames of fire from his mouth. Then there came an angel of the Lord, shining like the sun, and in the sight of all bound the demon's hands and carried him off. On that day therefore, two thousand souls were baptized, and all the sick were cured by divine interposition. Deodatus, the brother of Euphrasia, seeing these things, believed and was baptized, and being made a priest recorded truly all that happened. Then Taurinus entered the defiled temple of Diana, and, purifying it by exorcisms and prayers, consecrated it as a Christian church in honour of St. Mary, mother of God. He then proceeded to destroy the idols every where around, and to dedicate churches to Christ, visiting his whole diocese, making canonical ordinations, and establishing hospitality every where.

Satan, becoming envious at beholding so much good, in his despair devised many schemes for injuring the man of God, and roused against him numerous enemies. Two magicians, Cambyzes and Zara, priests of Diana, groaned at seeing the people converted to God, and incited twenty of their disciples to kill Taurinus. But as they drew near to him, they were discovered at some distance by the man of God, who, making the sign of the cross against them, caused them to stand fixed on the spot. At his command, the second time, they were set free, and, throwing themselves at his feet, believed, and were baptized, in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. The magicians, finding

that their devices could not prevail against the soldier of Christ, stabbed themselves with their own knives.

Meanwhile, Licinius the consul hearing of the fame of the holy bishop, he caused him to be presented to him at his villa of Gisai.¹ While he was being conducted there, he met a paralytic man, and his sister, who was blind, deaf, and dumb. He forthwith blessed water, and sprinkled the sick, who were immediately made sound. The executioners, seeing this miracle, instantly believed on the Lord. The bishop and the consul, having sharply disputed concerning idolatry and divine worship, the consul flew into a rage, and commanded the bishop to be stripped naked and scourged with rods; but the holy man devoutly prayed to God, and presently a voice was heard from heaven, comforting him. The hands, also, of the executioners immediately withered; but the wife of Licinius, interceding for the man of God, the consul was so incensed, that he commanded her to be tortured.

While this was passing, a messenger arrived with the intelligence that his son had fallen down a precipice as he was hunting in the neighbourhood of the castle of Alercus,² and died on the spot, as well as his attendant. Licinius and all his troops were thrown into the deepest sorrow at this calamity, and by God's will he was compelled to implore the aid of the man of God, whom he had begun to torture. Then Taurinus, having prostrated himself in the church of St. Mary and prayed, went with the people to the bodies which were lying dead. There he poured forth devout supplications to God; and, having ended his prayers, took the hand of his cousin³ Marinus, and restored him to life in the name of the Lord. Licinius, and his wife, and all his chief men, seeing this, rejoiced greatly, and casting themselves at the bishop's feet, begged to receive holy baptism. And that day one thousand two hundred souls were baptized.

¹ Probably Gisai, between Broglie and La Barre, where ruins of Roman buildings have been discovered, to which traditions of St. Taurinus are attached.

² *Mediolanum Aulercorum*, the Roman site of old Evreux, two leagues and a half south of the present city, where traces of a castle of the middle ages have been found.

³ Our author has omitted the passage of the legend in which Licinius is represented to have made the discovery that the saint was his uncle.

Then Marinus entreating for his follower, Taurinus assented, and, approaching the body, invoked God, and called to Paschasius, who was immediately restored to life by the power of God. Both, on their recovery, told each other what they had seen in the place of the departed. Paschasius predicted to Marinus that he would die on the day he put off his white robes of baptism,¹ which came to pass; for Marinus, being seized with a slight fever, died on the eighth day after he was baptized.

By such miracles as these, Taurinus, the first bishop of Evreux, became illustrious, and brought many thousands to the knowledge of the truth and righteousness. At length when Pope Sixtus filled the apostolic see, and Ælius Hadrian was emperor, Taurinus, full of years and virtues, received a call from heaven, on the third of the ides [11th] of August, and the church in which the people were assembled was filled with a thick and odoriferous cloud. After the space of an hour, the cloud was withdrawn, and the bishop was seen sitting on his chair, with his hands stretched out in the act of prayer, and his eyes lifted to heaven. Deep grief fell on the people of the diocese for the loss of their bishop; and, at the command of an angel, who appeared to them in the shape of a person of eminence, the man of God was buried outside the city, about the distance of one-third of a mile on the west side. The place long remained without any mark of respect, but now a chosen company of monks have, by the grace of God, settled there, to carry on their soul-saving warfare.² An extraordinary thing happened at the funeral of the venerable bishop. While he was being laid in the grave in the usual manner, and the people were making great lamentations, he raised himself in the pit, as if he were alive, and said: "My little children, why do ye so? Fear not: listen to a just one." And, bending his head, he was again silent. Accordingly, as soon as the servant of Christ was buried, an angel of the Lord

¹ According to primitive custom and the canons of the church, the white garments of baptism were worn for eight days.

² The place where the tomb of St. Taurinus stood, and where a monastery was founded to his honour before the end of the seventh century, is still shown. Though now within the modern city of St. Evreux, it was at a little distance from the Roman town.

said to the people: "Depart quickly, lest ye be surrounded by the enemy; this city shall be destroyed, but none of you shall be injured. This place shall remain unknown for a long time." The angel then vanished, and all that he had foretold came to pass. For the tomb of the holy bishop and the anniversary of his departure were long concealed, but at length became gloriously known by a divine revelation.¹ Some miracles are also daily wrought by him at Evreux. For the demon which he expelled from the temple of Diana still haunts the city, appearing in various shapes, but hurting no one. The common people call it the Goblin,² and assert that it is restrained to this day from injuring mankind by the merits of St. Taurinus; and that because it obeyed his commands by breaking its own idols, it was not forthwith cast into the pit, but undergoes its punishment in the very place where it had reigned supreme, by witnessing the salvation of those whom it had before insulted and tormented.

It is also said by the inhabitants, and it is true, that no venomous animal can exist in Evreux. At one time the rich soil, flooded by the waters of the river Iton, gave birth to such numbers of vipers and snakes, that the city of Evreux was full of reptiles of that kind. The citizens complaining of this pest, St. Taurinus prayed to the Lord to deliver them from the annoyance, and that no venomous reptile should in future be suffered to live within the walls. His prayers were heard. If by any accident an adder or a

¹ Our author's abridgment of the legend ends here; it is not known where he obtained the additional traditions.

² *Gobilenus*, from the Greek *κόβαλος*, a demon (?) Du Cange, "vulgo faunus, folletus," [the *follet* and *feu-follet* of the French]. He quotes *Cassian. Coll.* 7, c. 32, to show that these merry sprites, lurking by the road-side and in out-of-the-way places, delighted in mocking wayfarers, and leading them astray, and thus annoying them, rather than in doing them serious injury. This object of vulgar superstition had, it appears, and still retains the same name and character in Normandy as in England.

"You are that shrewd and knavish spirit

Called Robin Goodfellow . . .

Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck."

Midsummer Nights' Dream.

See also *Archives Normandes*, 1824; and *La Statistique du Département de l'Orme*, par M. Du Bois.

toad is introduced in a bundle of grass, the moment it comes within the walls it dies.

A long time afterwards the religion of Christ spread, and the clergy of Evreux, with the faithful inhabitants, made a search for the tomb of Taurinus, their first bishop, and by God's help found it.¹ His remains were then reverently lifted from the earth, and after a short time, translated by the faithful to Fécamp. A venerable monastery of monks devoted to the worship of God was built there, and the body of the saint was deposited in a rich shrine.²

May God deliver us from all venom of sin, by the intercession and merits of Taurinus, the benignant bishop; and shedding on us abundantly the perfect light of his holy virtues, unite us to the company of his saints in the heavenly mansions, where we may worthily pour forth praises to the King of kings, through all ages. Amen!

CH. VIII. *Sufferings of the Christians in Gaul during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius—Martyrs in the Diocletian persecution.*

IN the time of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the infant Christianity of Gaul was crushed by the rage of its adversaries, and our holy mother the church deeply humiliated for nearly one hundred and sixty years. History does not distinctly inform us, what nation it was which intolerably oppressed both Christians and idolaters, or whence it came, nor under what prince or tyrant it vented its fury.³

¹ St. Landulf, then a clerk, and afterwards bishop, of Evreux, discovered the relics of St. Taurinus in the beginning of the seventh century, when he built a chapel on the spot.

² There are various accounts of the translation of the relics of St. Taurinus. At the invasion of the Northmen they were taken to Lezoux in Auvergne; afterwards, at the beginning of the tenth century, to Gigni in Franche-Comté. It is not known when they were brought back to Normandy, but spite of the claims of the abbeys of Gigni and Fécamp, and those also advanced by the cathedral of Chartres, which pretends to have received them after the pillage of Evreux by Philip-Augustus in 1195, the abbey of St. Taurinus possesses them, where they are preserved in an exquisite reliquary of the thirteenth century, of which M. Le Prévost has published a description.

³ This pretended invasion of Gaul is altogether apocryphal, and was invented by the legend-writers of the middle ages as a frame for their pious frauds.

However it clearly appears in the acts of many of the saints of that period, that during the reign of the emperors above named an army of savage barbarians ravaged Gaul. At that time there were no kings in Gaul, but the emperors of Rome, from the time of Julius Cæsar, had all the Cisalpine nations under their dominion, appointing prefects and other magistrates in the cities at their will.

The word of God was almost forgotten in Neustria after the death of the holy bishop Taurinus, until the times of Diocletian and Maximian, by whom the tenth persecution was carried on with diabolical fury, and raged more fiercely and longer against the church of Christ than any before. But He who promised to be ever with his people, wonderfully comforted and delivered his spouse in the storms of her deep tribulation, protecting and exalting her and making her triumphantly glorious. Moreover, he will reward her with an eternal crown in the presence of his Father in the heavenly Jerusalem. Her, therefore, he so much loved, he did not leave long destitute of illustrious teachers during the fury of her persecutors.

When the tenth persecution fatally harassed the Christians for ten years, and innumerable multitudes of martyrs were slain with every species of torture, ascending to heaven with the glorious ornament of their precious blood, Quentin and Lucian, Valerian, Rufinus and Eugenius, Mellon and Avician, and many others of the clergy and nobility of Rome, went forth, and were scattered throughout Gaul faithfully preaching the word of God. Quentin came to Amiens, and Lucian to Beauvais; Mellon with Avician and some other distinguished persons to Rouen.¹

¹ St. Quentin, martyr in the Vermandois, October 31, 287; St. Lucien, apostle of the Beauvais, about the same time; St. Valérien, martyr at Tournus, the 15th of September, 279; St. Rufinus, martyr in the diocese of Soissons, about 287; St. Eugenius, martyr at Deuil near Paris, in the third century. The time at which St. Mellon began to preach at Rouen is not exactly known; but he was the first to introduce Christianity there, and must have died before 314, the date of the council of Arles, at which his successor, Avician, was present, and the acts of which, his name being subscribed as bishop of Rouen. All the martyrs whose names are mentioned, suffered *before* the tenth persecution, which was not regularly enforced until the year 303; it is therefore incorrect to say that these saints were led by it to leave Rome, and preach the gospel in Gaul. It is

Diocletian and Hercules Maximian voluntarily abdicating their authority, Constans, a prince of great humanity, succeeded to the government in the provinces of the west from which Hercules retired.¹ Constans displayed much clemency to the people, great devotion to God. For, as Eusebius of Cæsarea attests, in spite of the fury of his colleagues, he neither stained his reign with the blood of the saints, nor destroyed with violence the oratories and conventicles of the Christians as Maximian had done. This prince built a city in Neustria which he called Constance [Coutances] from his own name; and his concubine Helen came from that province; she bore him Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople.²

CH. IX. *Series of the archbishops of Rouen from Mellon (about A. D. 310) to Geoffrey, A. D. 1110—1127—Containing also chronicles of other persons and public events.*

AT that time the venerable Mellon, with some other faithful men, settled at Rouen, where he was the first, who by God's permission sat in the episcopal chair; and from that time to the present day the metropolitan dignity has been vested there. It has six other cities as the seats of suffragan bishops; those of the Belocasi, that is Bayeux; of the Évantici, that is Evreux; Lisieux, Avranches, Coutances, and that of the Salarii, which is called Séez. The church of Rouen has now had forty-six bishops, and the clergy of that city have published for the information of posterity a distich in heroic verse concerning each of them, which I propose to insert in an agreeable order with some necessary additions.³

1. "St. Mellon was the first bishop who taught his probable that St. Mellon himself began his apostolical labours before the end of the third century.

¹ Constans was created Cæsar and associated in the empire, March 1, 292; raised to the rank of Augustus, May 1, 305; and died 25th of July of the year following.

² It is not known when or where Constans married Helena, if she was his legitimate wife, as seems to have been the case, notwithstanding our author; for it appears that he was compelled to divorce her in 292, when he married Theodora, the daughter of Maximian Hercules. The emperor Constantine was born the 27th of February, 274.

³ These distichs, which contain very meagre information, in barbarous verse, are incorrectly attributed to our author by P. Pommeraye in his *Histoire des Archevêques de Rouen*.

doctrine to the people of Rouen." He flourished in the time of popes Eusebius and Melchiades,¹ and departing to the Lord on the eleventh of the calends of November [22nd of October], was buried in the crypt of the church of St. Gervase the martyr, outside the city, where his remains long reposed. His tomb indeed, is preserved there to this time, but his body was removed for fear of the Danes, and translated to a castle in the Vexin called Pontoise. It is there preserved in a church dedicated to his name, to which is attached a celebrated convent of canons.²

2. "Immediately after Mellon, the devoted Avician succeeded to the government, and ruled his charge like a good master." He was present at the council of Arles, which was held in the time of Pope Silvester under the Emperor Constantine, who began his reign in the year from the building of Rome,³ 1061. It was then that the council of Nice was held, attended by three hundred and eighteen bishops, among whom were Nicholas, bishop of Myra, in Lycia,⁴ and many other very eminent prelates.

3. "Severus came next, a bishop illustrious for his virtues, of admirable conduct, and gentle to his flock." He held the see fifteen years,⁵ flourishing in the times of Constantine

¹ May 20, 310—January 11, 314. It is most probable that St. Mellon was rather contemporary with the predecessors of these popes, as we have seen that his own successor, Avician, was at the council of Arles in 314.

² St. Mellon, as well as his successor, Avician, was in truth buried in a crypt still remaining under the church of St. Gervase at Rouen; or to speak more correctly, in the public cemetery on the road to Lillebonne, where one of their successors (probably St. Victricius) built the existing crypt over their tomb, after Christianity became established. M. Le Pré-vost considers it as the most ancient Christian monument to be found in Normandy. There are to be seen the two elliptic arches under which the remains of the two archbishops long reposed. Those of St. Mellon, removed to Pontoise to escape the ravages of the Danes, gave rise to the foundation of an abbey which was afterwards converted into a collegiate church of canons.

³ Our author here returns to the computation of venerable Bede. It should be A.U.C. 1059, A.D. 306, July 25.

⁴ It is very doubtful whether St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, assisted at the council of Nice; indeed, the doubts connected with this bishop may be carried still further.

⁵ The dates assigned by Ordericus Vitalis to most of the bishops in the ensuing series are very doubtful, but there exist no authentic records from which they can be corrected.

and Constans, under Popes Mark and Julius. In his age, Maximin bishop of Treves, Hilary of Poitiers, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eusebius at Vercelli, and Dionysius at Milan, were bright stars of the church.

4. "Eusebius, so gentle and so constant in the duties of a bishop, sweetly displayed the flowers of his virtues." He flourished twenty-five years, in the time of Popes Liberius and Felix, and during the reigns of Constantine, Julian the apostate, Jovian, and Valentinian.

5. "Marcellinus succeeded by the grace of Christ, an eminent pastor, distinguished by the excellence of his life." He laboured for the good of the church for twenty years, in the time of Pope Damasus, and during the reigns of Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian [II.] At that time died Anthony, the most illustrious of the Egyptian monks. Peter, an eminent orator, flourished at Saragossa: Ambrose of Milan withstood the Arians, like an impregnable wall. A council of one hundred and fifty fathers assembled at Constantinople under Pope Damasus, against Macedonius and Eunomius.

6. "Peter, the ever watchful guardian and worthy protector of his people, piously filled the see committed to him." He governed it nineteen years, in the time of Popes Siricius and Anastasius, under Theodosius and Arcadius. Then Martin of Tours, Maurilius of Angers, Basil of Cæsarea, and the eloquent preacher Augustine of Hippo, and St. Jerom, the interpreter of the word of God, flourished.

7. "Victricius, the brave victor and avenger of sin, taught the church of God his pious precepts." He held the see eleven years,¹ in the time of Pope Innocent, under Arcadius and Honorius. In his age, Donatus, bishop of Epirus, and John of Jerusalem, flourished. The discovery of the body of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, was made, by a divine revelation to Lucian, a priest of Caphargamala. Then the priest Orosius, who wrote a history of the world called the *Hormesta*,² having been sent by Augustine to

¹ It is, however, known that Victricius filled the see of Rouen at least from the year 383 to 404.

² See note, vol. i. p. 2. The discovery of the relics of St. Stephen, and the voyage of Orosius to Palestine occurred in 415. John II. was patriarch of Jerusalem from 386 to 417.

Jerom to consult him on some deep questions, met Lucian, from whom he received the relics of St. Stephen, which he conveyed to Spain for the priest Avitus.

8. "He was succeeded by Innocent, a pious bishop, who re-established the church of God, and reformed the people." He flourished nine years, in the time of popes Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine, under Honorius and his son Arcadius. It was then that a council of two hundred bishops was held at Ephesus, of which Cyril of Alexandria was president. Palladius, ordained a bishop by Pope Celestine, was sent as the first missionary to convert the Sects.

9. "Evodus¹ succeeded: he was gifted with a holy eloquence, firm and irreproachable, prudent, pious, and modest." He flourished eight years, in the times of popes Celestine and Sixtus. Then the Gauls rebelled against the Romans, in conjunction with the Franks, who sprung from the race of the Trojans. These two nations jointly² elected Pharamond the Frank, son of Duke Sunno to be their king. Maximus, bishop of Tours, was much esteemed for the eloquence of his sermons.

10. "St. Silvester governed his see honourably, ruling it justly, and prudently enriching it." He flourished ten years, when Leo was pope, and Clodion and Meroveus were kings of the Franks.

11. "Bishop Malson, relying on his divine doctrines, was a shepherd held in veneration by the people in every quarter." He flourished nine years, under Martian and Valentinian, at the time that Pope Leo held a council of six hundred and thirty bishops at Chalcedon, against Eutyches and Dioscorus. In his time, the Saxons and Angles, under Hengist and Horsa, passed over into Britain in three long ships, and entered into engagements with Vortigern against the Picts. Then Germanus of Auxerre was greatly distinguished.

12. "Germanus,³ an illustrious prelate, the vigilant

¹ It is supposed that St. Evodus flourished in the course of the fifth century, but nothing more is known of him. The acts attributed to him are apocryphal.

² Whatever our author may say, the Gauls had nothing to do with Pharamond's election.

³ All that is known of this bishop is that he was present at the first council of Tours in 461

guardian of his people, filled the episcopal see." This bishop flourished eight years, while Childeric governed the Gauls, and Leo the Romans. At this time Theodore, a bishop of Syria, wrote his ecclesiastical history, from the end of that of Eusebius to his own times, that is, to the reign of Leo, in which he died.

13. "Crescentius was careful of his flock, adorning them with eminent virtues, and causing them to increase in goodness." He flourished twenty-six years, in the time of popes Hilary and Simplicius, and of Leo the emperor. Then Childeric, son of Meroveus, was king of the Franks.

14. "Godard flourished, a holy and benevolent pastor, generous and constant, and shedding abundantly the light of the word." He governed the church fifteen years, in the times of popes Felix, Gelasius, Anastatius, and Symmachus, under the Emperor Zeno, and he consecrated St. Leo bishop of Coutances. At that time flourished Remi, bishop of Rheims, and Solin of Chartres, and Vedast of Arras, who baptized the Merovingian Clovis, king of the Franks, in the year of our Lord 488.¹ The third year afterwards, Mamertus, archbishop of Vienna, instituted processional litanies, on account of the calamities which threatened the city, that is, the rogations before Ascension day. Victorius composed his Easter cycle for 532 years by command of Pope Hilary. Odoacer, king of the Goths, took Rome, which their kings, Theodoric, Triaricus, and Theodoric Walamer afterwards held. Hunneric the Arian, king of the Vandals in Africa, expelled more than three hundred and thirty-six Catholic bishops, shut up their churches, and persecuted the people with various punishments. Godard of Rouen, and Médard of Soissons, had Nectard of Noyon for their father and Protagia for their mother, and both departed to the Lord on the sixth of the ides [8th] of June.² The illustrious Ouen composed these verses on them:—

¹ The conversion of Clovis took place in 496, and not in 488, as the MS. of St. Evroult states, or 498, as the date stands in Duchesne's text.

² St. Godard died before St. Médard was made a bishop. The former was present at the first council of Orleans in 511. St. Médard became bishop of Noyon about 530, and of Tournay in 532, and died about 545. The only possible circumstance in the traditions relating to them is that they might be brothers.

Godard of Rouen, Médard of Soissons, twins,
Together issued from their mother's womb;
White-robed were washed together from their sins,
Both went together, bishops, to the tomb.

15. "Flavius¹ was radiant with the bright flowers of virtue, and fed the people committed to his charge with the divine word." He flourished during thirty-five years, in the times of popes Symmachus, John, Felix, Boniface, John, and Agapete, under the Emperors Anastatius, Justin the Elder, and Justinian. After the death of Clovis, Sigismund,² Childebert, and his other sons succeeded. Clotaire, who survived them all, was king of the Franks fifty-one years; during whose reign, Laumer, Evroult, and other holy men flourished in his kingdom. Thrasamond, king of the Vandals, closed the Catholic churches, and banished two hundred and twenty bishops to Sardinia, to whom Pope Symmachus supplied food and clothing yearly. The Emperor Anastatius, who favoured the Eutychian heresy, was struck with lightning because he persecuted the Catholics. In the time of Justin the Elder, Pope John gave sight to a blind man at Constantinople, and on his return to Ravenna was slain by Theodoric. The king of the Goths also put to death Symmachus the patrician, and Boethius, and he himself was cut off suddenly the year following. Athalaric, his nephew, succeeded him. Hilderic, king of the Vandals, recalled the bishops from exile, and commanded the churches to be restored, after seventy-six years of profanation by the heretics. Benedict, the abbot, was illustrious for his virtues, respecting which Pope Gregory wrote in his Book of Dialogues. Belisarius, the patrician, being sent into Africa by Justinian, conquered the Vandals, and sent their king Gelimer a prisoner to Constantinople. Carthage was re-taken ninety-six years after its occupation by the barbarians. Dionysius the Little wrote his Paschal Cycle, beginning from the year of our Lord 532; and the Justinian Code was promulgated the same year. Victor, bishop of Capua, wrote a book respecting Easter, in which he confuted the errors of Victorius. The senator, Cassio-

¹ This bishop was present at the councils of Orleans in 533, 538, and 541.

² Clovis had no son named Sigismund.

dorus, and Priscian, the grammarian, and the sub-deacon, Arator, flourished.

16. "Pretextatus suffered martyrdom by the command of Queen Fredegunde, for the name of Christ."¹ He flourished during forty-eight years, in the times of popes Agapetus, Silverius, Vigelius, Pelagius, John, and Pelagius, under the Emperors Justin and Tiberius Constantine. In Italy, the patrician, Narses, defeated and slew Totila, king of the Goths. The Lombards, under their King Alboin, over-ran all Italy, with famine and death in their train.

17. "Melantius² governed the church for a long course of years, instructing the people, and causing them to lead a life of righteousness." He was bishop of Rouen twelve years, in the times of Pelagius, Benedict, and the doctor, Gregory the Great, under Maurice, the first Greek emperor of the Romans. His conduct was base, because, as it is reported, he betrayed his master Pretextatus, who was put to death by Fredegunde, wife of King Chilperic.

18. "Hildulf nobly filled the see of Rouen, and studied the doctrines of the word of God." He flourished for twenty-eight years, in the times of popes Gregory, the great doctor, Savinian, Boniface, Deusdedit, Boniface, and Honorius, and during the reigns of the Emperors Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius. At that time Childebert, and his sons Theodoric, Theodebert, and Lothaire the Great, were successively kings of the Franks.³ In England, Ethelbert was king of Kent, Edwin of Northumbria, Redwald of Wessex, and Penda of Mercia.⁴ Gregory sent there

¹ St. Pretextatus appears to have been appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Rouen about the year 550. He was present at the third council of Paris in 557, and the second of Tours in 566. He was deposed by a council held at Paris in 577, at the instigation of Frédégonde and Chilperic, for having, the year preceding, married Merové and Brunehaut. He was afterwards banished to Jersey. He was reinstated after Chilperic's death in 584, was present at the second council of Mâcon in 585, and was assassinated at the altar by the orders of Frédégonde, then at Vaudreuil, on Sunday, February 24, 586.

² Melantius, after having filled the place of Pretextatus during his banishment, succeeded him at his death. He was still living in 601.

³ The author here makes great mistakes, confounding Clotaire II. with his grandfather, Clotaire I., and therefore misrepresenting his cotemporaries, as well as their degrees of relationship.

⁴ Ethelbert, king of Kent, 560—616; Edwin, king of Northumbria, 617

Augustine, Mellitus, John, and several other monks who feared the Lord, to preach the word of God, by whom the English were converted to Christ. In Italy, Autarith, son of Clepo, and Ago-Agilulf, with the excellent Queen Theodelinda, governed the Lombards. In Neustria, St. Evroult, abbot of Ouche, died, being then eighty years old, on the fourth of the calends of January, [29th December], in the twelfth year of King Childebert.¹ About the same time the abbey of Monte Cassino was attacked in the night by the Lombards, when Bonitus was the fifth abbot, and the monks were driven out and the place ruined. Before that time, Benedict, Constantine, Simplicius, Vitalis, and Bonitus, presided successively at Monte Cassino. Chosroes, king of the Persians, made destructive inroads on the empire, and grievously afflicted the holy church with fire, rapine, and slaughter. Anastatius, a monk of Persia, received the glorious crown of martyrdom with seventy others. The Emperor Heraclius defeated the Persians, putting Chosroes to the sword, and restored the cross of the Lord to Jerusalem, releasing all the Christian captives.

19. "St. Romanus, illustrious for his noble acts, was distinguished for the excellence of his life and his enlightened knowledge of the word of God." His government of thirteen years, in the time of popes Honorius, Severinus, and John, and under the Emperor Heraclius, was memorable for the miracles he wrought, and he departed gloriously to the Lord on the tenth of the calends of November [Oct. 23].² At that time the Christian kings Dagobert and Clovis, reigned in Gaul; and in England Oswald, Oswin, and Oswy; in Italy, Agilulf, Adaloald, Arioald, Rotarith, and Rodoald. During the reign of Arioald, St. Columban, a Scot by birth, after having founded in France the monastery of Luxeuil, erected one at Bobbio, in the Cottian Alps.

20. "Ouen³ succeeded Bomanus, illustrious in the order of bishops and eminent for his virtues." He flourished in—633; Redwald, king of East-Anglia, 598 or 599—624; Pendai, king of Mercia, 624 or 625—655.

¹ St. Evroult died the 28th of December, 596; and consequently in the twentieth, and not the 12th year of the reign of Childebert, king of Austrasia.

² It is supposed that St. Romanus died the 23rd of November, 638.

³ St. Ouen, 640—August 24, 683.

the times of popes Theodore, Martin, Eugenius, Vitalian, Adeodatus, Donus, Agatho, Leo, Benedict, and John, when Heracleon, son of Heraclius, and the three Constantines, were emperors, living long and well, labouring earnestly, and rendering brilliant services to the church. I want the power of relating with what grandeur and sanctity, with what excellence of every kind his life was distinguished. Pope Martin held a council of one hundred and five bishops at Rome. He was afterwards carried off by the exarch Theodore, at the command of Constantine, nephew of Heraclius, and being banished to the Chersonesus, died there in the odour of sanctity. Archbishop Theodore and abbot Adrian being sent into Britain by Pope Vitalian, enriched many of the English churches with the fruits of their doctrine. From the time that Pope Gregory sent the missionaries to sow the seed of the divine word in Britain, the following bishops presided over the see of Canterbury; Augustine, Lawrence, Mellitus of London, Justus of Rochester, Honorius, and Deusdedit; they brought to the faith of Christ the following kings of Kent, with their subjects; Ethelbert, Eadbald, Ercombert, and Egbert. Vigard¹ was chosen the seventh archbishop by the kings Oswy and Egbert, and sent to Rome to receive consecration. He died there while he was waiting for the day appointed for the ceremony; and Theodore, a Greek, eminent for sanctity and wisdom, was ordained in his place. In Neustria, Philibert, a man illustrious for his birth, his holiness, and the splendour of his miracles, by license from King Clovis and his queen Bathilda, founded a monastery for eight hundred monks at Jumièges: some years afterwards he set over it St. Aicadre, who was removed from the abbey of Noirmoutier.² Then also Wandrille built a monastery at Fontenelles,³ and collected there almost four hundred monks for the service of God, out of whom the church of God afterwards delighted to select several bishops and abbots worthy to govern it. Sidonius, also, and Ribert, Geremar, Leufroi, and many other monks arrived at eminence in the

¹ Wighard; see *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* p. 166.

² St. Philibert founded the abbey of Jumièges in 654, gave it up to St. Aicadre about 682, and died the 20th of August, 684. St. Aicadre died in 687.

³ St. Wandrille, 648—June 21, 667.

diocese of Rouen, who were all favoured by the care and assistance of the venerable Archbishop Owen, as the zealous reader will find clearly in the accounts of their acts. In Italy, on the death of Aribert at Pavia, after a reign of nine years, he was succeeded by his two sons, who were yet very young; Godebert fixing his seat of government at Pavia, and Bertarith at Milan. A short time afterwards Grimoald, the powerful duke of Beneventum, slew Godebert and drove out Bertarith, and obtained their throne, with their sister's hand, reigning securely and prosperously nine years. On his death, Bertarith reigned eighteen years, associating in his government Cunipert his son by the Queen Rodelinda. Both were lovers of justice, devoted to God and his church, and protectors of the poor. Alacheris, duke of Brescia, rebelled against them, and kept the whole province in alarm by frequent incursions, until they were put an end to by his death in battle with Cunipert. Pope Agatho, at the request of the most pious emperors Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius, sent John, bishop of Ostia, John the deacon, and other legates of the holy Roman church, to Constantinople; and held there, under their presidency, a council of one hundred and fifty bishops against George, bishop of the imperial city, Macharius, bishop of Antioch, and other heretics. At the termination of the controversy George stood corrected, but Macharius and his confederates were condemned.

21. "The illustrious Ansbert, arriving at the highest pitch of merit, well governed the church which his sanctity ennobled." He held the see eighteen years,¹ in the time of popes Leo, Benedict, John, Conon, and Sergius, under the emperors Constantine and Justinian the younger: then Lothaire, Theodoric, and Hilderic, were kings; and Leodegar, Ebroin, and Pepin were the first mayors of the palace.

22. "Grippe was eminently distinguished as the successor in the sacred order, a prelate of great merit, and a venerable pastor." He flourished during twenty-four years, in the time of popes John, Sisinnius, Constantine, and Gregory. Leo, Tiberius, Justinian, Philippicus, Anastasius, and Leo, were then emperors; and Clovis, Childebert, and

¹ 683—February 9, 693 or 695.

Dagobert the younger, were kings of the Franks. In Britain, the life of the most reverend Cuthbert, who, from a hermit became a bishop, was illustrious for miracles from infancy to age.¹ His body was found undecayed by Ralph, bishop of Rochester, in the time of Henry, king of England, and his vestments were changed in the presence of Alexander, king of the Scots, who stood reverently by with the clergy and monks.

23. "Radiland² threw lustre on his order by his justice, his compassion for all, and his surpassing merits." He held the see three years in the time of Pope Gregory, when Leo was emperor. On the death of Dagobert, the Franks raised Daniel, a clerk to the throne. The Saracens besieged Constantinople with an immense army for three years; but although the citizens resisted more with prayers than with arms, they were defeated, and drew off, their numbers thinned with famine, cold, and pestilence. Liutprand, king of the Lombards, at the instance of Pope Gregory, confirmed the donation of the patrimony of the church in the Cottian Alps, which Aripert had sent to Rome in letters of gold, and he had renewed. He also redeemed the relics of St. Augustine, the doctor, at a vast expense, and translated them from Sardinia, which the Saracens had profaned and devastated, to Pavia, where they were honourably interred.

24. "The venerable Hugh³ was a great benefactor to the Lord's people, and set before his flock the doctrines of a holy life." He was cousin of Pepin, prince of the Franks, and was archbishop eight years in the time of Pope Gregory II. He had also presided over the churches of Paris and Bayeux, and the abbeys of Jumièges and Fontenelles. His body was translated to Lorraine with the relics of St.

¹ The life of St. Cuthbert (664—687), bishop of Lindisfarne, is given in *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* b. iv. ch. 27, 28, 29. The translation of his relics here mentioned took place on the 24th of August, 1104, under the care of Ralph, then abbot of St. Martin at Séz, and successively bishop of Rochester and archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander, afterwards king of Scotland (January 8, 1107—April 24, 1124), was present.

² Mabillon doubts the existence of this bishop, but he may have filled the see of Rouen about 713.

³ St. Hugh, archbishop of Rouen about 720, bishop of Paris, abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges, April 8, 730.

Aichadre by the monks of Jumièges, where it is preserved to this day with honour in a silver shrine, at a place called Aspes, in the territory of Cambray. Constantine was then emperor. The Englishman Bede, a servant of Christ, and a priest of the monastery of the holy apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, at Wearmouth, near Jarrow, now flourished. He was born on the domains of that monastery, and when seven years old was entrusted by his relations to the most reverend abbot Benedict, and afterwards to Ceolfrid, for education; and spent his whole life as an inhabitant of that monastery, giving himself up to meditation on the holy scriptures; but, besides his observance of the regular discipline, and his daily duty of chanting in the choirs, he found pleasure, as he tells us himself, in always having something either to learn, or to teach, or to write. In his nineteenth year he received the order of deacon, and in his thirtieth that of priest, at the hands of the most reverend Bishop John, in submission to the directions of his Abbot Ceolfrid, on both occasions. Even after he was admitted to the priesthood, he never relinquished his useful studies till the fifty-ninth year of his life, but made many short commentaries on the holy scriptures, from the writings of the venerable fathers, and took care to add them to the text to explain and interpret it. The fruits of his labours and studies were most valuable to the church of Christ; for he composed seventy-two books on the law of God and the inquiries connected with it, all which he exactly enumerates and describes at the end of his *English History*.¹ At the same time Paul, a monk of Monte-Cassino, flourished in Lombardy; and Fortunatus, the excellent bishop of Poitiers, in Gaul.²

25. "Radbert, succeeding worthily to the pastoral chair, was eminent for his sanctity and lived a holy life." He filled the see four years, in the time of Pope Gregory II. and the emperor Constantine,³ when Charles Martel, that is, "of the hammer," governed France; together with Duke

¹ See note in the preceding page, and the account of Venerable Bede's life and works, prefixed to *Bohn's edition of the Eccles. Hist.*

² There was more than a century between St. Fortunatus (born about 530, died about 600) and St. Hugh.

³ About A.D. 730.

Eudes, he gave battle to the Saracens in Aquitaine, where three hundred and twenty-five thousand fell.¹ He also gave them a severe defeat with great slaughter in the province of Narbonne.

26. "Grimo, a devout pastor, pious and active in his duty, undertook the government of the church according to the divine law." He held the see of Rouen four years in the time of Pope Gregory III. In England, on the death of Bertwald, archbishop of Canterbury, he was succeeded by Tatwine. At that time two English kings, Coenred king of Mercia, and Offa, son of Sighere, king of the East Saxons, renounced their earthly sceptres for Christ's sake, and going to Rome,² became monks, with the blessing of Pope Constantine, abiding at the threshold of the apostles to the day of their death in prayers, fasting, and alms. Wilfrid, the venerable archbishop of York, died in the forty-fifth year of his episcopate in the province of Undalun,³ during the reigns of Coeured, and Osred, son of Alfrid, kings of Northumbria. Not long afterwards the very learned abbot Adrian died, and was succeeded by his accomplished disciple Albinus.

27. "Rainfrid raised to the highest rank of a pastor, was magnificent in all his acts, and rebuilt the episcopal mansion." He governed the see seventeen years, in the times of popes Zachary and Stephen. Carloman and Pepin were then mayors of the palace.

28. "Remigius the bishop, sprung from the royal race, lived devoutly, and was diligent in instructing the people committed to his charge." He was son of Charles Martel, and brother of King Pepin. After Rainfrid was expelled

¹ Our author is wrong in placing the battle of Poitiers before that of Toulouse. It was in the latter (A.D. 721) the Arabs suffered this immense loss, but Charles Martel was not engaged in it.

² Coenred and Offa retired to Rome in 708.

³ "In the province of *Undalun*." This word puzzled the French editors of Ordericus. M. Dubois's remark on it is, "*Mot défiguré, sans doute, par les copistes.*" M. Le Prévost gave an incorrect note, which he amended in the errata at the end of the volume from information supplied by Mr. Stapleton. Our author has faithfully followed Bede both as to the place and date of Wilfred's death. The former is Oundle, in Northamptonshire, a monastery to which he retired when deprived of his bishopric. He was interred at Ripon. See *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* b. v. c. 19; *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 709.

he governed the church of Rouen seventeen years¹ in the time of popes Paul, Constantine, and Stephen. The emperor Constantine, son of Leo, assembled at Constantinople a council of three hundred and thirty bishops. Pope Stephen, harassed by the persecutions of Astolphus, king of the Lombards, repaired to France and consecrated King Pepin and his sons Charles and Charlemagne. At that time Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, and Guy, abbot of Fontenelles, flourished. Constantine, and Abdallas emir, king of the Saracens, rivalled each other in persecuting the orthodox. Leo the son of Constantine, the seventy-first emperor from Augustus, reigned five years. King Pepin died the eighth of the calends of October [24th September], in the year of our Lord 768, and was succeeded by his son Charlemagne.

29. "Bishop Meginhard, full of the odour of sanctity, taught his flock and purified them from the foulness of sin." He flourished in the time of Pope Adrian for eight years.² Charles undertook an expedition to Rome in the sixth year of his reign; on his return he took Pavia, and making prisoner Desiderius king of the Lombards, who had grievously harassed Pope Adrian, he led him captive to France, and expelled his son Adolgisio out of Italy. This Desiderius was the thirty-first king of the Lombards. On account of his crimes, the royal dignity ended with him, and the Lombard people never afterwards had a king of their own, but has been always subject to the kings of the Franks or the emperors of Germany. The first chiefs of the Guinili were Ibor and Aio, who, with their mother Gambara, led those tribes from the island of Scandinavia.³ The names of their

¹ A.D. 755—January 19, 772.

² A.D. 772—799.

³ The ancients included Sweden, Norway, and an indefinite portion of the north of Europe adjoining, in what they called the island of Scandinavia. Those two kingdoms, with Denmark, have been more properly designated the Scandinavian peninsula in modern times.

It would be impossible, in the compass of a note, to consider the question of the Scandinavian origin here attributed to the Lombards by our author, in common with Paul the deacon. Every one knows that this name was attached to them after their migration to the borders of civilization. Our author constantly calls them Guinili or Winili, and the best geographers place them between the Elbe and the Oder in the

kings in succession were: Agelmund, Lamissio, Lethu, Hildehoc and Godehoc, Clepho and Tato, Wacho, Waltarith, Audoin, and Alboin. Agelmund led the Lombards into Bulgaria, Audoin into Pannonia, and Alboin, with the aid of the patrician Narses, into Italy. King Alboin was killed by his armour-bearer Helmechis, at the instigation of his wife Rosamond, upon which Clepho was elected king by the people. He was succeeded by his son Flavius Autarith, who married Theodilind, daughter of Garibald, king of the Bajoari. Autarith was poisoned after reigning six years, and Agilulf Ago, duke of Turin, obtained his queen and kingdom, which, on his death twenty-five years afterwards, he left to his son Adoloald. That young prince, with his mother Theodelind, governed the Lombards for ten years, and was succeeded by Rotharith, a brave king, but infected with the corruptions of the Arian heresy. After reigning sixteen years, he abdicated in favour of his son Rodoald, who, five years [months?] afterwards, being surprised in adultery, was killed by his Lombard rival. Aripert, son of Gondoald and nephew of Queen Theodelind, succeeded, and after a reign of nine years left the kingdom to his sons Bertharith and Godibert. Meanwhile Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, had married Rodelind, daughter of King Aripert, and got rid of her brothers,—Godibert, by putting him to death, and Bertharith, by driving him out of the kingdom. On his death, nine years afterwards, Bertharith recovered his throne, having ejected Garibald, the son of Grimoald, who had occupied it three months. Bertharith reigned eighteen years, and after him Cunipert twelve years; on whose death the Lombards had four kings in two years; viz., Liutpert, son of Cunipert, Raginpert, son of Godibert and duke of Turin, Aripert his son, and Rotharith, duke of Bergamo. In the end, Aripert, being the most powerful, slew Liutpert and Rotharith; he expelled Ansprand, Liutpert's guardian, from the island of Comacine,¹ and put out

reigns of Augustus and Trajan. The assertion of their Scandinavian origin is attacked by Cluverius, a native of Prussia, *Germania Antiq.* l. 3, c. 26, p. 102, &c., and defended by Grotius, the Swedish ambassador, *Prolegom. ad Hist. Gottorum.* p. 28.

¹ This island gave its name to the Lake of Como, anciently called the Larian Lake.

the eyes of his son Sigisbrand, reigning afterwards nine years, and granting to St. Peter more than his predecessors had wrested from the apostolic see. At last, while swimming in the Po, he sunk from the weight of gold he had about him, and was drowned. Ansprand, though a sagacious prince, reigned only three months, but Liutprand, his bold son, maintained himself on the throne nearly thirty-two years. His nephew Hildebrand, who succeeded him, died two years afterwards. Then Ratchis and Astolphus, sons of Penmon duke of Friuli, seized the crown, but the first-named voluntarily abdicated and became a monk at Rome. Astolphus harassed the church in various ways while Stephen was pope, but at last, by the judgment of God, was pierced by an arrow while he was hunting. Finally, Duke Desiderius was made king of the Lombards by the aid of Pope Stephen, but having secured the crown, he commenced hostilities against the pope and clergy and people of Rome. This made it necessary for Pope Adrian to invite the help of the Franks, who crushed, and to this day have trodden down, the fierce power of the Lombards. This took place in the time of Mainard, bishop of Rouen, in the year of our Lord 774.

30. "Bishop Willebert¹ succeeded; he was firm but gentle, and the faithful shepherd of his flock." He held the see forty-eight years in the times of popes Adrian, Leo, Stephen, and Paschal, while Contantine, Leo, Nicephorus, and his son Stauracius, Michael, Leo (the Armenian), and Michael, were emperors of Constantinople. Charles, king of the Franks, rose to the summit of power, and extended his dominion surprisingly over all his neighbours. He razed the walls of Pampeluna, took Saragossa by siege, reduced to submission Gascony, Spain, and Saxony, and ravaged the territories of the Bavarians, the Slaves, who are called Wiltzes, and the Huns. In the time of Constantine and his mother Irene, a stone coffin was found at Constantinople with a man's body lying in it, and which had this inscription, "Christ shall be born of the Virgin Mary, and I believe in him. When Constantine and Irene are emperors, O sun,

¹ All that is known of Bishop Willebert is that he was one of the *missi dominici*, or imperial commissioners, in 823. He filled the see, not forty-eight years, but at furthest twenty-eight.

thou shalt see me again.”¹ In the time of Pope Leo, there was a great earthquake which shook almost all Italy, and threw down great part of the roof and timber work of St. Paul’s. In the year of our Lord 800, the eighth indiction, King Charles received the imperial crown from Pope Leo, and was received by the Roman people with acclamations of Augustus. At the time of Charles’s death his reign had lasted forty-seven years; he was succeeded by his own son Lewis, who reigned twenty-seven years. Archbishop Guilbert was of his privy council.

31. “Rainoward,² happily, came next in order: he fostered the meek, and kept the rebellious in subjection.” He held the see ten years in the times of popes Eugenius, Valentine, and Gregory IV., under the emperor Theophilus. In his time there were great troubles in France arising out of the rebellion of Lothaire against his father Lewis the Pious. The Northmen also began to ravage Britain and other countries. In consequence the body of St. Philibert was translated from the island of Noirmoutier.³

32. “Gumbald⁴ pursued the even tenor of a just life, regarding his people with the feeling of a venerable pastor.” This bishop governed the see of Rouen eleven years in the times of popes Gregory and Sergius, and during the reigns of the emperors Michael and his son Theophilus. The emperor Lewis died on the twelfth of the calends of July [20th June], 840; and Archbishop Drogo, his brother, caused his body to be carried to Metz for interment. The empire was divided between Lewis’s three sons, Lewis, Lothaire, and Charles the Bald, but not without hostilities, for a bloody battle was fought near Auxerre on the seventh of the calends of July [25th June], in which Christian nations put each other to the sword without mercy. The relics of St. Ouen were removed at the time the Northmen ravaged Rouen and burnt his monastery, on the ides [15th] of May.

33. “The illustrious Paul,⁵ worthy of the episcopal dig-

¹ Our author has already told this story in precisely the same terms, in book i. See vol. i. p. 132.

² Rainoward, or Ragnoard, 828—837 or 838.

³ See book i. vol. i. p. 135.

⁴ Guntbald, 833—January, 848.

⁵ Paul, January 6, 849—855.

nity to which he was raised, distinguished himself both by his teaching and the excellence of his life." He held the see six years, in the time of Pope Sergius and the emperor Michael. Lothaire retained that part of France which his father had allotted to him, with the title of king, which is now called Lorraine, that is the realm of Lothaire. Charles the Bald, a pious and powerful prince, was king of the Franks and emperor of Rome.

34. "Wanilo,¹ a wise prelate, deeply versed in sacred learning, taught his flock the laws of eternal salvation." He flourished eleven years in the times of popes Leo, Benedict, and Nicholas. In the fifth year of his episcopate, there was hard frost from the day before the calends of December to the nones of April [30th November—5th April].

35. "Adelard,² remarkable for the natural goodness of his disposition, religiously defended the rights of the highest order of the clergy." He held the see three years in the time of Pope Nicholas. Basil killed his master Michael at Constantinople, and reigned in his stead twenty years. A severe famine, and mortality, with a murrain among the cattle, raged throughout the world for three years.

36. "Riculfus,³ the fortunate and good, sprung from a noble stock, added large domains to the territories of the church." He held the see three years, in the times of popes Nicholas and Adrian.

37. "John,⁴ by divine right, an eminent bishop, shone brightly in the ranks of his order by the light of his virtues." He was archbishop of Rouen two years.

38. "Witto,⁵ ascending the pontifical throne, became eminent for his prudence and holy doctrine." He held the see one year in the times of Pope Adrian and the emperor Basil.

39. "Franco⁶ succeeded; the kind protector of the people, he baptized Rollo in the holy font." This bishop flourished forty-four years, in the times of popes John, Marinus,

¹ Wanilo, 855—871.

² Adelard, 871—March, 872.

³ Riculfus, 872—875. There are extant an original charter of this bishop, and another addressed to him by Charles the Bald.

⁴ John I., 875—at least till 888.

⁵ Witto, at least 892—909.

⁶ Franco, 909?—919.

Adrian, and Stephen. Then Leo and Alexander, the sons of Basil, reigned twenty-two years. In the year of our Lord 876, Rollo and his followers invaded Neustria, and for thirty years afterwards ravaged France with fire, sword, and rapine. He fought against Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Ebbelis of Poitou, with other French princes, and puffed up with his repeated triumphs, grievously harassed the Christians. At last Charles the Simple, son of Lewis Faineant,¹ no longer able to resist Rollo, came to terms with him, giving him his daughter Gisla in marriage, and ceding Neustria. At that time Alexander and Constantine, with their mother Zoe, and Romanus the Armenian, were emperors at Constantinople.

40. "Gunhard,² next filled the episcopal seat; rendering great services to the people, and prudently conciliating." He held the see with distinction twenty-three years, in the time of the emperors Romanus, the Armenian, and Constantine. Duke Robert now usurped the crown of France; the same year King Charles attacked and killed the traitor, but in the end Hugh, son of the deceased duke, prevailed. Soon afterwards Herbert, count de Peronne, brother-in-law of Hugh the Great, got possession of the king's person by a stratagem, and kept him in prison till he died, three years afterwards. Lewis, the king's son, with his mother Edgiva, took refuge in England with Athelstan his uncle, son of King Edward the Elder; and Rodolph, the illustrious son of Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Charles's nephew, usurped the throne seven years. On his death William Long-sword, duke of Normandy, was moved by the entreaties of the French to invite Lewis to return from England, and restored him to his father's throne as the lawful heir.⁴ Agapetê, Basil, Stephen, Formosus, John, and Stephen filled the apostolic see. William, the son of Rollo, restored the abbey of Jumièges,⁵ and had a strong desire to retire there and

¹ *Ludōvici Nihilfecit*. This surname is often attached to Lewis-le-Bègue (the stammerer) by the chroniclers of the middle ages. See the notes in p. 136 of vol. i., respecting our author's account of Rollo.

² Gunthard, 919—942?

³ Louis-d'Outre-Mer, so called from his having taken refuge beyond sea, was restored in 936. M. Le Prévost observes that he was brought over by William, archbishop of Sens.

⁴ William Long-sword restored the monastery of Jumièges in 940 by means of thirteen monks, whom he brought for the purpose from Poitiers,

become a monk under Abbot Martin, but the abbot deferred it until William's son was old enough to take the government. Meanwhile the duke, having administered it with firmness twenty-five years, and reduced his enemies and neighbours either by force or policy, was murdered by Arnulf, count of Flanders, on an island in the Somme, where he unsuspectingly went to a conference with him on the fifteenth of the calends [15th] of January. Richard his son, surnamed Sprotiades, who was then only ten years old, succeeded to the dukedom. Duke William and Gunhard, archbishop of Rouen, both died in the year of our Lord 942, when Louis d'Outremer was king of France.

41. "Hugh¹ succeeded Gunhard; a violator of the law of God, a prelate of illustrious birth, but who failed to be illuminated by the light of Christ." He held the bishopric forty-seven years, but is not spoken of in terms of praise by any of the writers who have given accounts of him and his

by the intervention of his sister Gerloc, countess of Perth. M. Le Prévost remarks that nothing short of this could have induced monks to go and settle in the middle of brigands, such as the Normans were at this time. He says with respect to William's personal intentions: "Our historians represent him as aspiring to the monastic life for himself. If one may believe them, it was with the greatest reluctance he submitted to the delay enjoined him by Abbot Martin, who had more sense than his prince, and was not to be satisfied till he had extorted from him a gown and a cowl, which he carefully enclosed in a chest, the silver key of which he always carried hanging by a string to his neck. Unfortunately, the impartial Frodoard gives a flat refutation to all these monkish tales, by describing William as engaged that year more than ever in warlike enterprises, and heading an expedition against Rheims. Another historian, in reference to events which occurred in 940, calls him the most ferocious duke of Normandy. The monk Richer, who often brings him on the scene, can find no other description so fitting for him as that of 'Prince of the Pirates,' and exhibits him as not having the slightest disposition to the abnegation and gentleness of the monastic life."

¹ It was towards the end of 942, and consequently a year before his own tragic end, that William Long-sword summoned Hugh from the abbey of St. Denys to raise him to the see of Rouen. It would have been difficult at that time to have made a more promising selection, but the bishop disappointed all the expectations formed respecting him. He completely abandoned the monastic life to give himself up to the pomps of the world and the works of the flesh, having a numerous offspring, and alienating the domains of his church. Among others, he gave Toëni to his brother Ralph, who thus became founder of the family of the lords of Toëni and Conches, and of Stafford in England.

predecessors. Indeed, they plainly intimate that he was a monk by his habit only, and not by his conduct. In his time, Marinus, Agapete, Octavian, Leo, Benedict, and John, filled the apostolical see; and the kingdoms of the world were agitated by great revolutions. King Lewis got possession of Rouen, and, taking Richard the duke captive by surprise, brought him to Laon, and there threw him into prison; but by God's providence and the prudence of Osmond, his guardian, he made his escape. Then Harold, king of Denmark, at the instance of Bernard, the Dane, landed in Normandy at the head of an army to punish King Lewis for the murder of William Long-sword. A battle was fought on the river Dive, in which Herluin, count of Montreuil, with his brother Lambert, and sixteen other French counts were slain, and Lewis was taken prisoner and sent captive to the tower of Rouen. Gerberg, queen of France, who was daughter of Henry, the Trans-Rhenish emperor, made peace with the Normans, by the advice of Hugh the Great, giving as hostages for the observance of the treaty her son Lothaire and two bishops, Hilderic of Beauvais, and Guy of Soissons. In consequence, the king was set at liberty, and the Count Richard, the father of his country, was established in power.¹ The emperor Otho over-ran Italy; Stephen and Constantine, the sons of Romanus, deposed their father Romanus from the throne of Constantinople, but Constantine expelled them in turn, and, having associated his son Romanus in the government, they reigned sixteen years, and were succeeded by the Emperor Nicephorus. Ludolf, son of King Otho, died, after having subdued Italy, and Otho, an infant, was raised to the throne at Aix-la-Chapelle. Nicephorus, having been murdered by his wife, was succeeded by John, whose niece was married to the Emperor Otho. In England, King Edmund was traitorously murdered in the sixth year of his reign, and his brother Edred was raised to the throne. At his death, Edgar, Edmund's son, succeeded, and during a long reign rendered great services to the people and the church. At that time, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,

¹ The taking of Rouen, the captivity of Louis-d'Outre-mer, and the restoration of Duke Richard, seem all to belong to the year 945, or the beginning of 946.

and Oswald, of York, with Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, ruled the church with great lustre; and, by their care and exertions, seconded by the favour and assistance of King Edgar, twenty-six abbeys were erected in England. After the death of Lewis, his son Lothaire reigned six years. He was the last of the race of Charlemagne who sat on the throne of France: for Charles, and the other sons of King Lothaire were placed in confinement, and Hugh the Great, son of Hugh the Great, was elected king.

42. "Robert, an eminent prelate, of most illustrious origin, after governing happily, ended his days devoutly." He was son of Duke Richard the Elder by Gunnor, and was for forty-eight years archbishop of Rouen and count of Evreux, in the time of Robert, king of France, and his son Henry. During that period Agapete and Silvester [Gerbert], John and Benedict, and another John and Benedict, filled the see of Rome. Otho, Henry, and Conrad, were emperors in lawful succession. Archbishop Robert was amply endowed with the goods of this world, and took a deep interest in the secular affairs of his city, nor did he observe the continence which was becoming his order.¹ For, in his character of count, he took a wife named Harleve, by whom he had three sons, Richard, Ralph, and William, to whom he bequeathed his county of Evreux, and his other ample honours and possessions, according to the secular laws. But, as he advanced in years, he became sensible of his errors, and repenting of them was struck with alarm at his many and great offences. He therefore distributed alms largely to the poor, and began to rebuild from the foundations the cathedral church of Rouen, dedicated to the holy mother of God; and he completed a considerable part of the new erection.² Richard II., duke of Normandy, governed the province thirty years with signal success. He was a great friend to the poor in Christ, the clergy and monks, treating them as a father, and augmented and protected three monasteries which his

¹ Robert was archbishop of Rouen from 989 or 990—1137. He was also count of Evreux. Our author's suggestion that it was in that character he married, though as an ecclesiastic he was bound to celibacy, is rather amusing.

² It was finished by Archbishop Maurilius, and consecrated in 1065.

father had founded, viz., that of Fécamp, St. Ouen in the suburbs of Rouen, and St. Michael-in-peril-of-the-Sea.¹ He also restored the abbey of Fontenelles,² and ratified by his charter all the endowments made in its favour by Turstin, and Gerard Fleitel, and other barons. At his death he bequeathed his dominions to his sons Richard the younger and Robert, who did not enjoy their honours more than nine years. For Richard III. was taken off by poison before two years were over, and after seven years and a half, his brother Robert undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On quitting his country never to return, he left the dukedom to his son William, a boy eight years old, appointing his cousin Alan count of Brittany to be his guardian.³ At this time, Alfred and Edward, the young English princes, became exiles in Normandy; for Richard II. had given his sister in marriage to Ethelred king of England, who had by her Alfred, and Edward, who was afterwards king. That princess after her husband's death sent her sons to Normandy, and married Canute king of Denmark, to whom she bore Hardicanute, king of Denmark and England, and Gunilde who was married to Henry, emperor of the Romans.⁴

¹ Richard I. settled regular canons in the ancient convent of nuns at Fécamp, founded by Waninge in 658. The church was dedicated the 16th of May, 990, by the new archbishop. Richard II. substituted monks under the blessed William of Dijon in 1001. About the same epoch lived Hildebert, first abbot of St. Ouen after the Norman invasion, and probably a disciple of William. Monks were substituted for canons at Mont St. Michael in 965.

² The abbey of Fontenelles, now called St. Wandrille, was restored about the year 950, by Mainard, a monk of Ghent.

³ Alan III., duke of Brittany, was, by his mother, Hawise, daughter of Richard I., cousin-german of Robert. In 1036 Alain came to the aid of the young duke William, and was poisoned on the 1st of October, 1040, at Vimoutier, while carrying on the siege of the castle of Montgomery. He was buried at Fécamp.

⁴ Emma, daughter of Richard I., married Ethelred in 1002, and had by him Edward the Confessor, Alfred, and Edith, Gode, or Godeve, married first to Dreux, count de Vexin and Amiens, and afterwards to Eustace II., count de Boulogne. She afterwards married Canute the Great in 1017, by whom she had Hardicanute and Gunilde. After an eventful life, she died at Winchester the 6th of March, 1052, and was interred in the cathedral there. Her daughter Gunilde died at Bruges the 21st of August, 1042, with such reputation for personal charms, that three centuries afterwards she was still described as the most lovely of women.

43. "Mauger was still young when he was elevated to the highest ecclesiastical rank: he was illustrious only for his birth and not for his actions." He was the son of Richard II. by his second wife named Papia, and governed the see of Rouen eighteen years, in the times of popes Clement, Damasus, and Leo, without the apostolic benediction and the pallium.¹ He was unbecomingly addicted to the desires of the flesh, and involved in worldly pursuits; he had a son named Michael, a brave and honest knight, who is now in England in the decline of life, and much beloved and honoured by King Henry. There were at this time great commotions in the world, grievously harassing and afflicting the nations. The Saracens invading Sicily, Italy, and other Christian kingdoms, carried fire, and sword, and rapine, into every quarter. Manichetus,² emperor of Constantinople, assembled the imperial forces, and, after many disasters, attacked and defeated the infidels, and delivered the frontiers of Christendom from their ravages. He also translated the bones of St. Agatha, virgin and martyr, and the relics of many other saints from Sicily to Constantinople, that they might not be profaned in fresh irruptions of the infidels. Diogenes³ succeeding him, Osmund, Drengot, and Drogo, and other Normans began to settle in Apulia, and to turn their arms manfully against the Arabs and pseudo-Christians.⁴ In the

¹ The date of Mauger's elevation is unknown, but he was deposed in a council held at Liseux in 1055. He was then banished to the island of Jersey, where there are still many traditions concerning him, and even claims of filiation. For the particulars of his death, see *Wace*, t. ii. p. 61, &c. Being a native of Jersey, his information was good.

² The name should be written *Maniaces*. He assumed the purple in 1042, but was not acknowledged emperor, being killed in battle on his march to Constantinople for the purpose of dethroning the emperor Constantine Monomachus. He brought back the relics of St. Agatha from Catania to Constantinople about the year 1040, whence they had been carried to Sicily in 1127.

³ Romanus Diogenes, emperor in 1068, did not succeed Maniaces, as we have just seen. There was an interval of twenty-six years between them.

⁴ Osmund, or Godfrey Drengo, and the other Normans, had established themselves in the south of Italy long before this. They first made their appearance there in 1016, took service under Melo in 1017, and had rendered him great assistance in 1019, when the loss of a battle reduced their numbers from two hundred and fifty to ten. Melo, who went to

end, Robert Guiscard, after long hostilities, obtained, first from Harduin the Lombard and his nephew Melo, and afterwards from Pope Leo, a grant of Apulia, on condition of his for ever defending it against the enemies of St. Peter. By the help of God he bravely held it, extending his power into Sicily, Calabria, and Bulgaria, and bequeathing his territories to his children as their hereditary right.¹

In Normandy many crimes were perpetrated at this time. The Normans took off by poison Alan, count of Brittany, their own duke's guardian, and defeated his successor, Count Gislebert, in a bloody battle, the two nations massacring each other incredibly in almost daily encounters. Likewise, Turketil de Neufmarché, and Roger de Toni, and Osbern, steward of Normandy, and William and Hugh, the two sons of Roger de Montgomery, and Robert de Beaumont, Walkelin de Ferrers, and Hugh de Montfort, and many other powerful knights, made war on each other in turn, causing great confusion and distress in the country, which was now deprived of its natural protectors.²

implore the aid of the emperor of Germany against the Greeks, died at Bamberg in 1020. A new band of Normans then came into Italy under Drengo, who was compelled to leave his country in consequence of having killed William Repostel, the favourite of Richard II. Ranulf, one of their chiefs, was created count of Aversa in 1030. At that time they joined the Greeks and Lombards in driving the Saracens out of Sicily. Our author calls the Greeks pseudo-Christians, on account of their being schismatics from the church of Rome. In 1042 Drogo became lord of Venosa, and his brother, William Bras-de-fer, of Ascoli. In 1043, William was proclaimed count of Apulia. Drogo succeeded him, and was assassinated in 1051.

¹ Robert Guiscard did not become count of Apulia until 1057, after the death of his brother Humphrey. He had nothing to do with Harduin or Melo, who were dead before his arrival. It was Humphrey who received from Pope Leo IX., in 1054, the investiture of all the territories gained, or which he should conquer, from the Greeks, though these dominions never belonged to the holy see. But Pope Nicholas II., in 1060, changed Robert's title of count of Apulia, to that of Duke of Apulia and Calabria. The conquest of Sicily was begun in 1061, by Roger, Robert's brother, and completed by taking Palermo from the Saracens in 1072. The invasion of Epirus took place in 1081, and was still prosecuted when Robert Guiscard died in the island of Cephalonia, the 17th of July, 1085, leaving the principality of Tarentum to his eldest son, Boemond, and the duchy of Apulia and Calabria to his second son, Roger.

² This important paragraph adds some valuable details to the account

In England, on the death of King Hardicanute, Edward, his half-brother succeeded, and reigned worthily and prosperously twenty-three years. In Brittany, Eudes succeeded his brother Alan, and held his principality for fifteen years as freely as if he owed no fealty to a superior lord.¹ God also gave him seven sons, who became remarkable for the singular and changeable events of their lives. The studious might compose a long and pleasing history, from true accounts of their various fortunes.

44. "Maurilius, a prelate enlightened with sound learning, and of exemplary life, was no less distinguished by his good deeds." A native of Mayence,² he had governed a monastery at Florence, with the rank of abbot, but exposing himself to the hatred of offenders by the severity of his discipline, he detected them in mixing poison in some beverage which was offered to him. Upon this, he imitated the example of the most holy father and doctor, St. Benedict, and, leaving those incorrigible sinners, accompanied his countryman Gerbert, a learned and pious monk, to Normandy, where he came to Fécamp in the time of Abbot John, and chose that house dedicated to the worship of the holy and undivided Trinity for his fixed abode. Some time afterwards he was taken from thence and raised by a

given in book i. c. 24 (vol. i. p. 149, &c.) of the fierce intestine quarrels which distracted the court of the young duke during his minority. It appears that these disorders did not commence until after the Normans had rid themselves of Alan, duke of Brittany, by poisoning him, the 1st of October, 1040. Turketil, governor of the young prince, here called lord of Neuf-Marché-en-Lions, must be the same person who is designated by William de Jumièges as Turolde. Perhaps the name is only a diminutive of Turolde, as Ansketel is of Hans. On the circumstances attending the death of Gislebert, count de Brionne, see before, vol. i. p. 391; and some details are given with respect to the other persons mentioned in this paragraph, in the notes to pp. 149, 150, of vol. i.

¹ Eudes, Count de Penthievre, November 20, 1008—January 7, 1009, never assumed the title of duke of Brittany, but was regent for twenty-seven years. His nephew, Conon II., was only three months old at the death of Alan III.

² Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, September, 1055—August 9, 1067. The *Acts* of the archbishops of Rouen are far from agreeing exactly with the account given by our author. They, as well as his epitaph (see book iv. p. 7), describe him as born at Rheims, studying at Liège, and residing for some time at Fécamp before he went into Italy. These accounts are most probably correct.

canonical election, on the deposition of Mauger, to the metropolitan throne of Rouen. He filled it for twelve years, in the times of popes Victor, Stephen, Nicholas, and Alexander, and consecrated the metropolitan church in the ninth year of his episcopate. He removed with great ceremony the bodies of the dukes Rollo and William into the new church he dedicated, depositing the remains of Rollo near the south door, and those of Duke William within the north door, and caused their epitaphs to be inscribed in letters of gold. This is the inscription on Rollo's tomb:—

ROLLO the brave lies buried here,
A name to Normans ever dear;
They glory on this tomb to see
His style of Duke of Normandy.
In battle's front his followers' shield,
His sword made boldest foeman yield:
In the far north his ancient sires,
From whom he breathed his martial fires,
To king or lord ne'er bowed the knee,
But held their lands from service free.¹
And first he fleshed his maiden sword,
With bands obedient to his word,
On kindred Danes, whose numerous hosts
Before him hushed their warlike boasts.
Then Hainault's sand, and Frisia's fen,
And coast of marshy Walcheren,
Poured forth their mingled bands to feel
The terrors of the Northmen's steel;
But Frisons, spite their neighbours aid,
Their tribute and their homage paid.
From firths and islets of the north,
Again he launched his galleys forth,
And boldly sailing o'er the main,
Burst like a tempest on the Seine.
The plains of France were stained with gore,
Her bravest sons he backward bore;

¹ M. Le Prévost remarks that this and the following epitaph are founded on the fabulous traditions connected with the first two dukes of Normandy, which were current in the middle ages. One thing is, however, certain, however the author of these lines gained his information, that he gives here a very exact description of the independence of the old Scandinavian landholders, among whom the feudal tenures, with their burdensome services, were never introduced. It may be further observed, that in Norway the free *adal* rights have continued in force, through all revolutions, to the present day.

Now Bayeux yielded to his arms,
 And sweeping on with war's alarms
 In the full tide of victory,
 Twice regal Paris groaned to see
 The Northmen thundering at her gates.
 For thirty years the cruel fates
 Gave France to rapine, sword, and fire,
 Till helpless Charles the conqueror's ire
 Soothed by his gifts, to stay the strife,
 A province and a royal wife.
 Then the fierce heathen humbly bent
 Before the Christian sacrament ;
 And Franco on that happy day
 Washed in the font his sins away.
 The savage wolf a lamb became,
 May God, propitious, cleanse his shame !

A funeral elegy was engraved in letters of gold on the tomb of William Long-sword, which stands on the north side.

DUKE WILLIAM's friends who dared assail ?
 Against his arms who could prevail !
 Princes and kings his will obeyed,
 Imperial Henry's mind he swayed.
 Five times five years his skill and might
 The Normans led through field and fight.
 He reared Jumièges's mouldering towers,
 And raised again her cloistered bowers ;
 While to her shades his willing feet,
 Fain would have turned in habit meet,
 And, heaven-taught, in that holy school,
 Submitted to St. Bennett's rule.
 But wiser MARTIN checked his zeal,
 And bade him seek his country's weal.
 'Twas not for him in peaceful cell
 With pious anchorites to dwell,
 But still in arms to spend his life,
 And end it by the assassin's knife,
 Where on the Somme's translucent stream
 An islet's shadows softly gleam :
 Arnold the Fleming planned the deed.
 May heavenly grace the victim speed
 In the last awful day of need !¹

¹ The two epitaphs preserved by our author were not engraved on the new tombs to which the remains of the first dukes of Normandy were transferred after the cathedral of Rouen was rebuilt. These are still to be seen, one in the north, the other in the south transept of the church in the first two chapels towards the nave.

In the year of our Lord 1063, in the month of October, in the second indiction, Archbishop Maurilius consecrated with great ceremony the metropolitan church of St. Mary, mother of God, in the city of Rouen, which Robert had begun. This was the eighth year of the reign of the emperor Henry IV., and the fourth of that of Philip, son of Henry king of France. The same year the Normans obtained possession of the city of Mans. It was also the tenth year from the battle of Mortemer, and the seventeenth from that fought between William and Guy at Valesdunes.¹ At the same time Michael drove his father-in-law Diogenes from the imperial throne at Constantinople, and seized the crown which he not long afterwards disgracefully lost. In England, there was great dissension on the death of King Edward, Harold, the perjured son of Godwin, who had no claim to royal blood, having usurped the throne by fraud and violence.

History's ancient annals fix
The year one thousand sixty-six
(Then a fiery comet whirled,
Dreadful omen, round the world),
As the time when England's lord
Fell before the Norman's sword.

The same year the battle of Senlac was fought, in which Harold was slain. It was on the second of the ides [14th] of October that William obtained this victory, and he was crowned on the following Christmas day.

45. "John, raised to the see of Rouen, was a vigilant pastor, and studied to observe the lessons of the apostolical law." He was the son of Ralph, count de Bayeux, and having been originally bishop of Avranches, was elevated to the primacy, which he held for ten years in the time of popes Alexander and Gregory VII.²

46. "Next, William, a prelate of high birth and great benevolence, canonically governed the people of Rouen."

¹ The year 1063 was, in point of fact, the fourth of Philip I. (August, 29, 1060), and the eighth of the emperor Henry IV. It was also the seventeenth after the battle of Valesdunes, and the tenth after that of Mortemer. In the text of Duchesne, the reference to the battle of Mortemer is omitted, and the date attached to it is given to that of Valesdunes.

² See before, p. 123, respecting the period and duration of the episcopate of John d'Avranches.

He was the second abbot of Caen, from whence he was removed to the archbishopric, which he filled thirty-two years,¹ in the time of popes Gregory, Victor, Urban, and Paschal. He buried King William and his queen Matilda at Caen. Their son Robert succeeded to the duchy of Normandy, and William to the kingdom of England.

In the year of our Lord 1095, there was a great drought and mortality, and falling stars were seen in the heavens on a night in the month of May. Pope Urban held a great council at Clermont, and preached the crusade to Jerusalem against the infidels.² At the same time there was a severe famine in France. In the year of our Lord 1099,³ the seventh indiction, Jerusalem was taken by the holy pilgrims, the infidels who had long held it being conquered; and the abbey church of St. Evroult at Ouche was consecrated on the ides [13th] of November. The year following, William Rufus, king of England, was pierced by an arrow in hunting, and died on the 4th of the nones [2nd] of August. He was buried at Winchester, and his brother Henry ascended the throne, and was crowned at London on the nones [5th] of August. It is now the twenty-seventh year since he began his reign.⁴ By God's providence, he has enjoyed a full share of worldly prosperity, mixed however with some adverse events among his family and friends, arising from disturbances among his subjects. Philip, king of France, died, after a reign of forty-eight years, and his son Lewis succeeded in the ninth year of King Henry.⁵

47. "The Breton, Geoffrey, wise, eloquent, and severe, raised to the highest episcopal rank, fed the people with spiritual food." He had been dean of the church of Mans, in the time of the venerable bishops Hoel and Hildebert, and becoming the forty-seventh metropolitan of Rouen, has

¹ William Bonne-Ame, July, 1079—February 9, 1110. See vol. i. p. 419, and p. 123 of the present volume, respecting this prelate.

² This council opened the 18th, and closed the 26th November, 1045.

³ On Friday, the 15th July, 1099.

⁴ It appears from this passage that Ordericus wrote his fifth book between the 5th of August, 1127, and the 5th of August, 1128.

⁵ Philip I. died at Melun, the 29th of July, 1108, after a reign of forty-nine years, two months, and six days, and Lewis the Fat was crowned at Orleans the 2nd of August following.

now governed the church seventeen years,¹ in the time of popes Paschal, Gelasius, Calixtus, and Honorius. Henry I., and Lothaire, governed the Latins, and Alexius and John, his son, the Greeks. During this period many memorable events occurred in the world, which my pen will have to record faithfully in their several places, for the information of posterity, if my life is spared and attended by divine goodness and mercy.

Kind reader, I entreat your indulgence, now that I am about to resume the regular thread of my narrative. I have made a long digression while giving an account of the archbishops of Rouen, as I was extremely desirous to put on record, in full detail, their continuous succession for the benefit of those who come after us. For this reason I have traced the annals of nearly eight hundred years, and have enumerated the whole series of Roman apostles,² from Pope Eusebius to Lambert of Ostia, who, under the name of Honorius, now fills the apostolic see.³ I have also inserted in my work the names of all the emperors, from Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople, to John, the son of Alexius, the reigning emperor there,⁴ and to Lothaire, the Saxon, who is now emperor of the Romans.⁵ I shall now return to my own times and to my own country, and endeavour to relate what happened in Normandy under King William, after the council of Lillebonne.

CH. X. *Quarrels between William I. and his eldest son—Robert leaves his father's court—William besieges him in Gerberoi—They are reconciled for a time—Robert finally separates from his father.*

[A.D. 1077?⁶] A set of factious young men took advantage

¹ According to another passage in our author, Geoffrey was elevated to the see of Rouen in 1111, but it appears from a charter of Henry I. that he filled it before the 2nd of March, 1110.

² Our author means the popes who are commonly called *apostoiles* in the Romance tongue.

³ Honorius II., December 21, 1124—February 14, 1130.

⁴ John Comnenus, August 15, 1118—April 8, 1143.

⁵ Lothaire II., September 13, 1125—December 4, 1137.

⁶ It is extremely difficult, as already observed, to assign certain dates to

of the inexperience of the king's son Robert, by continually flattering him, and urging him to fruitless enterprises. Their language was of the following description: "Most illustrious son of the king, how is it that you are suffered to live in such extreme indigence? Your father's courtiers so securely guard the treasury that you can scarcely extract a penny from it to serve a friend. It is a great disgrace to you, as well as loss to us and to many more, that you are thus excluded from all share in the royal wealth. Why do you submit to this? He it is who deserves to have money, who has the heart to distribute it freely among those who ask it. Alas! your great liberality is miserably curtailed by the poverty to which your father's parsimony restricts you; and, not content with chosing his own attendants, he imposes upon you men of his own choice for yours. How long, brave prince, will you bear this? Rouse yourself manfully, and demand from your father a share of the kingdom of England, or at least claim the duchy of Normandy, which he long ago granted you in the presence of a numerous assemblage of the barons, who are ready to support you. It does not become you to submit any longer to be lorded over by those who are born to be your servants, and to have your demands for your hereditary domains rejected, as if you were a stranger and a mendicant. If your father agrees, and grants your request, your natural spirit and incomparable goodness will be magnificently displayed. But if, on the other hand, he persists in his obstinacy, and, giving way to his avarice, refuses you the dominions which are your right, assume the lion's part, drive from your presence those who are a disgrace to you while they serve you, and rely on the counsels and support of

the long series of quarrels between William I. and his eldest son. A passage in book iv. (p. 78) would seem to prove that they commenced as early as the year 1074, but we are not able to place the occurrences at L'Aigle, which seem to have caused Robert's first departure, earlier than the year 1078. One of our principal reasons is the extreme youth, even then, of Henry, one of the princes concerned in them, who was born in 1068. Perhaps we ought, with Florence of Worcester, to assign these occurrences to the year 1077, and place the discussion between Robert and his father, which our author here proceeds to relate, before the attempt of the former to surprise the tower of Rouen, which was followed by his taking refuge with Hugh de Château-neuf.

your friends. Depend upon it, you will find us ready to second all your wishes."

Prince Robert, listening like a raw youth to speeches of this sort, had his wrath and ambition violently inflamed, so that he went to his father and said: "My lord the king, put me in possession of Normandy, which you granted me long ago, before you crossed the sea to make war on Harold."¹ To which the king replied: "What you ask, my son, is not convenient. It was by Norman valour that I made the conquest of England. Normandy is mine by hereditary descent, and I will never, while I live, relinquish the government." Robert then said: "But what am I to do, what have I to bestow on my followers?" His father answered: "Be obedient to me in all things, as becomes you, and be wisely content to share my power in all my dominions, as a son under his father." But Robert retorted: "I am not content to act for ever the part of a mercenary. I desire to have an establishment of my own, that I may be able worthily to recompense my attendants for their services. I therefore pray you give up to me the dukedom which is my own, that while you are king of England, I may be duke of Normandy, but subject always to fealty to you." But the king replied: "What you ask, my son, is quite preposterous. It is shameful to wish to deprive your father of the dominions, which, if you are worthy, you will receive from him in due course, with the willing assent of the people and the blessing of God. Choose good advisers, and drive from your presence the rash young men who imprudently tempt and urge you to criminal enterprises. Remember what Absalom did; how he rebelled against his father David, and how ill it turned out, not only to himself but to Ahitophel and Amasa, and his other councillors and abettors. The Normans, always restless, are eagerly longing for some disturbance. They are endeavouring to incite you to some absurd attempt, in order that in the confusion which would ensue, they may give the reins to their own insubordinate desires, and commit evil with impunity. Do not listen to the persua-

¹ It has been already stated that William named his son Robert as his successor in the duchy of Normandy long before the conquest of England, but there was no idea of its being given up to him during his father's life.

sions of a parcel of headstrong youths, but be advised by the archbishops William and Lanfranc, and other men of wisdom, and experienced nobles. If you carefully attend to what I say to you, you will in the end be glad of your good conduct. But if, on the other hand, you follow the example of Rehoboam, who treated with contempt the counsels of Benaiah and other wise men, and suffer yourself to be led by these foolish youths, you will long suffer to your own cost the humiliation and contempt which he experienced before his own people and strangers." Robert then said: "My lord the king, I did not come here to hear speeches, of which I have had enough, and more than enough, to my infinite disgust from my teachers of grammar; answer me plainly concerning the dominion which is my right, that I may know what I have to do. One thing I am resolved on, and I wish every one to know it, that I will no longer do service to any one in Normandy in the mean condition of a dependant."

The king was greatly incensed at this language, and replied: "I have already told you plainly enough, and I have no hesitation in most distinctly informing you that I will never suffer my native land of Normandy to pass out of my hands as long as I live. Nor will I, neither is it advisable that I should, during my life, divide the kingdom of England which I have acquired by immense exertions; for, as our Lord says in the gospel, 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.'¹ He who gave me the kingdom will dispose of it according to his will. I wish it to be understood by all as my fixed purpose that, so long as I live, I will not abdicate my prerogative in favour of any one, and no human being shall share my kingdom. The consecrated crown was solemnly placed on my head by Christ's representatives, and the royal sceptre of Albion was given to me alone to bear. It is therefore unbecoming, and altogether unjust, that while life remains, I should suffer any one to become my equal or my superior within my dominions." Upon hearing his father's irrevocable determination, Robert said: "Compelled, like Polynices the Theban, to betake myself to a foreign land, henceforth I shall serve strangers, and see whether by fortune's favour I cannot gain in exile those

¹ Luke xi. 17.

honours and advantages which are shamefully withheld from me in my father's house. Would that it may be mine to find a prince like the old Adrastes, to whom I can cheerfully offer the tribute of my faithful service, and from whom I may receive a grateful acknowledgment."

Having said this, Robert left his father's presence in great anger, and departed from Normandy. There went with him Robert de Belesme,¹ William de Breteuil,² Roger, son of Richard de Bienfaite, Robert de Moubray,³ William de Molines, William de Rupierre, and several others of high birth and chivalrous courage, swelling with pride, terrible in their fierce encounters with enemies, and ready to undertake any enterprise however formidable or unjust. At the head of a band of such associates, the young Robert wandered in foreign lands for five years to no purpose.⁴ He had already freely distributed among them his private patrimony, making vain promises of aggrandizing their possessions. On their part they exalted his hopes by empty professions; and they thus mutually deceived each other by false representations.

When Robert first quitted his native land, he joined his uncle Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders, and his brother Eudes, who was archbishop of Treves.⁵ He afterwards visited other noble kinsmen, dukes, counts, and powerful lords of castles in Lorraine, Germany, Aquitaine, and Gascony. To these he stated his grievances, in which he often mixed falsehood with truth. Many listened readily to his complaints, and the higher nobles made him liberal presents; but he foolishly lavished on jugglers, parasites, and harlots, the supplies he received from his generous friends. When they were thus improvidently spent, he was compelled by his extreme necessities to have recourse to begging, and, an

¹ Robert de Belesme, son of Roger de Montgomery.

² William de Breteuil, son of William Fitz-Osbern.

³ Robert de Moubray, nephew of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances.

⁴ Our author confounds Prince Robert's first emigration with his second, to which only the five years here spoken of can apply.

⁵ According to the French genealogists, Eudes, who was archbishop of Treves, 1067—1079, was indeed brother of Robert the Frison and Queen Matilda, but the French editor of Ordericus remarks that this is a great mistake. This prelate, who was son of Everard, count de Nellenbourg in Swabia, having no connexion with the house of Flanders.

exile and poor, he sought loans of money from foreign usurers.

Queen Matilda, compassionating her son's distresses with a mother's tenderness, often sent him, without the knowledge of her husband, large sums of gold and silver, and other things of value. The king, discovering this, forbade her with terrible threats from continuing to do so; but finding shortly afterwards that she contumaciously repeated the offence, he said to her, in great wrath, "A wise man remarked truly, as I myself have reason to find, that—

‘A faithless woman is her husband's bane.’

Who in the world can henceforth reckon on finding a mistress who will be faithful and devoted to him? Behold my own wife, whom I love as my very soul, and who is entrusted by me with my treasures and jurisdiction through my whole dominions, succours my enemies who are plotting against my life, enriches them with my wealth, carefully supplies them with arms to attack me, and abets and strengthens them in every way.” To this Matilda replied: “Do not wonder, I pray you, my lord, that I have a tender affection for my first-born son. By the power of the Most High,¹ if my Robert was dead, and buried seven feet in the earth out of the sight of living men, and I could bring him to life at the expense of my own blood, I would freely shed it for him, and I would undergo sufferings greater than can be expected from female weakness. How can you suppose that I can take any delight in the abundance of wealth, while I suffer my son to be crushed by the extremity of want and distress? Far from me be such hardness of heart, nor should you, in the fulness of your power, lay such an injunction upon me.”

At hearing this the stern prince turned pale, and he became so enraged that he ordered one of the queen's messengers, whose name was Samson, a Breton by birth, to be apprehended, and to have his eyes forthwith put out. However, learning the king's animosity by intelligence from those the queen trusted, he made his escape to avoid the

¹ This appears to have been the form of oath used by Queen Matilda, as her husband, William, swore by God's light, *par la resplendor Dé*.

barbarous command, and took refuge in all haste at the abbey of St. Evroult. He was admitted, at the queen's request, by Abbot Mainier, and entered on the monastic life for the safety equally of his soul and body. He was shrewd, talked well, was continent, and lived as a monk twenty-six years.

At this time there lived in some part of the Teutonic country a hermit, who was a devout and holy man, and among his other gifts and graces had the spirit of prophecy. To this man, Queen Matilda sent messengers and presents, earnestly entreating him to pray for her husband and her son Robert, and besides to send her a prediction of what would happen to them in time to come. The hermit graciously received the messenger of so great a queen, and begged time to the third day for making his reply. When the third day dawned, he summoned the queen's envoys and said to them: "Go, carry back this message from me to your mistress. According to your request I have prayed to God and have seen a vision, in which he revealed to me the things I will relate to you. I saw a certain meadow, beautifully clothed with grass and flowers, and in it there was a fierce horse feeding. Herds of cattle stood all round, keenly desiring to graze in the meadow, but the wild horse drove them away, not suffering any animal to come there and crop the grass and the flowers. Unfortunately, the stately and high-bred horse suddenly disappeared, and a lascivious heifer undertook the guardianship of the luxuriant meadow. Forthwith, the whole herd of animals which stood outside ran freely in, and depasturing the meadow in every part, destroyed all its former beauty, without fear of its guardian, treading it under foot, and defiling it with their dung. On seeing this I was much astonished, and asked my conductor what it meant. He therefore explained the whole, saying: 'The meadow which you behold is Normandy, and the grass is the multitude of people, living in peace and in abundance of all things. The flowers represent the churches, where are to be found the chaste companies of the monks and clergy and nuns, and where faithful souls are continually engaged in holy contemplations. The unbridled horse signifies William, king of the English, under whose protection

the sacred orders of the devout securely war for the king of angels.¹ The greedy animals which stand around are the Franks, the Bretons, and the men of Picardy and Anjou, and other neighbouring people, who are jealous of the prosperity of Normandy, and are ready to pounce upon its resources, like wolves on their prey, but are repelled by the unconquerable might of King William. But when, according to the laws of human nature, he shall be taken away, his son Robert will succeed him in the dukedom of Normandy. Then her enemies will gather around her on all sides, and, as she will have lost her protector, they will invade her rich and noble territory, despoil her of her honour and her wealth, and holding in contempt her weak ruler, nefariously tread under foot the whole country. He, like the lascivious heifer, will abandon himself to lust and sloth, and set others the example of plundering the property of the church, and spending it on filthy pimps and lechers. To such he will give up his dominions, and they will be his counsellors in his urgent necessities. In the dukedom of Robert, favourites and effeminate persons will bear rule, and under their government crime and misery will abound. The cities and villages will be burnt, and the churches of the saints shamefully profaned. The societies of the faithful, of both sexes, will be dispersed, and thousands of human beings will perish by fire and sword, many of them unabsolved and without the last sacraments, so that for their sins they will be plunged at once into the bottomless pit. Such calamities will fall upon Normandy, and as of old she was enormously puffed up, as the conqueror of neighbouring nations, so under a lax and debauched prince, she will be held in contempt, and will be long and miserably exposed to the arms of her enemies. The weak duke will have only the name of prince, while in truth rogues will have the rule, both over him and the distracted province, to the general loss.' Such was the vision which I lately had in answer to my prayers, and such the explanation which my spiritual guide gave of it. But you, venerable lady, will not witness the calamities with which Normandy is threat-

¹ There is a play of words in the original text: *Regem Anglorum . . . regi Angelorum.*

ened ; for, after a good confession, you will die in peace, and neither behold your husband's death, nor the misfortunes of your son, nor the desolation of your beloved country."

Having received this message from the hermit, the messengers returned and related to the queen the prophecy in which good was mixed with evil. The men of the succeeding age, who were partakers in the disasters of Normandy and saw the fires and other ravages, found to their cost that the prophecy of the horrible calamities and destruction which awaited them was but too true.

At last, after many useless peregrinations, Robert began to repent of his folly, but still he was unwilling to return frankly to his incensed father whom he had so inconsiderately left. He therefore repaired to his cousin Philip, king of France, and earnestly entreated him to render him aid. He was well received, and the castle of Gerberoi assigned to him for his residence, because it stands in the Beauvais on the borders of Normandy, and is a very strong fortress both from its site and its walls and other defences. Elias the vidame, and his fellow governor of the castle, received the royal exile with great good-will, promising all sorts of succour to him and his followers. For it is the custom of that castle that it has two equal lords,¹ and that all fugitives are harboured there from whatever quarter they come. Robert collected in this place a troop of horse, promising them and the barons of France who flocked about him, in return for their assistance, more than he could ever perform. Many evils ensued from this arrangement, the sons of perdition taking arms and devising mischief against the peaceable and defenceless, and contriving endless iniquities. Numbers who to all appearance had been peaceably inclined, and gave good words to the king and his adherents, now unexpectedly joined the enemies of the state, betraying their kinsfolk and lords to the disinherited exiles. Thus Normandy had more to suffer from her own people than from strangers, and was ruined by intestine disorders.

Meanwhile, the undaunted king had levied numerous bodies of troops with prudent forethought, and quartered them in the castles of his own province which stood nearest the

¹ Two collateral branches of the same family possessed jointly the title and authority of vidames of this place.

enemy's borders, making head against his adversaries in all quarters, and suffering no one to make inroads on his territories with impunity. He was also much annoyed that his enemies had chosen a post so near his own frontier, nor would he submit to it any longer without a sharp contention. He therefore, although it was mid-winter, assembled his mailed troops, as soon as Christmas was past, and paid a visit to the enemies' quarters at Gerberoy from which he had received threatening messages; and for three weeks he besieged the garrison with great vigour. The chiefs on both sides had frequent encounters, and often challenged each other to the conflict with a select number of followers chosen for their bravery and skill in arms. On one side the Normans, with the English and the king's auxiliaries from the immediate neighbourhood, made fierce onslaughts, on the other, the French and King William's enemies on the borders, who took the side of Robert, made a desperate resistance. In these conflicts many were unhorsed, horses were killed, and the combatants suffered considerable losses.¹

The king having returned to Rouen, his faithful counsellors took into consideration the means of reconciling the father and son. With this view Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, Hugh de Gournay and Hugh Grantmesnil, Roger de Beaumont, with his sons Robert and Henry,² and many others assembled. They addressed the king in the following terms: "Great king, we humbly approach your highness, beseeching you favourably to receive our supplications. Your son Robert has been led astray by the pernicious advice of evil counsellors, from which violent dissensions and much mischief have arisen. He now repents of his

¹ Our author's account of the siege of Gerberoi is far from complete. He has omitted to inform us that Philip I. joined William, the duke, in besieging his son Robert in the very place he had assigned him for his refuge. This appears from a charter signed jointly by the two kings while engaged in the siege, which also fixes the date of its commencement, in the month of January, 1079. Ordericus has also omitted the well known story of Robert's having wounded and dismounted his father in one of the chivalrous encounters under the walls of Gerberoi, and, discovering him by his voice, having remounted him on his own horse after vainly imploring his forgiveness. It was probably in consequence of this occurrence, and at all events after it, that the lords of William's council named by Ordericus succeeded in effecting a temporary reconciliation.

² Robert, count de Meulan, and Henry, earl of Warwick.

errors, but he cannot venture to approach your presence without receiving your commands. He humbly implores your clemency to take pity on him, and he seeks to obtain your favour through our interference, who are your devoted subjects. He acknowledges himself to be guilty of many and grave offences, but he confesses them, and promises to conduct himself better in future. We all, therefore, join in imploring your clemency to extend your gracious pardon to your repentant son. Correct your erring child, permit him to return home, and mercifully accept his penitence." The assembled nobles also earnestly interceded with the king on behalf of their sons, brothers, and kinsmen, who accompanied Robert in his exile. The king replied to them as follows: "I am surprised that you so earnestly plead the cause of a traitor, who has dared to make a most infamous attempt on the peace of my dominions. He has stirred up intestine disturbances against me, and seduced the flower of my young nobility whom I myself have educated and invested with the ensigns of chivalry. He has also brought on me Hugh de Chateaufort,¹ and other foreign enemies. Which of my predecessors, from the time of Rollo, has been subjected to such a conflict on the part of his sons as I have? Look at William, the son of the great Rollo, and the three Richards, successively dukes of Normandy, and my own father Robert, and see how faithfully they obeyed their fathers to the hour of their death. This youth endeavoured to wrest from me the dukedom of Normandy and the earldom of Maine, and he has formed against me a powerful combination of the French, the people of Anjou and Aquitaine, and many others. If it were in his power he would arm the whole race of mankind against me, and put me, and yourselves too, to the sword. According to the law of God given by Moses, he is worthy of death: his offence is like that of Absalom, and should meet with the same punishment."

Still the nobles of Normandy had frequent conferences

¹ Châteaufort in the Thimerais; see before, book iv. p. 109. This passage strengthens the opinion that the quarrel began at L'Aigle, on occasion of the liberties taken by William Rufus and Henry with their brother Robert, and that this occurrence can only be assigned to the summer or autumn of the year 1077.

with the king, and endeavoured to mollify his resentment by gentle remonstrances and entreaties. The bishops, also, and other men of religion, tried to soften the hardness of his heart by lessons drawn from the word of God. The queen, also, and the envoys of the king of France, and the neighbouring nobles who were in alliance with him, used their efforts to restore peace. At last the stern prince, giving way to the entreaties of so many persons of rank, and moved likewise by natural affection, was reconciled to his son, and those who had been leagued with him. He also, with the concurrence of his nobles, ratified and renewed the grant which he had made to him, when he was sick at Bonneville,¹ of the succession to the duchy of Normandy after his own death. The restoration of peace caused great joy to the people of Normandy and Maine, who had now grievously suffered for many years from the calamities of war. But this long-wished-for tranquillity, arising from the reunion of father and son, was speedily overclouded. For the obstinate young prince was too proud to attend or obey his father, and the passionate monarch often loaded him in public with accusations and reproaches for his disobedience. He, therefore, after a time, again left his father's court² accompanied by a small number of adherents; nor did he ever return until his father on his death-bed sent Count Aubrey³

¹ Bonneville sur Touque. The text of Duchesne; for Villam-Bonam, reads *Juliam-Bonam*, Lillebonne. The resemblance of these two names of the residences of the dukes of Normandy causes them to be often mistaken the one for the other. It is the same of the ports Barfleur and Harfleur.

² The precise time when the king and his son again quarrelled cannot be ascertained, but it did not occur till after Robert's expedition, undertaken by his father's orders, into Scotland, during which he founded an English Château-neuf, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This was in the autumn of 1080.

³ Aubrey, before this, earl of Northumberland, who must not be confounded with Aubrey de Vere, the ancestor of the earls of Oxford. Little is known of the Aubrey mentioned by our author. At the time the survey recorded in Domesday-book was taken, his estates were in the king's hands, having probably been wrested from him on account of his incapacity. After a disastrous expedition to Greece, induced by his credulity in the promises of astrologers, which leaves no great opinion of his judgment, he returned to Normandy, and was there, it is said, married to a lady who bore the name of the country he had been silly enough to think of conquering.

to him in France to invite him to take possession of the duchy of Normandy.

CH. XI. *Account of the family of William I., particularly his son Richard, killed when young, and his daughters.*

IF William, though a father, sometimes cursed in his anger his rebellious son, and wished him all sorts of evil for the attempts which have been just related, his sons William and Henry, who had been always dutiful, received his hearty blessing. As for his son Richard, born after Robert, and who had not yet received the honour of knighthood, while he was hunting in the new forest not far from Winchester, and running down a stag at full speed, he sustained a violent blow on the pommel of the saddle from a stout hazel bough, and was mortally injured. Receiving the same week the supports of confession and absolution, and the last sacraments, he shortly afterwards died to the great sorrow of many of the English.¹ William Rufus and Henry having always been devoted to their father obtained his blessing, and had for many years been advanced to the highest pitch of power both in the kingdom and the duchy. His daughter Agatha, who had been betrothed to Harold, was afterwards demanded in marriage by Alphonzo, king of Galicia,² and delivered to his proxies to be conducted to him. But she, who had lost her former spouse who was to her liking, felt extreme repugnance to marry another. The Englishman she had seen and loved, but the Spaniard she was more averse to because she had never set eyes on him. She, therefore, fervently prayed to the Almighty that she might never be carried into Spain, but that he would rather take her to himself. Her prayers were heard, and she died a virgin while she was on the road. Her corpse was brought

¹ This calamitous event, which was supposed to be judicial, is generally assigned to the year 1081, but there is reason to place it several years earlier.

² Alphonzo, king of Leon, the Asturias, and Oviedo, in 1065, of Castile in 1072, and of Galicia the year following. The Spanish historians, who call Agatha, *Agueda*, place the marriage in 1068, when Alphonzo was as yet only king of Leon. It was, therefore, in that year the young princess died. Alphonso still continued to seek alliances in France, for in 1074 he married Agnes, daughter of William, count de Poitiers, and afterwards, in 1080, Constance, daughter of Robert, duke of Burgandy.

back by her attendants to her native country, and interred in the church of St. Mary-ever-a-Virgin, at Bayeux. King William's daughter Adeliza, who was very beautiful, when she reached the age of marriage, piously devoted herself to God, and made a holy end under the guardianship of Roger de Beaumont.¹ Constance was given amid great rejoicings at Bayeux to Fergan, count of Brittany, son of the count of Nantes; and she died in Brittany without leaving any children.²

Stephen, palatine count de Blois,³ wishing to make a firm alliance with King William, demanded his daughter Adela in marriage, who, by the advice of his counsellors, gave his consent, and they were united with great rejoicings. The espousals took place at Breteuil, and the marriage was celebrated at Chartres. Stephen was son of Theobald,⁴ count palatine, and nephew of Bertha, countess of Brittany and Maine.⁵ His two most powerful counts were his brothers Odo and Hugh,⁶ and he had four sons by his wife first mentioned, William, Theobald, Stephen, and Henry, the three first of whom are puissant lords, and rank with the highest nobles of France and England. William, the

¹ She retired to St. Léger-de-Préaux, a convent for nuns founded by Humphrey de Vieilles, father of Roger de Beaumont, and Aubrey, his mother, and afterwards endowed by Roger himself. William de Jumièges confounds Adeliza with her sister Agatha.

² This marriage is mentioned before, vol. i. p. 185, where our author says that it was celebrated at Caen. (See also the note, book ii. c. 5.) Alan Fergan was not son of a count of Nantes, but grandson of Alan Pugnart, count de Cornwall.

³ Stephen, count de Blois, in 1081, and who married Adela the same year, became count de Chartres about the year 1090, after his father's death, and was slain in battle against the Saracens in Palestine in 1101. He had returned there to wipe off the disgrace of having deserted from the first crusade before the deliverance of Jerusalem. Ordericus is mistaken in giving him the title of count Palatine, which was first borne by his great grandfather, Eudes II., count of Blois and Champagne, and passed to the branch of the family which succeeded to the latter. The title was purely honorary.

⁴ Theobald III., count de Blois, Tours, and Chartres, in 1037, afterwards count Palatine de Champagne, in prejudice of his nephew Eudes, about 1048.

⁵ Bertha, sister of Theobald, first married in 1027 to Alan III., duke of Brittany, and afterwards to Hugh II., count du Mans.

⁶ Hugh, count de Champagne; Eudes, count de Troyes; besides Philip, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, omitted by our author.

eldest, son-in-law and heir of Gillon de Sully, is a worthy, quiet man, whose family and wealth make him powerful.¹ Theobald, who succeeded to the hereditary states, is distinguished by his valour and merits.² Stephen, who is son-in-law and heir of Eustace, count de Boulogne, has had the earldom of Moreton, in Normandy, and many English honours conferred on him by his uncle king Henry.³ The fourth son, Henry, was devoted from infancy to the service of the church at the abbey of Cluny, and under the monastic rule was fully instructed in sacred learning. Should he persist in this religious life he will be an heir of the kingdom of heaven, and present a memorable example of contempt for the world to earthly princes.⁴ Let what I have shortly noted respecting the decendants of King William suffice for the present, for I am urged onward by an earnest desire to complete my undertaking, and unceasingly actuated by the determination to fulfil my promise.

¹ William, the eldest son, who married Agnes de Sully, was put aside from the succession by the intrigues of his mother and on account of his incapacity. He was also deformed and stammered. Our author just gives him the negative character suited to his deserts.

² The second son, Theobald, called the Grand, succeeded his father in 1102, as count de Blois, &c., and in 1125 became count of Champagne by inheritance or purchase of his uncle.

³ Stephen de Blois, the third son, played a distinguished part in history. Count de Boulogne, in right of his wife Matilda, and earl of Morton by creation of his uncle, Henry I., at the time when Ordericus wrote this book, his future honours as king of England could not then be anticipated. Having seized the throne in December, 1135, his reign lasted till October, 1154.

⁴ Henry, the fourth and youngest son, was the famous Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, who took a leading part in the wars for the succession to Henry I. of England. He was originally, it appears, a monk of Cluny, but in 1126, two years before our author wrote this book, though he does not seem to have been aware of it, Henry had been made abbot of Glastonbury. He was raised to the bishopric of Winchester in 1129. The hypothetical form in which Ordericus frames this short reference to the early promise of this ambitious and worldly prelate, seems to indicate an impression that his hopes were not likely to be fulfilled. Some years afterwards, when still his character was not fully developed, Henry of Huntingdon speaks of him in these terms: "Henry, the king's son, who promises to exhibit a monstrous spectacle, compounded of purity and corruption, half a monk, half a knight."—*Letter to Walter on the Bishops and Illustrious Men of his Times*, p. 315, Bohn's Edition.

CH. XII. *Mainier, fourth abbot of St. Evroult—Began the new church—His administration—Men of rank become monks—State of the church in Normandy after the conversion of the Danes.*

THE eternal Disposer of all events impels by his power and guides by his wisdom, his bark, the church, through the storms of this world, and mercifully gives his daily support to the labourers in his vineyard, strengthening them by his holy inspirations for their toils and dangers. He thus providentially guides his church among the tumults of wars and battles, and secures its advancement in a variety of ways. This has been most especially shown with respect to the abbey of St. Evroult, which, though founded in a poor country, and surrounded by worthless people, has been defended by divine help against all the threats and malice of its enemies. Abbot Mainier undertook the charge of this abbey in the month of July, and has now presided over it with great advantage twenty-two years and eight months.¹ He introduced into the Lord's fold ninety-two monks, prudently selected to do his work; and diligently instructed them how they ought to conduct themselves in it. He also began to erect the new church, and suitable houses for the residence of the monks, and by God's aid completed them with all the beauty so desert a country permitted. The good reports of their religious life raised the abbey of St. Evroult to high honour, and gained them the love of great numbers of persons of all ranks. Many hastened there to connect themselves with this society, and become worthy of partaking of its benefits in divine things. They gave their worldly possessions in order to receive heavenly ones from God.

Some, inflamed with divine love, entirely renounced the world, resigning their wealth to the monastery, according to the monastic rule, and enforcing on their friends and relations similar conduct, by their advice and entreaties. Among

¹ Mainier, son of Goscelin d'Echaufour, was fourth abbot of St. Evroult. He was consecrated by Huph, bishop of Lisieux, the 16th of July, 1066. Our author has considerably varied in his calculations of the period of Mainier's administration. It appears to have lasted twenty-two years and seven months, and that he died on the 5th of March, 1089.

these were Roger de Sap and his brother Odo, Serlo de Orgères, Razso son of Ilbert, Odo of Dôle, Geoffrey of Orleans, and John of Rheims, and many more who were both well imbued with learning and fit for God's service. Some were men of high birth, and took charge of the external affairs of the abbey. Among these, Drogo, son of Geoffrey de Neuf-Marché,¹ and Roger, son of Ernès de Coutances, nephew of William Warrenne, and Arnold, son of Humphrey de Tilleul, nephew by his sister of Hugh de Grantmesnil, and the physician Goisbert, were men about the court, through whose exertions lands, churches, and tithes, were obtained for their brethren. Mainier did not fail to make use of such supporters, and by their means the abbey increased its advantages, its means, and its pious inmates.

This abbot chose for his assistant in the management of the house Fulk de Guernanville, a clever and proper person, to whom he committed the superintendence of the monastery. He was son of Fulk, dean of Evreux, and being full of zeal for his order, diligently seconded his abbot in all things, besides inducing his father to enter the abbey, and endow it with a great part of his patrimony. The dean was one of the pupils of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, and held a knight's fee by inheritance from his father. According to the custom of that period, he had a noble partner,² whose name was Orielde, who bore him a numerous offspring. He had eight sons and two daughters, whose names are as follows: Warin, Christian, Ralph, William, Fulk, Fromont, Hubert, and Walter, surnamed Tyrrel;³ Avise, and Adelaide. At this time, and ever since the com-

¹ We have seen before, vol i. p. 455, that Duke William deprived Geoffrey of the castle of Neuf-Marché, of which he was the lawful heir (probably as son of Turketil, its former governor), and after in vain trying others, committed this important fortress to the custody of Hugh de Grantmesnil, whose abilities and courage were guarantees for his holding in submission his turbulent neighbours, especially the inhabitants of Milli and Gerberoy.

² *Sociam*; wife or mistress? It seems that at this period anons at least were not bound to celibacy, nor indeed any of the secular clergy, as appears from the sequel of this curious paragraph.

³ This person must not be confounded with his namesake, Walter Tyrrel, second lord of Poix, who is supposed to have been the unintentional murderer of William Rufus.

ing in of the Normans, the celibacy of the clergy was so little preserved, that not only priests, but even bishops, used freely the beds of concubines, and openly boasted of their numerous families of sons and daughters. This custom generally prevailed among the neophytes who were baptized at the same time as Rollo, and who took possession of the unpopulated country, not versed in letters but in arms. These priests of Danish origin, with very little learning, obtained possession of the parishes, and were always ready to take up arms to defend the lay fees by military service. At length, Bruno of Lorraine, bishop of Toul, was called to Rome, and by the providence of God, became pope, under the name of Leo. While he was journeying to Rome, he heard the angels singing: "I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace and not of evil," &c.¹ This pope applied himself to do much good, and rendered great services to those who were committed to his charge, both by his good deeds and his faithful teaching. He came into France in the year of our Lord 1049, and consecrated the church of St. Remigius, the archbishop, at Rheims, on the calends [1st] of October; and at the instance of Abbot Hermar, translated the body of the saint with great ceremony to the place where it is now held in veneration. He then held a general council at Rheims, and among other canons for the good of the church, one was made prohibiting priests from carrying arms and having wives.² From that time the fatal practice began gradually to decline. Priests have now readily ceased from bearing arms, but they are still reluctant to give up their concubines, and observe celibacy.

[1066—1089.] Dean Fulk, before mentioned, after being defiled by a long continuance in corrupt habits, turned his mind to better things, and now bent with age, was induced by the advice and admonitions of his son Fulk to flee to Ouche, where he entreated admission as a monk, not indeed so much giving up the world, as that the world gave him up. When he became a monk, he gave to St. Evroult

¹ Jeremiah xxix. 11. This paragraph is before inserted in nearly the same terms, book i. ch. xxiv. See vol. i. p. 151, and the note.

² We do not find any injunctions respecting celibacy in the canons of the council of Rheims, though there is one against the clergy bearing arms.

the church of Guernanville, and the land belonging to it; he also gave another farm he possessed in the same village, which Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, had given him, and which he had long held under William Fitz-Osbern, nephew of the same bishop.¹ William, the son and heir of Fulk, publicly ratified these grants in the chapter, and joined his father in offering the deed of gift on the altar of St. Peter, whereupon he received by the good-will of the monks an ounce of gold as an acknowledgment. The grant was also confirmed by William de Breteuil and Gislebert Crispin with his two sons, and the witnesses present were, Roger de Clare, Hugh de L'Ane,² Robert d'Estoteville, Rodolph de la Lande, Rodolph des Fourneaux, Walter de Chaumont, and William de Longueville and Guernanville. These lands were also granted by William Gastinel, in the presence of Richer de L'Aigle, and he received for it an ounce of gold. The witnesses were William Halis, Morin du Pin, Robert, son of Heugo, and Rodolph Cloeth.

CH. XIII. *Founders and benefactors of the abbey of St. Evroult, particularly Roger de Montgomery, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury.*

I propose here shortly to enumerate the possessions of the abbey of Ouche, that the endowments piously made may be known to the novices, and that by reference to this account it may be ascertained by whom or at what time they were made, or for what price they were purchased. The greedy owners of worldly possessions are engrossed with these passing interests, and think little of those which are supreme and eternal, and men in general scarcely attempt to do any thing for the hope of heaven, unless they find it for their temporal advantage. Tithes, which the Lord required by Moses to be devoted to his service for the use of the sanctuary and the Levites, are withheld by our temporal lords, who refuse to restore them to the ministers of the church, except they are redeemed at a great price.³ The

¹ This bishop held vast estates in the department of L'Eure, as the son of Ralph, count d'Ivri.

² This person was a vassal of William Fitz-Osbern, on his domains in the county of Hereford.

³ We may be well surprised to find the vast amount of tithes and

stewards of the alms for the poor admonished laymen to give back the tithes to the church of God, and in their zeal to obtain them by any means have often given large sums for them, in ignorance that the sacred canons absolutely prohibit any bargains of this sort. Even in modern councils, the holy bishops have pronounced an anathema against this traffic, but from merciful considerations have passed by former offences of the kind, and allowed the possessions which the church then held to remain in her hands, under the sanction of this episcopal authority.

The founders of the abbey of St. Evroult were men of moderate fortune, who, erecting it on an unfertile soil, endowed it with some small possessions, widely dispersed, according to their moderate means, for the support of the brethren. Their neighbours all around them were ground down by poverty, and driven by want and their evil dispositions to live by dishonesty, fraud, and robbery, so that the monks at Ouche were compelled to procure food for themselves and their visitors from a great distance. But as they submitted themselves to regular discipline from the time of their first institution, great nobles and pious prelates conceived a high regard for them, and providing for their necessities by gifts of tithes, and churches, and other endowments, came to be held in great respect.

Thus Ralph de Conches, son of Roger de Toni, the renowned standard-bearer of Normandy, intending to go into Spain,¹ came to Ouche, and, attending a chapter of St.

church lands in Normandy, which had become the property of laymen before the age when our author wrote. Every one knows that in England such possessions did not get into lay hands till the time of Henry VIII., on the dissolution of the monasteries. In Normandy, and the case was the same elsewhere in France, the tithes and church lands appear to have become the prey of the various lords of all degrees who established their independence in the ninth and tenth centuries, when no law was known but that of the strongest. There might have been some justice in the unceasing efforts of the monks in our author's time to influence or extort the re-grant of the tithes to their legitimate owners, but the only excuse for their appropriation to the abbeys consists in the very low state to which the secular or parochial clergy appear to have sunk at that period, both as to learning and morals.

¹ His father, Roger, lord of Toni and Conches, had also been in Spain, and obtained his surname from it. See vol. i. p. 149. Both were standard-bearers of Normandy. Ralph de Toni, or Toeni, as the name was spelt,

Evrault, implored pardon from the abbot and monks for having some time before abetted Arnold d'Echaufour when he burned the town of Ouche. He then made recompense to the monks, and laid his gage on the altar, making many pious vows in case of his safe return. He likewise recommended to them his physician Goisbert, whom he much loved, who, as soon as he was departed made his profession as a monk, and firmly kept it for nearly thirty years to the end of his days. The aforesaid knight returning home some time afterwards, did not forget his vow, but, coming to St. Evrault, gave two acres of vineyard which he had at Toni for the service of masses in the abbey. He further gave all that he had at Guernanville, that is to say his land and the pasnage, so that the first, that of the servants, was not granted, but the second or third was granted, and none was to be given for the monks.¹ He also gave three yearly tenants,² one at Conches, another at Toni, and the third at Acquigni, which Gerald Gastinel had held of him, and voluntarily ceded to St. Evrault. Ralph de Toni some years afterwards took Goisbert the monk with him to England, and through his means gave to the monks of St. Evrault two farms, one named Caldecot in Norfolk, and another in the county of Worcester, called Alvington. All these grants King William confirmed, and ratified them by a royal charter in the presence of his great nobles. Likewise Elizabeth, the aforesaid knight's wife, and Roger and Ralph, his sons, freely joined in the grant. The witnesses to the charters of these grants were Roger de Clair, Walter d'Espagne, William de Pacey, Robert de Romilly, Gerald Gastinel, Gislebert son of Thorold, Roger de Mucegros, and Walter de Chaumont.

was the founder of the great family of Stafford in England. At the time of the Domesday record he possessed one hundred and thirty manors, the most part in Staffordshire. The first Ralph de Toni was descended in the female line from Malahulcius, uncle of Rollo, first duke of Normandy.

¹ It would be difficult now to assign a precise meaning to the grant contained in the preceding sentence. The *pasnagium* was the right of feeding hogs or cattle in the forests, or the dues paid for it.

² "Yearly tenants," *hospites*, a term which often occurs in Ordericus, and to which we can hardly attach an exact sense. Du Cange says they were inhabitants of tenements in villis or hamlets, under yearly rents, thus "differing from slaves and villeins attached to the soil." We have elsewhere translated the word "cottiers."

Also, Robert de Vaux gave to St. Evroult one moiety of two parts of the tithes of Berners. His son Roger, after his father's death, confirmed the aforesaid gift in Frank Almoign, receiving forty shillings of the currency of Dreux, and his wife had ten shillings from the monk's charity. This was freely confirmed by the aforesaid Ralph, who was the chief lord, and he kindly procured the concurrence of his wife and children. This Ralph [de Toni] gained great glory in the wars, and was reckoned among the first of the Norman nobles for honours and wealth, serving bravely in the armies of King William and Duke Robert his son, princes of Normandy, for nearly sixty years. He carried off by night Agnes, his half-sister, daughter of Richard, count of Evreux, and married her to Simon de Montfort. He obtained, in return, the hand of Isabel, Simon's daughter, who bore him noble children, Roger, and Rodolph, and a daughter named Godehilde, who was first married to Robert, count of Mellent, and then to Baldwin, son of Eustace, count of Boulogne.¹ At length Ralph the elder, after various turns of fortune, good and bad, died, on the ninth of the calends of April [24th March], and Ralph his son held the patrimonial estate nearly twenty-four years. Both on their death were buried with their ancestors in the abbey of St. Peter at Châtillon.² Isabel, having been for some time a widow, repenting of the sinful wantonness in which she had too much indulged in her youth, gave up the world, and took the veil in a convent of nuns at Haute-Bruyère,³ where she reformed her life and worthily persevered in the fear of the Lord.

When Count William Fitz-Osbern fell in battle in Flanders, King William divided his honours and estates between his two sons, giving Breteuil and all his father's domains in Normandy to William, and to Roger the earldom of Hereford in England. William, who was more gentle than his father, had a great regard for the abbey of St. Evroult,

¹ He was the youngest brother of Godfrey de Bouillon, and, following him to the first crusade, was first created count of Edessa in 1097, and on the death of his brother, in 1100, elected king of Jerusalem.

² More generally called the abbey of Conches.

³ A priory of the order of Fontevraud, at St. Remi-l'Honoré, near Montfort-l'Amauri.

and made it great gifts for the repose of the souls of his father and mother. He sent by the monk Roger de Sap a copy of the gospels, enriched with ornaments of gold, silver, and jewels; he also confirmed all the grants his vassals had made to St. Evroult, either by gift or sale. He also granted them a yearly payment of one hundred shillings out of his tolls at Glos, and freely executed in presence of his principal men a charter to the following effect:—

“I, William de Breteuil, son of Count William, do give and grant to St. Evroult and his monks, out of the tolls of Glos, one hundred shillings yearly to buy fish at the beginning of Lent, for the repose of the souls of my father and mother, and that of my own; and that their anniversaries and my own may be observed by all the monks as a feast; and that on each of our anniversaries, a portion of meat and drink equal to a monk's share be given to the poor. During my life also a mass of the Holy Trinity is to be sung for me in the abbey every Sunday. I also grant to the monks one burgess in Breteuil, and whatever my mesne-tenants, Richard Fresnel, William Halis, and Ralph de La Cunelle, and others, have granted to them I also give and confirm. All this I grant by these presents, and I faithfully promise them hereafter my counsel and aid and other privileges. Whoever, after my death, shall take away or diminish the things granted, let him be accursed.” This charter was ratified and witnessed by the signatures of William de Breteuil himself, Ralph his chaplain, William the steward, son of Barno, Arnold, son of Arnold, and Robert de Louviers.

In the year of our Lord 1099, the seventh indiction, William, so often mentioned before, was present at the consecration of the church of Ouche, when he added one hundred shillings from the rents of Glos, to the like sum which he had before given to St. Evroult. He deposited the deed of gift on the altar still wet with the holy water sprinkled in the consecration, in the presence of three bishops, five abbots, and the whole clergy and people standing round. He died at Bec not long afterwards, on the second of the ides [12th] of January,¹ and lies buried in the cloister of the abbey of Lire, which his father founded on

¹ A.D. 1102.

his own domains : his anniversary is kept as a festival every year at St. Evroult. The charter of the aforesaid grant of two pounds was afterwards confirmed by the seal of Henry, king of England, and Eustace and Ralph de Guader, and Robert of Leicester,¹ William's successor, renewed the grant to the monks, and have regularly paid it to this day.

William de Molines, with the consent of his wife Alberede, gave to St. Evroult the church of Maheru, with the tithes, and all the priest's land, and the cemetery belonging to the same church. He also gave the church of St. Lawrence in the town of Molines, and his demesne-land near the castle, in the same manner as he himself held it. He made this grant in the chapter before his chief men Walter d'Apres and Everard de Ray, with some others. It was thus he merited the good offices of the church, as a brother and munificent benefactor. Then abbot Mainier offered to the aforesaid marquis,² as a free gift from the brethren, fifteen livres in pennies, and conducted him to the altar with Alberede, Guitmond's daughter, whose inheritance it was, to confirm the gift. They freely granted all that has been described in the presence of the whole convent, and confirmed it by a charter duly offered on the altar of St. Peter. Sometime afterwards, the aforesaid knight granted to St. Evroult the church of Bonmoulines, with all the tithes of corn, and of the mill and oven ; to which Reynold the Little, who at that time had the affairs of the monks in that place entrusted to him, charitably added thirty shillings.

After Alberede had borne her husband two sons, William and Robert, a divorce took place between her and her husband on account of consanguinity. The proceedings for the divorce before the bishop having been completed, William married another wife, Duda, daughter of Waleran de Mellent, who bore him two sons, Simon and Hugh, who were both cut off in their youth by cruel death, leaving no children. Meanwhile, Alberede embraced a religious pro-

¹ Ralph de Guader was nephew of William de Breteuil, to whom Eustace resigned the family estates in 1119; Robert, earl of Leicester was his son-in-law.

² Marquis is used here in its original and proper sense of *Lord Marcher*, or warden of a frontier.

fession, and ended her days in a monastery of nuns. The aforesaid William was son of Walter of Falaise, and being a gallant soldier, King William gave him Guitmund's daughter, with the whole fief of Molines. He was too fond of vain and empty glory, in pursuit of which he was guilty of indiscriminate slaughter. It is reported that he shed much blood, and that his ferocity was so great that no one who was wounded by him, however slightly, escaped with life. Through prosperity and adversity, he lived to grow old, and so far as this world is concerned, spent his days in honour. At length he died at his own castle on the fourteenth of the calends of November [19th October], and lies buried in the chapter-house at St. Evroult.

His son Robert, inheriting the domains of his ancestors, was not unmindful of his eternal salvation; he therefore came to Ouche and renewed the grants of all that his father and mother had given to the abbey, and freely confirmed all that the tenants in his lordship had either given or sold to St. Evroult. This grant he laid on the altar upon the copy of the gospels, and afterwards received as a free-gift from the monks five marks of silver and the best horse. For fifteen years he justly governed his paternal fief, defending it stoutly against his neighbouring enemies, for he was a brave soldier, though rather slow in his movements. He even transgressed the command of King Henry, and attacked Engerrand, surnamed D'Oison, with whom he had frequent conflicts. This exasperated the king against him, and his anger being enflamed by malicious accusations, he disinherited him; after which he left Normandy and went to Apulia, with his wife Agnes, daughter of Robert de Grantmesnil, to whom he was lately married, and he died there some years afterwards, having been a wanderer among the dwellings of strangers. The eldest brother being thus violently thrust out from his inheritance by the duke, Simon succeeded to it, and freely confirmed, with the concurrence of his wife Adeline, all that his predecessors had granted to St. Evroult.

Roger de Montgomery possessed for twenty-six years, after the fall of the family of Giroie, all their patrimony of Echaufour and Montreuil, and at first, as long as his wife Mable lived, was, at her instigation, a very troublesome

neighbour to the inmates of Ouche, she having been always opposed to the family of Giroie, the founders of the abbey of St. Evroult. At last the righteous Judge, who spares repentant sinners but exercises vengeance on the impenitent, permitted that cruel woman, who had caused many great lords to be disinherited and to beg their bread in foreign lands, to fall herself by the sword of Hugh, from whom she had wrested his castle on the rock of Igé,¹ thus unjustly depriving him of the inheritance of his fathers. In the extremity of his distress, he undertook a most audacious enterprise; for with the assistance of his three brothers, who were men of undaunted courage, he forced an entry by night into the chamber of the countess at a place called Bures² on the Dive, and there, in revenge for the loss of his inheritance, cut off her head, as she lay in bed just after enjoying the pleasures of a bath. The death of this cruel lady caused much joy to many persons; and the perpetrators of the bold deed instantly took the road for Apulia. Hugh de Montgomery, who was then in the place with sixteen men-at-arms,³ on hearing of his mother's murder, instantly pursued the assassins, but was unable to come up with them, as they had taken the precaution to break down behind them the bridges over which they crossed the rivers, to prevent their falling into the hands of Mabel's avengers. It was the winter season, the night was dark, and the streams being flooded, there were such obstacles in the way of pursuit, that the assassins, having satiated their revenge, were able to escape out of Normandy. The brethren of Troarn, where Durandus was then abbot, gave burial to the mangled corpse on the nones [5th] of December,⁴ and caused the following epitaph to be inscribed on her tomb, due more to the partiality of her friends than to her own merits:—

Sprung from the noble and the brave,
Here MABEL finds a narrow grave.

¹ La Roche d'Igé, canton de Bellême.

² Bures, near Troarn.

³ Hugh de Montgomery succeeded his father as earl of Shrewsbury in 1094. The word here translated "men-at-arms," is *milites*, the sense of which much varies. It might have been rendered "knights," but such a retinue would seem to be too great even for a son of this powerful nobleman.

⁴ The 5th of December, 1082.

But, above all woman's glory,
 Fills a page in famous story.
 Commanding, eloquent, and wise,
 And prompt to daring enterprise ;
 Though slight her form, her soul was great,
 And, proudly swelling in her state,
 Rich dress, and pomp, and retinue,
 Lent it their grace and honours due.
 The border's guard, the country's shield,
 Both love and fear her might revealed,
 Till Hugh, revengeful, gained her bower,
 In dark December's midnight hour.
 Then saw the Dive's o'erflowing stream
 The ruthless murderer's poignard gleam.
 Now, friends, some moments kindly spare,
 For her soul's rest to breathe a prayer !

After the murder of Mabel, count Roger married a second wife, Adeliza, daughter of Everard du Puiset, one of the highest of the French nobility. The earl had by his first wife five sons and four daughters,¹ whose names are as follows: Robert de Belesme, Hugh de Montgomery, Roger the Poitevin, Philip, and Arnold; Emma, a nun and abbess of Almenesches, the countess Matilda, wife of Robert, earl of Morton, Mabel, wife of Hugh de Chateaufneuf, and Sybil, wife of Robert Fitz-Hamon. By his second wife he had only one son whose name is Everard, and who being brought up to learning, became attached to the courts of William and Henry, kings of England, as one of the royal chaplains. The successor to the former countess was of quite a different character; for she was remarkable for her good sense and piety, and frequently used her influence with her husband to befriend the monks and protect the poor.

In consequence, the earl repented of the ill turns he had often done the monks, and prudently endeavoured to efface his former errors, by his subsequent amendment of life. In

¹ 1. Robert, count d'Alençon; 2. Hugh de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury; 3. Roger of Lancaster (see p. 203); 4. Philip the Grammarian, who died at the siege of Antioch in the first crusade; 5. Arnulph de Montgomery, keeper of Pembroke castle. The daughters were, 1. Emma, abbess of Almenesches, who died the 4th of March, 1113; 2. Matilda, wife of Robert, earl of Morton, half-brother to William the Conqueror; 3. Mabel, who married Hugh, lord of Chateaufneuf, and was living in 1131; 4. Sybil, wife of Robert Fitz-Hamon, lord of Creulli in Normandy, and of Tewkesbury, &c., in Gloucestershire.

short, he afterwards strongly supported the monks, and made them large grants both in Normandy and England. His charter, made freely before the great officers of his household, is in these terms:—

“I, Roger, by the grace of God, earl of Shrewsbury, desiring to honour the monastery of the holy father St. Evroult, hereby give thereto, for the repose of my own soul and those of my ancestors, as follows: I order that every year, at the beginning of Lent, thirty shillings sterling of Maine be paid out of my rents at Alençon, for lights to be burnt day and night in the church of St. Evroult, before the crucifix of the Lord.¹ I also grant to the monks, out of my own rights, free passage at Alençon, and release them from all tolls and customs throughout my territories; and I give right of pasture for the monk’s swine in all my forests for ever. At Echaufour, I irrevocably give one plough land, and the tithes of the mill, and of all the rents of that place; and I freely add, of my own part, the tenth of the fair at Planches. Of my own free will, and for the love of God, I grant the church of Radon and all the tithes which William Sor gave to St. Evroult, and the church of St. Jouin, and all the tithe which Reginald the priest gave, and Odo de Peray released; and the altar of St. Leonard, in the church of Baliol, and one part of the tithe of the same village, and the land which Reginald de Baliol, and Aimeria his wife, my niece, gave to the monks. Likewise, in England, I give two manors, Onne and Merston, in Staffordshire,² the tithe of my cheese and wool at Paulton, and all that I have at Melbourne, in Cambridgeshire, and one hide of land at Grafham in Sussex, and the land of Wulfine, the goldsmith, at Chichester. Moreover, I confirm whatever Warin my viscount,³ and William Pantulf, and Hugh de Medavi, and my

¹ It has been remarked before that the crucifix (*par excellence*) was always placed in ancient churches between the choir and the nave. It stood in what was called “The Rood-loft,” in the English churches.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 966, gives the Conqueror’s confirmation charter, “S. Ebrulfo Rogerius, comes Scrobesburia, dedit Othnam et Merestonam, in Estaforde-scira.”

³ This Warin, viscount of Shrewsbury, has been mentioned before under the name of Warin-the-bald. The reader probably understands that at this period the *vice-count* was the representative and executive officer of the count or earl of the shire, answering to the present sheriff (shire-reeve),

other mesne-tenants have before given to St. Evroult, in England or Normandy. All this, with the consent of my sons Robert de Belesme, Hugh, and Philip, I thus grant, before God, for the repose of my soul, and of those of Mabel and Adeliza my wives, and those of my ancestors, and my future heirs, and ratify this instrument with the sign of the cross, and whosoever shall diminish, annul, or abstract, the premises, let him be anathema."

Earl Robert granted this charter, and ratified it with his signature; and after him it was subscribed at Alençon by his sons, Robert and Hugh, and Philip the Scholar, and by others, his chief officers, Robert, son of Theobald, and Hugh his son, Gislebert, the constable, Hugh the son of Turgis, Fulk du Pin, Engelbert, the master of the household, Reginald de Baliol, William Pantulf, Odo de Piré, and several others.

CH. XIV. *Foundation of the abbey of Shrewsbury by Roger de Montgomery—The share of the author's father, Odelirius, in that work—His character, and death, and that of the earl his patron.*

MOREOVER, Earl Roger made many grants to other monasteries, such as Troarn, Sééz, Almenêches, Cluny, Caen, and several others, of domains he had acquired which were not part of his hereditary estates. He also began the erection of a new monastery in honour of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, near the east gate of his own capital town of Shrewsbury, on the river Meole, where it runs into the Severn. There stood on that spot a chapel built of timber¹

and that it was an office held during pleasure, or at least for life. It appears from the charter of foundation of the abbey of Shrewsbury, that Warin was the brother of Reginald de Baliol, here also mentioned by our author, and who had four manors in Staffordshire. The Conqueror's charter, just referred to, confirms Warin's grant to the abbey of St. Evroult, of Newton and the church of Hales, and tithes of Weston in Staffordshire. In the Domesday-book, Reginald Baliol appears as tenant in capite of Weston and Newton.

¹ Such were probably a large proportion of the ancient Anglo-Saxon churches in country places, built cheaply and quickly out of the thick forests which were close at hand. One singular specimen of such structures has escaped the ravages of time, the church of Greensted, near Ongar, in Essex. The walls are formed of trunks of trees set upright closely together side by side, the interstices being filled with clay. It is twenty-nine

which had been erected in former times by Siward, son of Ethelgar, a cousin of King Edward,¹ and which then belonged to Odelirius of Orleans, son of Constantius, a man of talent and eloquence, as well as of great learning, it having been granted to him by Earl Roger. He was much devoted to pious objects, and being of the privy council of the earl, took convenient opportunities of exhorting him to erect the monastery, and when there were some difficulties about the spot on which it should be founded, and the means of prosecuting so great an undertaking, Odelirius addressed to him advice of the following nature.²

“ You are surrounded, noble sir, by a number of persons who are actuated by different motives in their efforts to serve your lordship, both by word and deed. Some, in their cupidity, are more anxious to secure advantages to themselves from your munificence than to counsel you to seek for possessions which will not pass away. But he who endeavours to serve you faithfully ought always to have in view your interest more than his own, and never to shrink from proposing to you what is for the good of your soul.

feet nine inches long, fourteen feet wide, and only five feet six inches high at the eaves, and is probably a counterpart of Siward's church at Shrewsbury, where our author, when a boy first assisted at the service. It does not appear that the Northmen introduced into England their singular architecture in timber churches, of which some specimens still remain of most elaborate workmanship in the Byzantine or Gothic style, of large proportions and *vas* antiquity, in the central and western districts of Norway. See *Forester's Norway* in 1848, p. 177. The Domesday-book calls Siward's wooden church “ a monastery.” For what is meant by the use of the term in such cases, see vol. i. p. 396.

¹ The expression *priscis temporibus*, “ former times,” probably means before the arrival of the Normans; for Siward was still living, and it was by some arrangement with him that this site of the future Benedictine abbey of Shrewsbury had come into the hands of Roger de Montgomery, and under him of Odelirius. As to this Siward, see before, book iv. p. 4, where he is mentioned with his brother Aldred as sons of Ethelgar, or Aigar, and great nephews of the king. The king's name is here added as Edward, but it was probably not Edward the Confessor, but Edward the Elder, his youngest son being father of Ailward Snow, whose son Algar was probably the father of Siward Barn and Aldred, as well as of Brightrie, who had the largest possessions in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire.

² Odelirius, it will be recollected, was the father of our author. See the introduction to this work.

You, most noble lord, have entertained the project of founding a monastery, but you have received little encouragement towards so arduous an undertaking from those about you, who, in their eagerness to receive benefits for themselves, are jealous of what is given to others. Now, it appears to me most desirable that you should found this monastery, and carefully establishing in it a society of monks belonging to the holy order of St. Benedict, endow it largely out of your vast possessions with the means of providing food and raiment for the true poor in Christ. Consider well how it is that the well-disciplined brethren are constantly employed in the monasteries which are under strict rule. In them, innumerable good deeds are performed daily, and war is manfully waged against the devil by the soldiers of Christ. There can be no doubt that the severer be the conflict to the resolute champion, the more glorious will be his victory, and the greater his triumphant reward in the heavenly kingdom. Who can recount the watchings of the monks, their chants and psalmody, their prayers and alms-givings, their daily offerings of the mass with floods of tears? Followers of Christ, they have but one object, to crucify themselves, that so they may please God in all things. They despise the world and lovers of the world, counting its delights as dung, and its treasures as nothing compared with their eternal hopes. They have chosen for their lot coarse and mean garments, insipid and scanty food, and the entire sacrifice of their own wills for the love of Jesus their Lord. I need not speak of the chastity of the monks, their perfect continence, their silence, their modesty of deportment, their profound submission. My mind is bewildered in recounting so many virtues, and I feel that my tongue fails entirely in the attempt to describe them. Monks who are worthy of the name are inclosed in royal cloisters, as if they were king's daughters, lest they should wander forth like Dinah, Leah's daughter, and be shamefully defiled, as she was by Shechem, son of Hamor the Hivite,¹ to the distress of her righteous father, and the dishonour of her cruel brethren. Shut out from the world they become their own guardians against offences, and if they lapse they are their own accusers in the depth of their retirement, proving

. ¹ Genesis xxxiv. 2.

themselves, like gold in the furnace, that they may be purified from all sinful dross. I believe, therefore, that their prayers on behalf of those for whom they are offered ascend direct to the mercy-seat, and obtain from the Lord of Sabaoth what they supplicate. I have been in most intimate communication with monks from my earliest youth, and had a most familiar acquaintance with their proceedings by close observation. When, therefore, I reflect on the conduct of all classes of persons who inhabit this earth, and especially examine the lives of hermits and canons, I consider them all to be inferior to monks, who live canonically and observe the rules of their order. I therefore offer to you, most noble earl, my faithful advice, that while it is in your power, you cause a stronghold for monks against Satan to be built for the service of God in the chief seat of your earldom, which is not yours by inheritance from your ancestors, in order that these cowed combatants may withstand the devil in a continual conflict for the good of your soul.

“There stands on the river Meoel, a homestead which you lately granted me, on which I have commenced building a church of stone, in fulfilment of a vow I made last year when at Rome before the altar of St. Peter, prince of the apostles. This church, which, as I said before, I lately commenced building in performance of my vow, with the homestead and all my property appertaining to it, I freely offer to Almighty God, and promise that I will aid the work in all things according to the best of my ability in the name of Jesus Christ. Come to an immediate decision, resolutely begin and prosecute worthily this work of God:—

“ ‘Tis dangerous to delay a work resolved on.’¹

“Fellow labourers in the good work will not be wanting, nor those who will offer devout prayers for you after your death. In the first place, as soon as the monks arrive with masons to lay the foundations of the abbey, I will advance, as a beginning, fifteen pounds sterling. In the next place, I will devote myself with my son Benedict, who is now five years old, and all that I possess to the service of the

¹ Lucan Pharsal. i. 281.

monastery, under the condition that whereas one moiety of all shall pass with myself under the power of the monks, the other moiety shall be held by my son Everard as a fief of the abbey. Having placed my eldest son Ordericus for some time, under a learned master to acquire the rudiments of a liberal education,¹ I have secured him a safe retreat among the servants of God at the abbey of St. Evroult in Normandy, paying out of my substance thirty marks of silver to his future superiors and fellows as an offering on his reception. I thus surrender my eldest son for the love of my Saviour, and destine him to banishment over the sea, that, a voluntary exile, he may enter the service of the King of heaven among foreigners, where, free from all family ties and hurtful affections, he may be the more devoted to the monastic duties and the worship of the Lord. All this I have long wished, by God's inward motions, and have above all things desired to devote myself and my children to this way of life, that I may be found worthy by God's grace to be numbered with them among the elect at the day of account."

Accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1083,² the fourth indiction, Earl Roger, approving the prudent advice of his faithful counsellor, summoned his viscount Warin, and Pigot de Say,³ and the rest of his great officers, to meet on Saturday

¹ The master was Siward, the "noble priest," so often mentioned, who lived in the suburbs of Shrewsbury, which may thus claim our author for its first scholar. Ordericus, in the next paragraph, dates the foundation of the abbey in 1083, and as he was not sent to St. Evroult until the year 1086, if the words he puts into his father's mouth on this occasion are understood to speak of that journey as an accomplished fact, the date assigned for the foundation is too early, as will presently appear on other grounds. It has, indeed, been suggested, that as Ordericus frequently retouched his MS., which lay by him for many years, he may have introduced and somewhat loosely expressed this trait, forgetting its inconsistency with what follows.

² The preparatory works may have begun in 1083, but it appears by a charter of William Rufus, and the local histories concur in the statement, that the arrangements for building the new abbey were not completed and the work commenced till 1087.

³ For Warin, see before, note, p. 196. Pigot de Sai, in the canton of Argentan, in which family the surname of Pigot (in Norman-French *Picot*) appears to have been hereditary. Pigot de Sai having been a follower of Roger de Montgomery, received from him the grant of twenty-nine manors in Shropshire. Our author has mentioned him before, book iv. p. 48. He

the fifth of the calends of March [25th February]. Having made known his design, it was generally approved; upon which the earl, attended by his chief men, proceeded to the church of St. Peter the apostle, where he took a vow before many witnesses that he would erect an abbey on that spot, and he gave to St. Peter the whole suburb situated outside of the east gate, in token of which he pledged his gauntlets on the altar.¹ The same year two monks of Sééz, Reginald and Frodo, came over for the first time, and with the aid of Odelirius, Warin, and many others, began to erect the monks' lodgings. The eloquent Fulchred was the first abbot of this monastery in the reign of William Rufus, and he was succeeded by Godfrey in that of King Henry. Both were learned and pious pastors, who for nearly forty years carefully nurtured the Lord's flock. Under their superintendence the external affairs of the new monastery became prosperous, and they established within an excellent discipline among their disciples for the good of souls. Odelirius (the father of Vitalis²), who has been so often mentioned, fully performed all that he had promised, offering his son Benedict to God in that society with two hundred silver livres; and he himself took the monastic habit there after the death of Earl Roger. He served God in that monastery as a monk under the rule of the holy father St. Benedict seven years, and after many labours for God, having penitentially confessed his sins and

had also large possessions in Pembrokeshire. In Normandy, Jordan de Sai founded the abbey of Aulnai about the year 1131.

¹ Instances frequently occur in our author of the ratification of covenants or gifts by some token of this description. Allied to these emblems of possession were the investitures in the temporalities of ecclesiastical dignities by the staff or crozier, of which we have instances in our author on the appointment of abbots, and which soon afterwards became the source of violent controversies between the pope and the sovereigns of Europe. Thus also publicity, as well as effect, was given to grants of lands by delivery of a turf or twig, a necessary ceremony in the species of conveyance called a feoffment, till very recently in common use in this country; as copyhold lands are still transferred by delivery of a rod from the steward of the manor to the new tenant; and the induction to livings is made by delivery of the key of the church, or laying the hand on the ring of the church door.

² The words in a parenthesis are not in the autograph MS. of our author from St. Evroult. It will be perceived that they refer to him.

received absolution, holy unction, and the viaticum, he died on the third of the nones [3rd] of June, being the sixth-day in Whitsun week.¹

Earl Roger survived William the Bastard six years, the aged lord being among the greatest of the English nobles. The abbey, of which I have related the foundation, he moderately endowed with lands and rents. He died there in the year 1094,² on the sixth of the calends of August [July 27], and was buried with distinguished honour in the new church, between the two altars. His son Robert succeeded to all his fiefs in Normandy, and being both cruel and proud, as well as unjust, he was guilty of endless crimes. Hugh de Montgomery succeeded to the earldom of Shrewsbury, but some years afterwards he was pierced suddenly by the stroke of a javelin³ by Magnus, brother of the king of Norway, and died on the sea-shore; but his corpse was conveyed to Shrewsbury with great lamentations, and buried by the monks in the abbey cloister. The prudent old earl obtained earldoms for his two remaining sons, Roger⁴ and Arnulph,⁵ who, after his death, lost them both for their treasonable practices in the reign of King Henry.

I have thus made a short digression respecting the foundation of the abbey on my father's property, which is now occupied by Christ's family, and where he, at the age of sixty, if my memory serves me, voluntarily submitted to the Lord's yoke till the end of his life. Forgive me, I pray you good reader, and let it not be thought wearisome, if I have

¹ The year 1102 is that which may be assigned to this event with the greatest probability. The Friday in Whitsun week fell that year on the 31st of May, four days before the 3rd of June. We may suppose that our author's father did not assume the monastic habit till the course of the year following the death of his patron, Earl Roger.

² This date is a late interpolation in the MS. of St. Evroult.

³ The circumstances of this catastrophe will be examined in book x., where it is more fully related.

⁴ Roger has been improperly called earl of Lancaster; he had great possessions in that county, but it does not appear that its earldom was conferred upon him. It would appear that his title was personal only, though, in general, titular earls were first created by King Stephen.

⁵ Arnulph de Montgomery was indeed keeper of Pembroke castle, and built that of Carew in the same neighbourhood, but our impression is that the first earls of Pembroke were of the family of De Clare, and that Arnulph had no such title.

committed to writing these few short particulars respecting my father, whom I have never seen since the day when, for the love of the Creator, he sent me into exile as if I had been a hateful step-son. It is now forty-two years since that time,¹ a period during which there have been many revolutions in the affairs of the world. Often meditating on these, I insert some of them in my pages, and, as I have ever been an enemy to idleness, I thus employ myself in composition. I return again to the subject I have undertaken, meaning, though a foreigner, to inform my juniors, who are natives, of things which they might otherwise be unacquainted with, and thus render them, by God's help, a profitable service.

CH. XV. *Further benefactions to the abbey of St. Evroult.*

[ABOUT A.D. 1075.] When Goisbert, a citizen of Chartres, came to make his profession, as before related,² he sold an excellent house, which he possessed in that city, for thirty pounds sterling of Chartres, and gave the whole to the monks of St. Evroult with the utmost satisfaction. In person he was tall and thin, of a kind disposition, conversible, magnanimous, and liberal. His great skill in medicine made him well known, and an intimate and useful friend to many persons. It was through him that Fulcher of Chartres, Peter de Maule,³ and several others, became acquainted with the monks of St. Evroult, and, respecting their worth and piety, gave them a becoming share of their property. Fulcher was of noble birth, and inherited a large estate from his father, and being tolerably well educated, became a canon in the church of the holy Mother of God. He made a charter of the possessions he granted to St. Evroult, which Robert Andrew, an excellent scribe, wrote down from his clear and agreeable dictation in the following terms:—

“I, Fulcher, son of Gerard, an unworthy canon of the church of St. Mary at Chartres, frequently reflecting on my own condition and the state of mankind in general, have

¹ The preface to this work contains some observations on this tribute of filial piety and the author's recollections of his early years.

² See pp. 185 and 189.

³ Maule, a large village on the Mauldre; in the department of Seine-et-Oise.

found that almost all things under the sun are, as Solomon says, vanity, and that there is nothing on earth which can bring a blessing to men after the troubles of this life, unless they have done some good action while they lived. Moved by these considerations, and in great alarm at the enormity of my sins, as every one must give an account to God of all his actions, it has seemed fitting to me (I believe inspired by God) to make over to St. Evroult some part of my possessions for the repose of my own soul and those of my friends; so that my dear brothers who dwell there may have something towards the sustenance of their bodies, and may, in consequence, sometimes be willing to hold me in remembrance. For as to what we leave to our posterity by the right of inheritance, I not only say that it can be of no benefit to ourselves after we are dead, but more, that if we bequeath it ill, it will be greatly injurious. Be it known therefore to all faithful members of holy church, that of my own free will, and to the end that provision may be made for my future welfare, I do hereby grant to St. Evroult and his monks, to be held by them for ever, the following hereditaments, though small, as hereinafter mentioned, that is to say: The church of Moulicent, and one moiety of the tithes of that village, the church-yard and three acres of land behind it; also the right of safe keeping at the manse as Goscelin held it, and the tithe of my mill; if I establish a market there, they shall also have the tithe of it: also, the monk who resides at Moulicent shall never pay toll for his corn. If he desires to grind at his own mill, let him do so; if he choose rather to grind at mine, let him be toll-free. Also whatever I possess in Marchèville, the lands, the manse, the mill, all these I give to the monks for ever. Moreover I give one plough-land and the manse in the village of Landelles. I also give the tenth of my woods, viz., of the dues for pasture, and of the honey and beasts-of-chace there taken. Also, the monks' swine shall be subject to no dues for pasturage. Neither shall the monks be liable to any work, or service, or expedition, for me or my heirs, at any time. And if any of my mesne-tenants shall desire to give or sell anything to St. Evroult, I grant them full power to do so without fear of me. All these gifts I freely offer to Almighty God, to whom I owe my being, and to St.

Evrout, the glorious confessor; and if any evil-minded or senseless person shall, either by force or fraud, attempt to lessen, violate, or take them away, let him lie under an everlasting curse, and not see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, unless he repent and make an ample satisfaction. At my request the Lord Robert, bishop of the church of Chartres, in whose fief the premises before-mentioned are situated, has willingly confirmed this present gift out of my poor means. My brothers, canons of the said church, and my wife Alpes and my sons, have also confirmed it."

The monks of St. Evrout have held for fifty years the property which the worthy person just mentioned granted to them, and which his heirs, Bartholomew, surnamed Boël, and Gerard his son willingly confirmed. There have lived upon it Aimer, Ralph, Hugh the Englishman, William de Merle, and several other monks distinguished for their eloquence and virtues, who were kindly patronized by Robert, and Geoffrey, Ivo, and Geoffrey II., bishops of Chartres.¹ In this manner, by the zeal of the monks and the assistance of good men, the church of Marchesville was erected, and consecrated to St. Mary, mother of God, through whom the Saviour of the world came.

At the same time, Landric, Geoffrey, and Gunhier, gave to St. Evrout all the land of Charancei. Isnard, of whom they had long held it, releasing it to the monks from all claims, received six pounds from Abbot Mainier. Afterwards, Landric and the others before named received back one moiety of the land, and did fealty for it to the abbot in the presence of Isnard by joining hands. The same three, before Isnard and several others, granted the church of that village with its appurtenances, and the whole tithes, both of the land which belonged to Isnard and of that which belonged to St. Stephen or any one else. This grant was made in the presence of Gerard the priest and many others.

¹ Robert, second of that name, 1075—1076; Geoffrey I., July, 1077—1089; Ives, 1090—1115; Geoffrey II., 1116—January 24, 1149.

CH. XVI. *History of William Pantulf, a Norman and English knight—Robert, ex-abbot of St. Evroult pays a visit to Normandy.*

IN the year of our Lord 1073,¹ the tenth indiction, and in the reign of William the Great, king of England and duke of Normandy, the knight named William Pantulf,² at the instance of his friend the venerable Abbot Mainier, and with the permission of his lord, the Earl Roger, gave to St. Evroult the churches at Noron,³ one of which was built in honour of St. Peter, and the other of St. Cyr the martyr, with his own enclosed park,⁴ and part of the wood of Pont-Ogeret, and his share in a farm called Molinx, and of another situated over the brook commonly called Ruptices. He also gave the whole fee of William de Maloi, comprising about thirty acres of land. Thereupon he received from the charity of the monks sixteen pounds of Rouen money to enable him to undertake a pilgrimage to St. Giles. He also gave to St. Peter all the land which Walter, son of Rufa sold to Robert the monk, for which the aforesaid monk gave him a hundred shillings of Rouen. Moreover, the said William gave to the monks sixty acres of land in the same place, the mill at Hommet and the tithes of a moiety of the mill at Noron. He gave also the church of Emieville,⁵ with the tithes and all the rents belonging to the church, and in the same vill the land of one vavasar, and two sheaves of the tithes of his own estate, and of all his mesne-tenants in Mesnil-Baclai, and the whole tithe of the mill of Roiville. He gave to St. Peter all the land which his mother Beatrice held in his fief Des Fossés, and the cottier's free

¹ Duchesne reads it 1074.

² It appears before, book iv. p. 197, that William Pantulf was one of the officers to whom Roger de Montgomery entrusted the administration of affairs in his earldom of Shropshire.

³ Noron is near Falaise; St. Cyr only is now standing, and is the parish church.

⁴ *Proprium plesseitium*. French, *Plessis*. Ducange says that the term is sometimes applied to a country house, or maison [query, rather jardin] de plaisance, but that Joseph Scaliger considers plessis to signify a fence or paling of wood, surrounding parks, as in the present use of the word by our author.

⁵ Emieville, between Caen and Troarn.

tenements at St. Germain-d'Aubri.¹ Helvis, sister of the said William, gave to St. Peter all her dowry in Aubri, which the said William confirmed. He also added the tithe of his tenants Raimbault, Robert the heretic, and Walo, son of Saffred. Moreover, the same William gave to St. Peter de Noron all his churches and the tithes of all places in his possession in England or Normandy, or which he should thereafter acquire; together with the tithe of all his chattels, such as mares, cows, and cheese, and every thing else which would admit of tithing. In like manner he confirmed whatever his tenants should give or sell to St. Evroult, so that the fealty due to himself should not be parted with. As for his effects, he gave them in such wise that after his death the monks of St. Evreux should have one half, and the monks of Norun the other.

All this, William Pantulf, and Lésceline his wife freely gave to God (as before mentioned), for the repose of their souls and of those of their friends, and they ratified the gift in the chapter of the monks of St. Evroult, convened generally, before many witnesses. William at the same time paid forty marks of silver towards the support of the monks, who were about to proceed to Norun to build a cell there.

Afterwards, Abbot Mainier and Fulk the prior, with William Pantulf, went to Earl Roger, who was then residing at Belesme, and humbly petitioned him to confirm the said knight's grants by his own charter. He, being pious and liberal, received favourably their lawful petition, and ratified all their demands, in the presence of those who, on various affairs, were then attending his court. The feast of St. Leonard was then being celebrated at Belesme,² to pay due honour to which the count, with his usual munificence, had assembled a great number of guests. Among these were Hoel, bishop of Mans,³ and Robert, bishop of Séez; also the abbots Ainard of Dive, Durand of Troarn, Robert of Séez, and Hugh of Lonlai, with Emma, abbess of Alne-

¹ Now Aubre-le-Ponthou, near Vimoutier.

² The feast of the dedication of the church built at Belesme by William the first of that name who was count de Belesme, to receive the relics of St. Leonard, was annually held with great pomp on the 26th of June.

³ Hoel, who was made bishop of Mans the 29th of November, 1080, could not in that character at least have been one in an assembly of prelates with Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, who died the 17th of July, 1077.

nêsches;¹ also Hervé, chaplain to the bishop of Lisieux, Roger Faitel, Hugh, son of Foucault, Robert, son of Theodeline, Roger Gulafre, and many others, both clerks and laymen, who were witnesses to the above-mentioned charter.

In the year of our Lord 1077, the fifteenth indiction, Robert, the noble abbot,² brother of Hugh de Grantmesnil, sought an interview with William, king of England, in Normandy, and at the king's request pardoned him for having unjustly driven him into exile. He had received an invitation from Philip, king of France, who wished to make him bishop of Chartres, but, as the French disliked submitting to Normans, Geoffrey, nephew of Eustace count de Blois, was appointed to the see. Therefore the illustrious Robert, having assisted at the consecration of the churches of Caen, Bayeux, and Bec, which took place that year, and having had friendly intercourse with King William, and others his friends and relations whom he had not seen for many years, went back to Apulia, taking with him William Pantoul, and Robert de Cordai,³ his nephew, with many other gallant knights. At that time Robert Guiscard commanded in Apulia, and had acquired the dukedom of Gisulf duke of Salerno.⁴ He was the son of Tancred de Hauteville, a person of moderate station, who, by his bravery and good fortune, had succeeded in acquiring great power in Italy. With the aid of his brothers and others of his countrymen who joined him, he imposed his yoke on the people of Apulia, and having most unexpectedly risen to great eminence, he was exalted above all his neighbours, amassed great wealth, and was continually enlarging his territories.

¹ Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, 1049—July 17, 1077; Robert, bishop of Séz, 1070—1082; Ainard, abbot of Notre Dame de St. Pierre-sur-Dive, 1046—January 14, 1078; Durand, abbot of Troarn, May 13, 1059—Feb. 11, 1088; Robert, abbot of Séz, 1056?—January 13, 1089; Emma, abbess of Almenêsches, daughter of Roger de Montgomery, by whom they were entertained, 1074—March 4, 1113.

² The ex-abbot of St. Evroult, now abbot of St. Euphemia in Apulia. See book iii. vol. i. p. 438.

³ Cordai, to the south of Falaise.

⁴ The conquest of Salerno by Robert Guiscard was accomplished in the course of this same year, 1077; but if Robert de Grantmesnil was present at the dedication of the abbey of Bec, which took place on the 23rd of October, it is hardly probable that he arrived in the kingdom of Naples before 1078.

He received William Pantoul with distinguished honours, and making him great promises, tried to retain him in his service on account of his merit. He made him sit by his side at dinner on the feast of Easter, and offered him three towns if he would remain in Italy.

Meanwhile, the Countess Mabel had perished by the sword of Hugh D'Igé, the revengeful knight;¹ and this murder was the cause of great troubles after William Pantoul's return from Apulia. For he was accused of treason, and the charge was prosecuted with great animosity by some of his rivals. The deceased lady had taken possession of the castle of Peraï, which had been given to William; on which account there had long existed a violent hostility between them. It was hence suspected that William had contrived her death, particularly as he was on terms of intimacy and frequent communication with Hugh. Earl Roger therefore and his sons seized his whole estate, and sought an opportunity of putting him to death. In consequence, William and his wife took refuge at St. Evroult, where they remained for a long time under the protection of the monks, but in the greatest alarm. The knight boldly denied the crime of which he was accused; and no one was able to convict him of it by certain proof, but while he asserted his innocence, no opportunity was allowed him of lawfully clearing himself of the charge, as he offered to do. At length however, by the interference of many of the nobles, it was determined by the king's court that the accused should purge himself from the stain attached to him, by undergoing the ordeal of hot iron at Rouen, in the presence of the clergy, which was done; for having carried the flaming iron in his naked hand, by God's judgment, there was no appearance of its being burnt, so that the clergy and all the people gave praise to God. His malicious enemies attended the trial in arms, intending, if he was declared guilty by the ordeal of fire, to have immediately beheaded him. During the troubles to which William Pantoul and his family were exposed, he was much comforted by Abbot Mainier and the monks of St. Evroult, who rendered him all the help they could both with God and man. This increased their mutual

¹ On the 5th of December, 1082. See before, p. 194.

regard, and William offered to St. Evroult four of the richest palls he had brought from Apulia, out of which were made four copes for the chanters in the church, which are preserved there to this day, and used in the solemn services of divine worship.

After the death of William, king of England, William made another visit to Apulia, and on his return brought with him the relics of the body of the holy confessor of Christ, St. Nicholas, with which he enriched the church of Noron, where they were deposited. He afterwards gave to the monks of that place a manor in England, called Trotton,¹ with the church and mill of that village, and the tithes of six hamlets, which belonged to that church. In the year of our Lord 1112, that is to say, the twelfth year of the reign of Henry, king of England, and the fourth of that of Lewis, king of France, William Pantoul came to St. Evroult, it being the fortieth year after he founded the cell for monks at Noron, and mindful of his former friendship and the grants which, as we have already related, he before made, he recapitulated them, and, with his wife Lesceline, confirmed them all in a general chapter of the monks. At the same time Philip, Ivo, and Arnulph, his sons, confirmed all the grants of their father to the monks of St. Evroult, and they all, that is to say, William and Lesceline, and their three sons, Philip, Ivo, and Arnulph, laid the grant on the altar together. Robert the Bald, Geoffrey and Ascelin, and several other pious monks, occupied the cell at Noron, while four bishops, Robert, Gerard, Serlo, and John, were bishops of Séez,² and living in the fear of God and love to man, they set the rustics examples of an honest life. William Pantoul, so often mentioned, lived long, respecting the clergy and being kind to the poor, to whom he was liberal in alms; he was firm in prosperity and adversity, put down all his enemies, and exercised great power through his wealth and possessions. He gave sixty marks of silver towards building the new church at St. Evroult, undertaking a work of great beauty to the honour of God, which death prevented him from completing. His sons succeeded

¹ In the county of Sussex.

² Robert, 1070—1082; Gerard, 1082—January 23, 1091; Serlo, June 22, 1091—October 27, 1118; John 1, April 24, 1124—1143.

to his estates, Philip in Normandy, Robert in England, but they have failed of prosecuting their father's enterprises with equal spirit.

CH. XVII. *The family of Mount-Pinçon (near Falaise), benefactors to the abbey of St. Evroult.*

RALPH of Mount-Pinçon, steward of William the Great, king of England, devoted himself with entire fidelity to St. Evroult, and humbly requested the lord abbot Mainier, that some clerk, fit for God's service, should be admitted into the monastery, and made a monk, for the purpose of constantly offering prayers to God for the souls of himself and his wife. And this was accomplished; for by God's providence a certain scholar of Rheims, whose name was John, was then a postulant for admission to the order. He was accordingly taken to court, and engaged with the knight to give him the benefit of his prayers, and of the duties which he was about to undertake for Christ. Ralph was so greatly delighted that he humbly kissed the scholar's feet before all who were present. Upon this the monks most willingly admitted this John, and had good reason to rejoice at having him, for he was an excellent grammarian, and devoted himself unremittingly to useful studies, until he was advanced in years. The said knight, in consideration of his maintenance, gave to St. Evroult for ever five mills, three at Jort, the fourth at a place they call Heurtevent, and the fifth at Mont-Pinçon;¹ also, two sheaves of the tithes of the villeins of Vaudeloges, and one moiety of the tithes of Epanai, with two acres of meadow at Emendreville.

Some years afterwards Ralph, the steward, died on the ides [13th] of February, and his body was carried to Ouche, and there buried by the monks in the cloisters at St. Evroult with great honours. His two sons were present, with their mother Adeliza, and truly devoted themselves, and all that their father had given, to St. Evroult, before many witnesses who were assembled at the funeral of so great a baron. Thirty years afterwards, Hugh de Mont-Pinçon paid a visit

¹ Mont-Pinçon, the chief seat of this family, and the other places here named, are in the neighbourhood of Lisieux and Falaise, except Emendreville, which is now called St. Sever, a suburb of Rouen on the right bank of the Seine.

to his spiritual brothers at St. Evroult, bringing with him his eldest son Ralph and his wife Matilda, the daughter of Hugh de Grantmesnil, who was in trouble for the recent death of her sister Adeline.¹ Hugh now renewed his brotherhood with the monks which he had accepted in his childhood, and entreated their prayers for his brother Ralph, who had died on the road while performing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Ralph, Hugh's son, a young boy, was adopted by the monks as his relations had been, and being led round the chapter by Walter the Bald, a talkative knight, he kissed the brethren, and then consented to the grants made by his father and uncle to St. Evroult.

At length Hugh also died at Rouen when he was sixty years old on the nones [7th] of March, and by order of his wife and sons his body was carried to St. Evroult, where the monks buried their brother's remains with high honour in the chapter-house, and his sons, Ralph, William, and Arnulf devoted themselves and all that their ancestors had granted to the church of St. Evroult. Ralph, the eldest, married the daughter of Ranulph, chancellor to King Henry,² and dying soon afterwards, was buried by the convent in the chapter-house by the side of his father. William then succeeded to the patrimonial estates in Normandy. Arnulf went into Apulia to seek his uncle William de Grantmesnil. Matilda, their mother, after her husband's death, fell in love with a young adventurer named Matthew, in whose company, deserting her relations and friends, she undertook a journey to Jerusalem; but both were cut off by premature deaths in the same year, Matthew dying in Apulia, on the journey outward, and Matilda at Joppa, on her return.

CH. XVIII. *Account of John of Rheims, a learned monk of St. Evroult.*

HAVING shortly referred before to John [of Rheims],³ I

¹ Adeline, eldest daughter of Hugh de Grantmesnil, wife of Roger d'Ivri, the king's cupbearer.

² Ranulph, an astute and grasping lawyer in the time of Henry I. His character is well drawn, and his death by an accident related, in Henry of Huntingdon's *History and Acts of Illustrious men*. See pp. 250 and 310, *Bohn's Edition*.

³ See pp. 185, 212. For an account of John of Rheims and his works, see *L'Histoire littéraire de France*, t. xi. pp. 15—20.

now purpose to bring more clearly before the reader's mind who he was, and in what manner and how long he lived under the monastic rule. His genius was acute, and he was persevering in his studies; he spent nearly forty-eight years in the practice of his duties as a monk, and employed himself indefatigably in searching out the meanings of difficult passages he found in books. He entered the Lord's fold, being admitted by Abbot Mainier, when he was a young man, and continuing his service, and being promoted to the priesthood under Serlo and Roger, he engaged others, both by precept and example, to fight the good fight, and at last died in the confession of Christ on the tenth of the calends of April [23rd March],¹ when Warin was abbot. He long held the office of subprior, and often supplied the abbot's place in preaching the word of God. By order of abbot Roger, he went to Rome in the time of Pope Urban with the deposed abbot Fulk;² during which journey he suffered greatly from sickness, and encountered many hardships. As old age came on, he suffered for more than seven years from stone in the bladder; but though he was thus afflicted with a chronic disease, he did not take to his bed, but rose every day to join in the divine offices, giving thanks to God; and being, as I believe, well-prepared, departed in the beginning of a stormy night. As he was a great versifier, Vitalis the Englishman,³ his disciple, in the midst of his tears, composed some verses to his memory on the day he went to his rest, when the funeral was over, to the following effect:—

Thrice had March, lowering, windy, cold, and bleak,
 Held her inclement course throughout a week;
 Dark, stormy night closed a tempestuous day,
 When JOHN's pure spirit calmly passed away.
 Poncia to Rheimish Ilbert gave him birth,
 Numbered among the humblest sons of earth.

¹ A.D. 1125.

² Fulk, abbot of Notre Dame de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive. This journey was made in the year 1092. See before, book iv. p. 107.

³ It need hardly be observed that our author speaks of himself. We would once for all take the opportunity of entreating the readers' indulgence in the difficult task we have undertaken, while attempting to give the metrical compositions contained in this work a version which, preserving the thoughts and, as far as possible, the language of the original, may not be unacceptable to modern taste.

His destiny, to learn the cobbler's art,
John early changed, to choose a nobler part,
Gave all his youthful hours to wisdom's lore,
With manhood left the low paternal door,
And, Rheims deserting, traced his venturous way
To where St. Evroult's distant cloisters lay.
Enrolled among the faithful band, to heaven
For fifty years his ardent vows were given.
Nor, sheltered in that safe retreat, the monk
In slothful ease and useless leisure sunk ;
But well his subtle genius exercised,
And learning's hoarded treasures keenly prized,
Turning with eager hand the fruitful page
Which held the records of an older age.
Still, first, Christ's claims his earnest care he made,
In daily service, nightly vigil, paid.
By word and deed he true religion taught,
His whole discourse with sacred wisdom fraught.
Sagely he culled for each the doctrines fit,
With lessons chosen well from holy writ ;
In every heart strove heavenly thoughts to raise,
And trained the novices in wisdom's ways ;
Gave counsel, comfort, and with sharp rebuke,
When duty called, the sinner's conscience shook ;
As bees which honey bear beneath their wings,
For time of need are also armed with stings.
His pregnant genius shone in prose and verse,
His matter copious, but his style was terse.
To Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints most blest,
He noblest praise in tuneful songs addressed,
And paid our sainted patron honour due,
Singing the virtues of the good Evroult,
(A work his reverend father, Ralph of Rheims,¹
The duteous offering of his pupil claims).
Nor was our monk from spite and envy free,
Who in this evil world can perfect be ?
But still the shafts of malice pointless fell
From one who kept the rule of life so well.
'Twas others' sins gave venom to the dart,
For others flowed his tears, for others bled his heart.
At length, with sharp disease by power divine
His flesh was given for seven long years to pine:
Scourged by a Father's hand, he kissed the rod,
In meek submission to the will of God ;
And prayed that, having run his painful race,
He might in heaven behold his Saviour's face.
Then from the storms and tumults of the world,
When equinoctial hours around it whirled,

¹ Ralph le Verd, archbishop of Rheims, 1108—1124.

Our holy monk's pure spirit passed away,
 And soared to mansions of celestial day.
 Christ grant him light serene, eternal rest,
 In those abodes of peace, among his saints most blest!

CH. XIX. *History of the Priory of Maule, near Paris, a cell to the Abbey of St. Evroult; and of the family of that name, benefactors to the monks.*

IN the year of our Lord 1076, the fourteenth indiction, when Goisbert the physician was visiting his countrymen and friends in France, and giving the benefit of his science to the poor and needy, he found out several of his friends and acquaintances to whom he had before rendered assistance by his art, and kindly entreated them to give alms out of their superfluities for their eternal salvation, especially admonishing them to give to the monks of St. Evroult such of their possessions as it did not become laymen to hold. Sojourning for a time with Peter de Maule, the son of Ansold, a rich Parisian, and conversing with him in a familiar and friendly manner, he begged him to make a gift of the churches at Maule to the monks of St. Evroult. Peter, being of a gay and liberal disposition and ready to engage in any large schemes, either good or bad, was easily induced to consent, and made a deed of gift before his principal tenants. The text of the charter is as follows:—

“The shortness of human life, men's want of faith, and the revolutions of the world, and desolation of states, daily warn us that the end of the world is at hand. He that was Truth itself taught us this when it was said to the disciples: ‘When ye shall see these things come to pass, the kingdom of heaven is nigh.’¹ The careful ant ought to provide more carefully, on it perceiving winter rapidly approaching, so to lay up her store of corn, that when the frost destroys the grass she may have an abundant supply of meal. It is also said in a certain place to those who halt in the way of life: ‘Look well that your flight be not on the sabbath-day or in the winter.’² Considering these things, I, Peter, unworthy sinner as I am, wishing to make some provision for my

¹ Matt. xxiv. 33; Mark xiii. 29. This quotation does not exactly correspond with the Vulgate.

² Matt. xxiv. 20.

future welfare, desire to bring the bees of God's hive into my orchards, that they may make honey and fill their cells with honey-comb, rendering thanks to their Creator, and sometimes bearing in mind their benefactor. I therefore freely make these trifling offerings from my possessions to St. Evroult, that the brethren dwelling there may have wherewith to sustain life and may be better able to remember me before God. Whereas, whether we will or no, we must leave all things here, and after death, nothing can profit us but the good we may have done in our lives, I have given and granted, and do give and grant, these lands and hereditaments to St. Evroult; and by this instrument in writing under my hand do, for the good of my soul, ratify and confirm the same for ever. I give the two churches in the village of Maule,¹ that is to say, the church of St. Mary, and the church of SS. Germain and Vincent, with the churchyards, and all which belongs to the parsonage: also, one plough-land and four cottiers' tenements, and land for a habitation for the monks, with one orchard, and the quit-rent of three half-acres in the vineyard of La Mênère, which Walter the Blind, and his nephew Hugh, surnamed Muscosus, gave to St. Mary. All these I give for ever to the monks of St. Evroult, to hold as freely as I hold the same. Also, if any of my tenants should wish to give anything to the holy monks in frank-almoign, whatever shall be so given, without prejudice to my claims of fealty and without interfering with my right of jurisdiction, I freely grant for myself and my heirs, in such sort and with this irrevocable provision, that if any of them should forfeit his fief for any default, nevertheless the church shall not lose what it so holds in frank-almoign. All this is confirmed by my wife Windesmoth, and my sons Ansold, Theobald, and William, who religiously engage to defend this charitable gift, as long as they live, against all impugnors to the utmost

¹ Maule, where stood the priory affiliated to the abbey of St. Evroult of which our author gives an account in this chapter, is situated not far from Paris, between Poissy and Mantes. The church of Notre Dame here mentioned is the parish church, being now dedicated to St. Nicholas. The site of the priory may still be traced on the south of the church, with some vestiges of the buildings. The church of St. Vincent has completely disappeared since the revolution, except the base of the tower, which has been worked into a house.

of their power. Those also who owe me fealty, seeing my good-will towards the servants of God and encouraged by my good example, have joined the brotherhood of the monks and have made them liberal endowments out of their lands. All the knights of Maule have earnestly sought to belong to their society, and have been admitted faithful members of their fraternity, that, aided by the prayers of the convent, they may be the better able to resist the assaults of the evil spirits.

“Thus Hugh, son of Odo, who was distinguished among his fellow townsmen for wealth and property, gave to the church of St. Mary and the monks of St. Evroult all the tithes of his lands in Maule, viz., of corn and wine, of the mill and oven, of pigs, sheep, geese, wool, hemp, flax, and all things from which tithes are due. And if his tenants should plough fresh land, the monks shall have the same tithe as Hugh himself would have done. His son Paganus-Odo at first refused to confirm this grant, but afterwards, being taken prisoner by the French at Mellent, he thought better of it, and, compelled by the power of God, both he and his wife Elizabeth and their sons Hugh and Simon absolutely granted the before mentioned tithes to St. Mary, laying the deed of gift on the altar in my presence and before my son Ansold and Peter who was yet a child, and many others. The monks gave to Paganus ten pounds in pennies, and twenty shillings to his wife. Also, Adelelm de Gaseran committed to the monks his son Amauri, with the tithes of Puiseux,¹ granting the tithes to the church for ever, for seven pounds, if the boy died within seven years. But the boy grew up, and lived to become a priest, long holding the tithes of Puiseux, and at his death bequeathing them to the monks very justly, as they had brought him up and carefully educated him. Also, Hugh the son of Walo, surnamed Fresnil, before he became a monk, gave three cottier's tenements² to St. Mary; and Stephen the son of Gilbert gave to the monks half a plough-land at Goupillières; and although this did not belong to my fief, I have nevertheless confirmed the grant by my charter. All these lands and premises,

¹ There are two places of this name, one near Pontoise, the other between Dreux and Chartres.

² *Tres hospites*. See note, p. 189.

given by me and my friends to the monks, I fully grant ; and I also, as a benefactor to the abbey of St. Evroult, assent to whatever gifts my mesne-tenants may make, saving only their fealty to me and my rights of jurisdiction. Moreover, I trust that if any one, instigated by the malice of the devil, should be so envious or perverse as to have the presumption to violate or infringe these our grants, he will forthwith repent of his insane attempt, lest he should be condemned by the righteous Judge in the day of judgment to have his part with the reprobate and the doubly dead,¹ for the sin of his iniquitous and sacrilegious aggression."

The noble person before mentioned confirmed this charter with his own signature, and gave abbot Mainier seisin of the afore-mentioned lands in the presence of many credible witnesses. There were present his own sons, Ansold, Theobald, and William, and his sons-in-law Walter de Poissi, and Baudri de Dreux ; together with the chief men of Maule, Hugh and Stephen, Walter the priest, and Walter, a knight whose surname was La Côte, with Richer the provost, Fulk son of Fulcher, Hugh and Odo sons of Walo, Hervé son of Everard, and the greatest part of the parishioners of Maule. Abbot Mainier then appointed Goisbert prior of that cell, and he shortly afterwards finished the little church which Godfrey, a priest of great simplicity and innocence, had begun building. Not long afterwards, the monks gaining ground both within and without, and the worthy parishioners rejoicing at their progress, the old church of St. Mary was taken down, and the foundations of a new and handsome structure being laid, the work was carried on in an elegant style of architecture, as occasion offered, for twenty years, while Goisbert, Guitmond, Roger, and Hugh were priors.² Many monks have dwelt there up to the present day, piously devoted to God's service.

¹ *Biothanatis*. This word properly signifies those who perish by a violent death, but the translation adopted is the false signification given it in the middle ages, after Isidore of Seville.

² M. Le Prévost remarks on this passage, that what our author says about the rebuilding the church of Maule must not be taken quite literally. A personal inspection satisfied him that Goisbert and his successors did not level to the ground the erection of Prior Godfrey, but were content with adding to it. In particular, the apsis appeared to be evidently their work, except some older remains very easy to be distinguished. But the whole

Peter, lord of Maule, lived to a good old age, and the ecclesiastical foundation and congregation of the people there, thanks to his liberal patronage, continually gained ground. He was much beloved by his tenants and neighbours, because his manners were frank, and he did not entrench himself with craft and deceit. His alms were bountiful and he delighted in the practice, but he had no liking for fasts, and as far as it was in his power shunned having any thing to do with them. He was free in giving promises and sometimes made away with things of value for a worthless price. He was, at once both covetous and prodigal. It was no concern of his from whence his good cheer came, nor did he care whether his means of living were obtained by robbery or paid for fairly, nor, again, however they were gotten, how lavishly they were bestowed; so that he had never the command of much money. Peter had four sons by his wife Windesmoth, Ansold, Theobald, Warin, and William, and as many daughters, Hubeline, Erenburge, Odeline, and Hersende. They brought him many grandchildren, who, experiencing the vicisitudes of this uncertain life, met with various fortunes, according to God's providence which rules all things. At last, worn out with age, he died on the second of the ides [12th] of January, and was buried in the monks' cloister on the south side of the church.¹ John of Rheims wrote his epitaph in these terms:—

Lord PETER, born of noble race,
 And heir to lands of boundless space,
 Lies buried in his native earth,
 Among the tokens of his worth.
 But though a knight of high degree,
 'Twas not by deeds of chivalry
 He won a never dying name;
 Such honours blazon not his fame.
 He prudent shrunk from war's alarms,
 And feasting pleased him more than arms:

of the north wall of the nave, and even a small portion of the south wall, towards the west end, appeared to him to be the remains of Godfrey's church. Perhaps the short and massive pillars, and rustic arcades above (which recall to the Norman observer the nave of Briquebec), belong also to the older building. The accounts given of churches completely levelled, to make room for others, in the middle ages, and particularly in the 11th and 12th centuries, must be received with some reserve,

¹ There are no remains of this cloister.

Good humoured, lavish, jovial, free,
He spent his days in revelry.
His liberal bounty never failed,
He lived beloved and died bewailed.
Devotion stirred him, highest praise,
In Mary's name this house to raise.
O Virgin Mother, intercede
To speed him well in day of need !
Revolving centuries ten and one,
In the world's age their course had run.
And now six times the new year's sun
In clouds and gloom the zenith won,
When good lord Peter bowed his head,
Numbered among his fathers dead.
Ye men of Paris, him lament,
With you his youthful days he spent.
And saints ! your merits be the price
To win him rest in Paradise !

Ansold, Peter's son, was in many respects unlike his father ; his virtues were more eminent, or, to say the least, they were equal. His disposition was excellent and magnanimous, he was tall and powerful in person, and a most gallant soldier ; he exercised his authority with great dignity, and his decisions were marked by justice ; he was prompt and eloquent in argument, and might almost be reckoned a philosopher. He was a constant attendant at church and listened with attention to the sacred discourses delivered there. He studied history in the works of ancient writers, diligently investigating their learned records, and committing the lives of the men of old, which he heard related, to his tenacious memory. He held in abhorrence unfaithful narratives, and those who corrupted the word of God, and were greedy for base gains ; and he delighted in publicly confuting dangerous sophisms which might lead astray simple minds. He paid great respect to his pious mother, Windesmoth, and obeyed her in all things like a dutiful son. She was descended from a noble family in the district of Troyes, and, surviving her husband, lived nearly fifteen years in widowhood and devotion to God. Happy mother, whose old age was solaced in her husband's chamber by the affectionate care of her son. Having him at her side as her steadfast supporter, she received there the last sacraments and then departed. Being thence conveyed to the tomb

with great respect by her loving son, her corpse was interred with high honour in the body of the church by the side of the partner of her bed.

This knight was distinguished in his youth by his noble acts; for, leaving all his acquaintance, kinsfolk, and relations, he displayed his innate valour in foreign countries. Italy was his choice; where he joined the brave duke Guiscard in his expedition into Greece, and fought gallantly in the battle in which Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, was defeated and put to flight.¹ After a time he was prevailed on, by the earnest entreaty of his father, to return to France, and he then married a noble and virtuous young lady, whose name was Adeline, daughter of Ralph surnamed Malvoisin,² who had the castle of Mantes. This man of arms might have been taken for a model even by persons living under the monastic rule; such was the frugality with which he led all who associated with him to a prudent course of life, and such the limits of temperance to which he restricted himself. He never tasted apples in an orchard, grapes in a vineyard, or nuts in the woods, taking food only when the table was spread at regular hours; for he said that it was the part of a beast, and not of a man, to eat what chance offered without regard to time or place. Content with lawful marriage, he was strictly chaste, and instead of attacking licentiousness and obscenity like a layman in vulgar phrases, he distinctly condemned it with the pointed observations of a doctor of the church. Fasting and all bodily abstinence he praised in others, and resolutely practised himself, so far as it is required of a layman. He made no predatory incursions, but carefully husbanded his own property and the fruit of his labours; making however the lawful payments of tithes, first-fruits, and alms which his ancestors had granted to the servants of God. He not only gave nothing to strollers,

¹ This battle was fought near Durazzo, "the western key of the Greek empire," in Epirus, on the 18th of October, 1081. The Anglo-Danes in the service of Alexius, the celebrated Varangi, who formed the emperor's body guard, were the main strength of his army. Having fled from Norman oppression in the west, they encountered their former enemy on new ground. See chap. iii. of our author's present book, p. 10, and the note.

² This family, which was originally of Mantes, settled in Normandy, where it had domains near Evreux, and at Serquigni near Bernai.

buffoons, and dancing girls, but would have no kind of intercourse or familiar conversation with them. He had seven sons and two daughters by his lawful wife, whom he had married when she was very young, forming her docile mind to modesty and virtue. Their names are: Peter, Ralph, Warin, Lisiard, Guy, Ansold and Hugh; Mary and Windesmoth; of whose lives the page of history may record something in the proper place.

In the year of our Lord 1106, towards the end of February, when a comet was seen in the west, emitting a long and fiery tail,¹ Bohemond, the famous duke came to France after the capture of Antioch, and married Constance, daughter of Philip, king of France.² The marriage was celebrated with great ceremony at Chartres, the Countess Adela providing every thing necessary with profuse liberality. At that time the third crusade of the people of the West to Jerusalem was set on foot, and a vast concourse of many thousands advanced through Thrace,³ threatening to tread under foot the Byzantine dynasty. But the righteous providence of God frustrated the enterprises of those who burned with desire to invade their neighbour's property; so that this proud gathering of the ambitious missed the prize which they vainly thought was within their reach. The same year, three weeks after the comet appeared, Ansold de Maule, actuated by his fears of divine vengeance, presented himself humbly in the court held at St. Mary's church, and with tears of penitence made voluntary satisfaction for some contentions he had with the monks. He then, in the presence of all his barons, who were assembled in the monk's dormitory, granted to the church and St. Mary of Maule all the lands that his father Peter, and Hugh, Paganus, and

¹ It is supposed that this comet is the one which appeared in 1680. It was visible in the west of Europe from the 7th of February till an advanced period of the month of March. Notwithstanding what our author says, it was more remarkable for its brightness than for the length of its tail.

² Antioch was taken by the crusaders in 1098. In 1104 Bohemond returned to Italy, and from thence came to France, where he married, in the spring of 1106, Constance, daughter of Philip I. and Bertha of Holland. She had been married, in 1101, to Hugh, count of Champagne, and though divorced on account of nearness of kindred in 1104, the Countess Adela continued to treat her as her sister-in-law.

³ *Contra Thraces* is the exact reading. There is another *contra Turcos*.

Anastasius, Robert the son of Hubeline, and Hervé son of Everard, Odo son of Walo, and Fulk, and Richer, sons of Fulcher, and other his liege-men, of whatever condition, had given or should give, excepting always the fealty due to himself; with this provision, that if either of them should forfeit his fief for any default, the church should nevertheless not lose her rights of frank-almoign. Ansold also granted that the tithe which his sister Hersende received as her marriage portion, and before her death had given to St. Mary, by the delivery of a rod¹ into the hand of John, monk and priest, should, after the death of his nephew Peter freely belong to the church. He also gave to St. Mary the quarry of mill-stones in the wood of Beule,² so that for each mill-stone two pence should be given towards the lights in the church, and whoever should defraud the church should forfeit six pence. Before, sixty pence were paid for an offence of this description, but as the ecclesiastical law is more humane than the civil, fifty-five pence were remitted, and only five taken. Ansold and his wife Adeline, and his two sons Peter and Ralph, placed the deed of gift of these possessions on the altar of St. Mary by the side of the missal; at which ceremony all the knights of Maule were present.

Ansold declared his eldest son Peter heir to his whole estates, and the boy received the homage and fealty of all the knights of Maule, Goscelin de Mareil being their spokesman and scribe. There were present William, Ansold's brother, and Robert his nephew, the knight Guibold, son of Ralph Malvoisin, Odo-Paganus son of Hugh, and Gilbert Fitz-Haimon, Odo son of Walo, and his sons Peter and Arnulf, Fulk son of Fulcher, and his two nephews, Geoffrey and Odo, Grimold son of Alman, and Walter son of Fulk.

The knight so often mentioned administered justly the jurisdiction he inherited from his fathers for eighteen years, being in all things the faithful patron of the monks, and having daily edifying conferences with them. So far from diminishing their endowments, he made, as before

¹ See note, page 202.

² Mill-stone quarries are still worked in this wood, and in other spots in the neighbourhood.

observed, some augmentations, and his deed of gift is couched in these terms:—

“I, Arnold, do give and confirm all that my father Peter on behalf of his ancestors, Arnulph and Warin, and his other relations, gave to God and St. Mary, and the monks of St. Evroult, in the same manner and form that he granted the same. The tithes also of Maule, which my two sisters hold as their marriage dowry, viz., Eremburge the wife of Baudri de Dreux, and Hersende wife of Hugh de Voisins,¹ if the monks can obtain them from my grandsons either by gift or bargain, I freely grant as far as concerns myself and my children. I know that tithes are the portion of God, and that he thought fit in the old times to retain them, through Moses, for the support of the Levites. No wise man can therefore, I think, be ignorant that whosoever persists in living by such robbery exposes himself to a terrible retribution hereafter. Moreover, I give the mill-stone quarry in the wood of Beule² to St. Mary, in such wise that two pence be given for each mill-stone towards the lights of the church. And whoever makes default shall pay five pence, instead of the sixty hitherto forfeited. Adeline my wife, and Peter and Ralph my sons, confirm this grant. In return we have the good offices of the monks, and the privilege of being associated with them; and in testimony thereof I have received as a gift from the monks one horse, worth a hundred shillings, which belonged to Grimold de Saulx-marchais. I therefore, with my wife and sons, grant this charter, by which I freely and without reserve make this irrevocable donation to the church, that through God’s mercy I may be admitted into the society of the faithful. Amen.”

Germund Rufus of Montfort, when he was dying, gave to St. Mary and the monks living at Maule the half of all his possessions in Puisieux, for the repose of his soul, his wife Eremburge, of whose dowry the land formed a part, and his sons Hugh and Walter, consenting. It was then appointed that the heirs who should hold the land should perform all the service due to the lord in whose fief it was, and the returns from the woods and the open field should be collected wherever it was agreed on both sides, and divided in equal

¹ Probably Voisins le Bretonneux, to the south-west of Versailles. . 3

² See note in the preceding page.

shares. At that time Hugh de Gacé was prior of Maule, who stood by with several others when the deed of gift was placed on the altar of St. Mary, before the corpse of the deceased was committed to the earth. Afterwards, when Walter, the son of the before mentioned Germund, was made a knight, he denied his having agreed to this donation, asserting that his father had given the land to him before the gift to the monks. Wherefore the monks went to Amauri, count de Montfort, and lodged a complaint with him of the disturbance given them by Walter. The count, taking jurisdiction of the affair, the following agreement was made between the disputants. The monks paid the young Walter forty shillings at Montfort, and he granted them the lands above mentioned in the presence of Richelde, Amauri's wife. On the next Sunday, both brothers, Hugh and Walter, confirmed the grant at Maule, placing the deed of gift on the altar, in the presence of David the prior and the rest of the monks, and of Ansold, and his son Peter, and all the clergy and people assembled in the church. Afterwards, their brothers Engenold, and Hervé, made the same grant. This was done the year that Henry king of England attacked the castle of St. Clair in France,¹ while, on the other hand, Lewis king of France built the castle of Gani in Normandy, from whence ensued cruel wars between them, attended with great losses.

Nivard de Hargeville gave all his lands of Boinville to the monks of Maule and half the tithes thereof, for which he received by the goodwill of the monks twenty-eight shillings. His brother Simon confirmed the gift, whereupon Hugh the prior gave him a pair of Cordovan shoes. Peter, also, and Guarimbold, sons of Nivard, confirmed the gift their father had made, and each of them received shoes worth six pennies. On the following Sunday, Nivard came to Maule, and deposited the deed of gift on the altar before all the parishioners.

Geoffrey de Marcq, having taken on himself the monastic rule at Maule, gave to the monks of St. Evroult the whole church of Marcq, with half the churchyard and half the tithes. Emmeline his wife, and their sons William, Simon,

¹ Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. The events which are merely alluded to here are described in the beginning of our author's twelfth book.

Hugh, Stephen, and Paganus, confirmed the same. Afterwards Hugh Rufus de Fresnai, under whose fief Geoffrey held, came to Maule, and, on the petition of the monks, released what Geoffrey had given from all services; so that whether the inheritors of Marcq did their fealty, or made default in the service due from them, the monks should for ever hold in frank-almoign. His brother Walter granted the same.

Walter, son of Heldeburge, after having received a mortal wound, gave to the monks at Maule all the tithes which he had at Puisieux, of the fief of Hervé, son of Everard. His wife Isemburge, with Walter's three brothers, Richard, Theobald, and Geoffrey, were present, and ratified the gift. Hervé also confirmed all the tithes of Puisieux which belonged to him, and Simon de Toiri gave to the monks that part of the tithes which was in his lordship. The monks, also, to satisfy all claims, gave to Hervé one house, with many chattels, for four pounds in pennies and one arpent of vineyard at La Gard, which Walter, son of Alpes, had given to St. Mary; and to Adeline his wife, of whose dowry it was part, one piece of fustian; also to Simon twenty shillings, and to his wife, of whose inheritance it was part, three shillings.

Baldric the Red, of Montfort, on his becoming a monk, gave to the monks of St. Evroult the rent which he had at Mantes, viz. ten shillings and a sestary of salt.¹ The monks of Fécamp, who had a cell at Mantes, paid this at the feast of St. Remi. Baldric also gave whatever interest he had in the church and tithes of Jumeauville, and twelve pence, which the sons of Burge paid him for quit-rent of a farm called La Concie. His wife also confirmed this, and received for it one cow. Geoffrey his son also granted the same to the monks, and received from them a horse worth sixty shillings, and also twenty shillings in money. The sure witnesses were Ansold, lord of Maule, and Peter his son, Geoffrey, son of Richer, and Grimold, son of Alman, Amauri Floënel, and many others. On the death of Baldric, his son disputed the property, but, in consideration of twenty shillings more, paid to him, he renewed the grant. In consequence, he went to Mantes with David the prior,

¹ A measure holding about a pint and a half, or twenty-four ounces.

and gave directions to the monks of Fécamp, who lived at St. George, that they should pay yearly to the monks of Maule the six shillings and sestary of salt which they used to pay to his father. Also, William, son of Henry de Richebourg, in whose lordship it was, granted it to the monks, and he received from them ten shillings and half a muid of wine as a gratuity.

Eremburge, daughter of Peter de Maule, and Amauri her son restored to the church the moiety of the tithes which they had unjustly detained, and deposited the deed of gift on the altar of St. Mary, mother of God, before all the people. The lord Ansold, the proposer and faithful upholder of this grant, was present, and confirmed it, with his sons Peter and Ralph. Then the monks, to redeem the tithes, which were mortgaged to William de Maule for twenty pounds, gave ten pounds to Eremburge, and granted three arpents of vineyard to him and his heir. But when Eremburge took the veil, she and the forenamed Amauri, her son, gave their part of the aforesaid tithes to God, and deposited the deed of gift on the altar as before, by the side of the gospels. There were present William de Maule, and Robert his nephew, and Geoffrey his brother-in-law, with Odo-Paganus, and Odo, son of Walo, and Fulk the clerk, and Geoffrey, son of Richer, who gave thanks to God, who had delivered this woman from the fatal burden of an impious rapacity.

Thus the priory at Maule grew rich by the address of its occupants and the gifts of those who flocked to it; but it suffered a great loss in the death of Ansold its worthy patron. Having borne arms for fifty-three years, old age coming on, he fell sick, and having lingered for nearly seven weeks, prepared himself for appearing before the judgment-seat of the Most High by confession and penitence. He did not take to his bed, but went daily to the offices of the church, and retained complete possession of his faculty of memory and gift of speech, but, notwithstanding, he was sensible of the entire decay of the bodily powers, from which physicians prognosticate that men will either sink or rally, and that there was no escaping the imminent approach of death. Anxious, therefore, for the salvation of his soul, he turned to the Lord with all his heart, and applied himself

zealously to fulfil what wise men had taught him, and he had carefully committed to memory. In consequence, hearing one night the church bell, he got up and went to the church, attended by one faithful servant, and prayed to God to accept his offering, and to accomplish his desires. When matins were ended, he summoned the monks to his side, and, opening his mind to them, entreated them to admit him into their brotherhood. David was then prior, and there were with him the worthy monks and priests John of Rheims, Osbern, and Odo. With these it was Ansold's fervent desire to be associated in their monastic habit, as well as in spirit; saying, that he had now divested himself of all concern about his wife and children, that he had done with worldly power and possessions, that death was near, and his only desire was to draw closer to God, and that his request ought not to be refused. The monks rejoiced much at hearing his pious wishes, but deferred acceding to them for two days, in consequence of the absence of his eldest son and heir. Ansold bore the delay with impatience, so eager was his desire for the spiritual rewards which the Master of the household reserves for his watching servants. He declared that all he wished and hoped for was to live and die with the poor in Christ, that he might be a partaker in the promises which God has made to such his children. The two days being elapsed, he summoned his son and his wife to his presence, and giving many directions to his son before several knights, thus addressed him in the hearing of a number of persons of both sexes and different ages:—

“My dearly beloved son, whom I have brought up with great care, that I might leave an heir and successor acceptable to God and man, lay up carefully in your memory what I am about to say to you very seriously. In the first place, love God at all times and before all things. Fear and honour your bishop and king as your earthly superiors, and endeavour to obey their commands as far as in you lies. Pray daily to God for their prosperity, that by the watchful care and merits of your excellent bishop, your soul may obtain eternal salvation, and under the government of a peaceful king you may enjoy your temporal possessions in quietness and security. Extend to your liege-men the protection which you owe them, ruling them, not as a tyrant,

but as a gentle master. Maintain, prudently, the rights belonging to your fief, whether in fields, woods, meadows, or vineyards, and be careful not to diminish them by imprudent grants. Meddle not with the property of others, and have nothing to do with thieves and robbers. Guard your own substance by lawful means, and beware of laying violent hands on that of other people. From thence arises anger, then quarrels; robbery, fire and slaughter follow, with other evils too numerous to mention. A prudent man will be on his guard against those causes of mischief which he sees affecting others. Observe well these my last injunctions. Always love and frequent our holy mother church. Daily listen to the word of God, the food and life of our souls, and attend the mass and other divine offices. Honour the servants of God both by word and deed, and more especially venerate and support the monks, our masters and brothers, who are the ministers of this church, to the utmost of your power; assisting them both by your advice and your exertions, as occasion may require. Freely confirm them in the peaceable possession of the estates which my father and I have granted them for the good of our souls. Do not encroach on their lands and revenues, nor suffer any of your tenants to injure them. If you study to show yourself their firm adherent, their prayers to God for you will be constant. Never, then, have any ill-will towards them, or be jealous of their wealth, but treat them kindly, and, if the Lord shall give you length of days and prosperity, augment it. If you observe and do what I command you, I give you, in the name of God, the blessing which our forefathers left to their heirs, earnestly beseeching Him, that it may descend and rest upon you. But if you should do otherwise, which God forbid, I leave you my curse, by the authority of God and the holy fathers."

Having concluded this exhortation to his son, the excellent lord thus addressed his wife Adeline: "My sweet sister and amiable wife, Adeline, I pray you lend a favourable ear to my requests. Thus far we have faithfully kept our marriage vows, and by God's help have lived together more than twenty years without quarrels and shameful contentions. Worthy offspring have been born to us in lawful wedlock, and you must lead them by your earnest admo-

nitions to obey their Maker's will. My end is approaching, and whether I will or not, I am near at death's door. I am going the way of all flesh, and have to pay the common debt of nature. I am unwilling to trouble you with a long discourse. Your life may serve as a lesson to numbers, add one more to your good works, and henceforth live chastely in holy widowhood. Grant me also your permission to become a monk, and, quitting the showy garments belonging to my worldly estate, put on the black robe of our holy father Benedict. It is my desire to be admitted into the society of those who relinquish the delights of the world for Christ's sake. Release me therefore I pray you, my lady, from the bonds of marriage, and commend me earnestly to God, that, relieved from all secular ties, I may be in a condition to receive the monastic habit and the tonsure. I ask this from the bottom of my heart; this is the object of my most earnest wishes, that my soul may be numbered in the company of the monks, and, renewed by being invested with the religious garb, may sing in the present life, 'I am black, but comely.'¹ I am black because I wear a dark, shapeless, and coarse robe, but comely because it covers the humility of a holy purpose, and a devotion well pleasing to God."

When Ansold had concluded his discourse to this purpose, his good wife, who had never resisted his will and now obeyed her husband as she was wont, granted his request with a respectful modesty, shedding a flood of tears, though she did not give way to noisy lamentations. At that season holy church was celebrating the eve of our Lord's nativity, and there was a violent tempest which shook the world, overthrowing woods, houses, and other buildings, and did much damage both by sea and land, to the great terror of mankind. Leave having been given, the novice was tonsured, and put on the religious habit, in which, having worn it three days, he was also buried, that in it he might rise again. On the third day, finding that death was near, he caused his brethren to be summoned, and begged them to recite the prayers for the dying. When they were ended, he asked for holy water and a crucifix. On their being brought, he sprinkled himself with holy water, and bowing before the crucifix, thus commended himself to Him who

¹ Canticles i. 5.

hung on the cross, adopting the words which had been used by some man of wisdom: "Lord God, I, once a sinner but now a penitent, commend my spirit into thy hands as a servant should submit to his master." With these words he expired, as we believe, happily. Then vigils were chanted and psalms and prayers said, and masses solemnly performed, with much grief for his decease. All which being duly performed, on the day when the feast of the assumption of St. John was kept by the church,¹ his body was committed to the earth, the mother of all, to be preserved and given up again. Odo of Montreuil assisted at the funeral, performing what belonged to the priest's office, and has comprehended in a short notice, his name and rank, and the day of his death, with a devout prayer on his behalf.

Stranger, dost thou wish to know
 Who lies buried here below?
 ANSOLD was his name, a knight
 Once the foremost in the fight.
 Six days 'fore the year begun
 Its due course of time to run,
 He was summoned to his rest:
 God reward him with the blest!

[1118—1128.] Peter, who now became lord of Maule, was distinguished for his conduct in war and made himself formidable to his neighbours, but in some of his doings he did not follow his father's steps. For he was led by youthful levity to delight in players and gamblers, and listening to the persuasions of the young men about him engaged in rapine, and frequently oppressed the cultivators of his own domains and those of others. He ravaged without mercy his neighbour's property and foolishly wasted his own. Hence, while he inflicted great evils on the inhabitants of other villages, the freebooters of the neighbourhood took every opportunity of making secret inroads on him and his tenants. When in a passion, his threats were severe, when he was pleased, he rashly made promises which were difficult to be performed; so that he was often false in both. After his father's death, he married a wife of a very noble

¹ It appears before, in book ii. c. vi. (vol. i. p. 247) that our author adopted the opinion of St. Ephrem and others respecting the *Assumption* of St. John, which was not held in the time of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and was consequently posterior to the second century after Christ.

family, Ada, niece of Bouchard de Montmorenci and daughter of the Count de Guines.¹ As far as words go, he pays due respect to the monks and clergy, and takes their reproofs in good part, veiling his follies under the excuse of his youth, and promising to amend his life in riper years, which may God grant! I will now give a short account of the possessions which were given to the monks by him, or in his fief.

Ansold, before he died, bequeathed his best palfrey to the monks, in lieu of which, Peter gave them, at his father's request, the land of Montmarcien; and at the same time he confirmed to them all that his predecessors had granted. John de St. Denis, and Mary his wife, and Arnulf their son, had freely given to St. Mary the vineyard of Clairfont, but afterwards, undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they sold it to a certain Breton of Montfort named Fulk, notwithstanding the claims of the monks. The Breton being disseized of it by a sentence of the bishop, it fell into Peter's hands, but Providence shortly afflicting him with disease, on making his confession he restored it to St. Mary discharged of all quit-rent. He also gave the crop of grapes that year to purchase an image of the holy Virgin.

Grimold, nephew and heir of Stephen de Maule, gave to the monks all the tithes of his lands, both in the lordship of Ansold and in that of Paganus, together with the tithes of his mill and vineyards, and, together with Petronilla his wife, deposited the deed of gift on the altar. Afterwards, on her death, he granted to the monks two arpents of land at Montjubert, and added a third in the same place at his daughter's obit. He went to Jerusalem with Stephen Count de Blois,² and, having undergone many sufferings in that expedition, lived uprightly after his return.

Gerald, surnamed La Côte, Grimold's brother-in-law, falling sick, was so terrified by the divine chastisement, that he gave to the monks certain tithes which he possessed in the territory of Marole, and his part of the churchyard of the same village; his wife, part of whose dowry it was, con-

¹ A.D. about 1091—1137. He married Ada, daughter of Manasseh, count of Guines (about 1091—1137), and Emma de Tankerville, widow of Odo of Folkstone.

² See before, note, p. 182.

senting, as well as Peter, lord of Maule, in whose fief it was. Aubrey de Marole, also, gave to the monks twelve acres of land on the brow of the hill to the west of Marole.

Odo, son of Walo, an honourable knight, at the death of his son Arnulf, gave to the monks of Maule three acres of land which were at that time cultivated by Fulk the priest. He also gave them three muids of wine, and granted the same quantity to be furnished yearly out of his vineyards ; so that the church should not lose the endowment in consequence of any succession or change of the heirs of Maule ; and the monks were constantly to make due prayers for the souls of his sons Peter, Arnulf, Milo, and his other friends. It happened a few days afterwards that Odo fell sick, and wishing, like a good son, to reap profit from the visitation by his father's rod, he called together his wife Beliarde, his daughter-in-law Cornelia, his daughter Cicily, and his son-in-law Godfrey, and with their consent gave the whole of his tithes to God and St. Mary. The aforesaid women and Godfrey, by Odo's command, then went to the church and laid the donation on the altar. After this was done, his sickness increasing, he became a monk there and lay in the monks' infirmary ten days. Meanwhile, Walter the Bold, his son, hastening from Troyes, where he had long dwelt, found his father alive. At his request he confirmed what his father and relations had given to the church of God ; viz., three acres of land, two muids of wine yearly, and all the tithes his father possessed, whether of corn, wine, or first-fruits. All which, after his father was dead and buried, Walter granted by an instrument which was laid by a book on the altar of St. Mary, mother of God ; and, in imitation of his father, has been a good neighbour to the monks to the present time.

In the time of Hugh de Gacé, David, and other priors, who laboured usefully at Maule, it was commonly well known, and I wish it to be handed down to posterity, that Tesza, wife of Bernard the Blind, gave to the monks of St. Evroult dwelling at Maule, one moiety of the farm of St. Columb, both plain and wood, besides two arpents of land which he also gave them, that they might build a house and have cottages without any one's interfering with them. He did this with the assent of his lords, Gosceline, who held the other

moiety of the land in demesne, because of default in the services due, and Guaszo de Poissi, who was the chief lord. The monks at different times gave large sums to these lords, hoping to increase the property of the church by legitimate means, and secure advantages for their successors. Hugh, who was enterprising and magnanimous, began the affair when he was prior, giving to Tesza, beforenamed, ten shillings, and a piece of fustian to her son Odo, and ten shillings to her son-in-law William. He also gave to Gosceline one horse of the value of four pounds, to his wife twenty shillings, and to Guaszo twenty-five shillings, with a horn cup, and another to his wife. These things and others they received from the generosity of the monks, and made a firm deed of gift, which they deposited on the altar before many witnesses. But they afterwards iniquitously falsified their engagements in various ways: especially, Guaszo, the most powerful among them, who ought to have corrected the others if they went astray, disturbed the endowment, pillaged the cottiers, and destroyed their houses; so that the place became waste as it was before, and the monks were compelled for the present to abandon the spot. Some years afterwards Amauri, son of Guaszo, was slain: the monks then went to him while he was in tribulation for the death of his son, and requested him to abate the injury he had done them. Softened by his affliction, he made a humble reply, promising to cure the evil he had done. He therefore committed the affair to Gosceline and Amauri de Beauvoir, to whom he had lately restored the fief, and of whom Gosceline then held it. They in consequence met at Fresnes, and treated respecting the adjustment of the business, and at the demand of Guaszo and the monks, Amauri confirmed the grant which Tesza had made, and Guaszo and Gosceline had ratified. By common agreement, therefore, of all parties, Amauri and Gosceline publicly enfeoffed the monks in the presence and hearing of Grimold de Maule and Roger his son, and many others. Finally, Amauri came to Maule on a day appointed, and deposited on the altar of St. Mary the donation which he had made at Fresnes, receiving from the generosity of the monks twenty shillings of Mantes.

In this manner the cell at Maule rose through the

exertions of careful monks, and was suitably endowed by the generous contributions of its supporters, to the praise of God. The place was well situated for vineyards and fertile fields, and watered by the river Mauldre,¹ which has its course through them. It is well protected by a number of noble knights. These give freely to the church, during their lives, of their lands and substance, and the order of monks is treated by them with great respect; and at the hour of death their aid is earnestly sought for the salvation of their souls. The knights frequent the monk's cloister, and confer with them on practical and theoretical subjects. Thus it is the school of the living, and the refuge of the dying.

In the time of Peter the elder, Abbot Mainier went to the court of King Philip, and humbly sought his confirmation of the grants which had been made to the monks of St. Evroult of possessions in France. The king not only graciously ratified all the endowments already made, but kindly and cheerfully exhorted those who were about him to further gifts. This took place on the road between Epone and Mantes. Afterwards, in the time of Peter the younger, King Lewis came to Maule, and, being incensed with Peter on account of some excesses he had committed in the insolence of youth, razed the fortified wall with which the prudent Ansold had surrounded his house, and demolished the house itself. The king accepted the hospitality of the monks at the priory, and confirmed to them by his royal charter all that had been given them, or they had purchased, in the time of the three lords, Peter, Ansold, and the other Peter. Warin of Sééz, a prudent and learned monk was then prior, and made use of his attendance upon, and familiar intercourse with, the king, to obtain his sanction to all the endowments of that cell which had been procured by Goisbert, and Guitmond, William, and Hugh, David, and Ralph, and other priors. This may suffice for what I have to say of Maule in the present book.

CH. XX. *Guitmond, second prior of Maule—Other benefactions to the abbey of St. Evroult.*

GOISBERT, the famous physician, having laid the foundations of the church at Maule, as we have before related, consulted

¹ A rivulet which falls into the Seine near Epone, not far from Mantes.

some of his acquaintances and friends for the common good of his own monastery. With their concurrence he earnestly entreated his abbot to entrust the priory of Maule to fresh hands, in order that he might be free to prosecute other affairs. This was done; Guitmond, who had been a priest at Soulangi,¹ an excellent man, being appointed in his place, while the physician made pressing instances to several French knights on behalf of his brethren. Some he gained by his medicinal care and assistance, others by presents, and all by his eloquent discourse.

Humphrey, surnamed Harenc, and Havise his wife, and the sons of the same Havise, Paganus, Alexander, and Roger de Rolleboise, with his wife Basile and her son Guiard, gave to God and St. Evroult the church of St. Villegast, with the tithes thereto belonging, and one plough-land. They also gave the herbage of the whole vill, free from any commonage, and all the land in the parish, whether in grass or tillage,² to be cultivated by the tenants settled there, reserving only the champarty³ to himself. This grant was made before the lord Robert at Ivri, and was confirmed by him and his sons Ascelin, Goël, and William. He granted all that he had in the same vill, for which he received the seignory of the place and an ounce of gold. Not long afterwards he was, by God's providence, afflicted with a painful disease in his privy-parts, and having the fear of death before his eyes became a monk in the abbey of Bec. His son Ascelin Goël succeeded to his domains by right of inheritance, and was a long time eminent among his neighbours for his gallant actions. He built a very strong castle at Breval, and filled it with fierce freebooters who ruined numbers. He surprised the castle of Ivri by a skilful stratagem, defeating and making prisoner William de Breteuil its

¹ Near Falaise.

² *Tam in mansuris quam in rupturis*; whether of the old homesteads, or land fresh broken up?

³ *Camparto*. "The portion of the produce which the farmer gives to the owner of the soil; from *campum partiri*."—*Ducange*. The French call this tenure "*Métayer*;" it was very common in France to a late period, and we believe is still prevalent in some districts. Arthur Young devotes part of a chapter to the exposure of a system which he considers alike ruinous to the landlord and occupier. *Travels in France*, vol. i. p. 406.

master, whom he threw into close confinement. For his ransom he extorted violently a thousand livres of Dreux and the stronghold of Ivri, taking to wife his daughter Isabel, by whom he had seven sons. He, with his wife and sons, released all the lands which St. Evroult had in his lordship, viz., Villegast, and one moiety of the tithes of Montigni, for which he received from the monks a gratuity of sixty shillings, and he sealed his charter of confirmation at Breval. The same Ascelin, in the monks' house at Hillier, released to the monks of St. Evroult all tolls for passage, as well in that lordship as in all his other lands. Robert and William, surnamed Louvel, his sons, afterwards confirmed the grant, and strictly observed its tenor for a long time.

Hugh Paganus, Grosse-Langue, with his wife Agnes, and his son Guy, granted to St. Evroult the viscounty, that is, the *voierie*,¹ as much as they had in Villegast, from which the monks received at one time ten shillings and a deer-skin, at another time twenty shillings. The son received ten shillings of Mantes for his release. John of Rheims wrote out the charter of this covenant before the tower of Breval, Hugh Fresnel dictating it; and Hugh Paganus and his sons confirmed it. Some time afterwards Hugh became a monk, and his sons Rodolph, Simon, and Robert, attempted to deprive the monks of the viscounty; but they, to hold their possessions in peace, gave to Rodolph, the eldest, one hundred and ten shillings of money of Mantes, to Simon five shillings, and to Robert, Cordovan shoes.

The year that Goël died, Alexander and Gilbert gave to St. Evroult, in the presence of Robert de St. Nicholas, a field belonging to the farm of a certain villein named Robert, although he complained that he had not land sufficient for one plough. Fulk de St. Aubin having given part of his lands in Villers to St. Evroult, Theodoric and Rainier his heirs, with their wives Emmeline and Tesceline, through

¹ *Viariam*; Ducange remarks that Ordericus confounds the rights of the viscount (answering in some measure to our sheriff) with those of the *seigneur*, *voyer*. It is well known that rights of seignorage and jurisdiction often passed to the monks, with the domains granted to them. The word may have been *vicariam*, the deputyship, right of being judges in small causes.

whom they inherited, confirmed the grant, retaining a certain part for their own entertainment; Alexander, in whose fief the land was, consenting.

I have given a long account of the possessions granted to the church of St. Evroult, but have not been able to include them all in the present book; for there are small portions obtained from persons of the middle rank, either by fair words, or extorted by violent means, or purchased, or gained in some other way, which lie dispersed in different dioceses. In these a certain number of monks are settled according to the extent of the property, who serve the Lord daily on behalf of their benefactors with hymns and prayers, and a life of continence. What remains shall be faithfully collected in the sequel of this work, and clearly related for the benefit of those who shall succeed us in labouring in the field of the Lord.

BOOK VI.

CH. I. *Introduction, containing remarks on scurrilous criticism, and the decay of piety among the prelates of the author's age.*

THE human mind has continual need of being usefully exercised, so that it may be well directed in a virtuous course for the future, by its researches into the annals of the past, and its observation on what is passing around. It is every man's duty to be daily learning how he ought to live, by having the examples of ancient worthies ever present before his eyes, and profiting thereby. It sometimes happens that many events present themselves to the ignorant as unheard-of things, and new circumstances are frequently occurring in modern times on which no light can be thrown to inexperienced minds but by reference to former transactions. Studious persons therefore inquire into the obscure passages of history with anxious care, and set a high value on whatever can profit a well-disposed mind. Animated in their labours by this good design, they unfold the past to posterity with perfect impartiality, while, notwithstanding their ability, senseless men snarl at their works and tear them in pieces with their currish fangs. Smarting under such attacks, even wise men sometimes flag in their energies, abandoning their undertakings and shutting themselves up in perpetual silence. Thus it happens that from some frivolous circumstance, the world suffers a lamentable loss. If this were not irreparable, and a kindly-feeling posterity could recover what it had lost, it would shake off its indifference and joyfully rouse itself to gather with eagerness the flowers and the fruit of the labours thus subjected to malicious attacks, and to study them with lively and careful attention. We often find complaints of this sort in ancient writers, and unite with our illustrious masters in their lamentations over the injuries heaped upon them by their envious contemporaries. We hear St. Jerome and Origen, and other doctors of the church complaining in their works of the cavils of scurrilous critics, and it is a cause of regret that on this account we have been deprived of many important commu-

nications; able men preferring to rest in peace rather than employ their talents in skilfully treating difficult subjects, when by so doing they exposed themselves to malicious attacks. Let those, I beg and entreat, observe silence, who neither produce any thing of their own, nor accept the labours of others in a friendly spirit, nor correct with temper any thing which dissatisfies them. Let them learn what they are ignorant of, and if they are incapable of learning, at least let them suffer their fellow disciples to publish what they think right.

The primitive state and the fall of man, the revolutions of the passing age, the vicissitudes in the lives of our prelates and princes, the events of peace and war, and the never-ending chances which affect mankind, offer a vast field for any writer to expatiate on. As for miracles and wonders wrought by the saints, they are now of such rare occurrence in the world that authors have little need of bestowing much attention on stories of that kind. Time was when our ancient fathers, Martial and Taurinus, Silvester, Martin and Nicholas, and other admirable men, whose tongues were the keys of heaven, and who were full of supernatural graces and gifts, shone in the church like the light of the sun, and in the power of the Almighty gave laws to the elements of nature and the power of the air; but these now enjoy the rest of the blessed with their heavenly King, from whom they have received everlasting rewards. Their present successors, who are raised to the summit of power, and, sitting in Moses' seat are called *Rabbi*, while they revel in worldly riches and pomp, of which most of them are too fond, are far from being equally illustrious as their predecessors for the merits of sanctity and miraculous powers and influences. Still we may faithfully relate the revolutions of the world and the course of human events, and history can be made the vehicle for the praise of Him who is the Maker and righteous Governor of all things. The eternal Creator works without ceasing and disposes all things in a wonderful order; let every one treat devoutly of those glorious acts, according as his inclination and ability prompt him and as he shall be divinely instigated.

CH. II. *Some account of Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester*
—His character—His excellent chaplain Gerald.

IN the year of our Lord 1066, the fifth indiction, the race of the great king Edgar having so degenerated that none of his descendants were able to sustain the weight of the royal sceptre, William, duke of Normandy, crossed over to England with many thousand troops, and on the field of Senlac slew Harold the usurper of the English throne. Soon afterwards on Christmas day, he was crowned at Westminster by Aldred archbishop of York, with the acclamations of both Normans and English, and governed the kingdom of England with a strong hand twenty years, eight months and sixteen days.¹ Under his rule the native inhabitants were crushed, imprisoned, disinherited, banished and scattered beyond the limits of their own country; while his own vassals and adherents were exalted to wealth and honours and raised to all the offices of the state. Among these Hugh D'Avranches, son of Richard surnamed Goz, was highly distinguished among the chief nobility, and invested with the earldom of Chester by the advice of the king's counsel after Gerbod of Flanders had returned home.² This Hugh was fondly attached to the world and worldly pomps, in which he considered the highest portion of human happiness to consist. He was a brave soldier, lavish in his liberalities, and took great delight in riotous sports, in jesters, horses and dogs, with other vanities of that sort. He was always surrounded by a numerous household, in which a crowd of young men of all ranks both low and high continually revelled. But the earl also entertained about him many honourable men, clerks as well as knights, and was well pleased to share with them both his cares and his riches. Attached to his chapel was a clerk from Avranches, named Gerald,³ who was eminent for piety and virtue as well as for learning. This chaplain performed daily the service of God and frequently celebrated the holy offering with great devotion. He used his best offices with the courtiers of his

¹ December 25, 1066—September 9, 1087.

² Our author has given some further particulars of Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, in b. iv. c. 7. See before pp. 47, 48.

³ Gerald assumed the monastic habit in the Benedictine Abbey attached to the cathedral of Winchester.

lord, by setting before them the example of those who had gone before, to move them to amendment of life. He observed in many, and justly condemned, their headstrong tendency to carnal pursuits, and mourned over the neglect of divine worship generally shown. Great barons, simple knights, and noble youths all received their share of his salutary admonitions, and he drew both from the Old Testament and the more recent Christian records copious accounts of holy warriors who were worthy of their imitation. He described with eloquence the combats of Demetrius and George, Theodore and Sebastian, of Maurice, tribune of the Theban legion, and Eustachius, the illustrious commander of the forces, with his comrades, who obtained heaven by the crown of martyrdom.¹ To these he added the history of William the noble champion, who after a long military service renounced the world and gloriously fought the fight of faith under the monastic rule. Many profited by Gerald's exhortations, and like gallant ships were towed through this world's waves and safely moored in the haven of a regular life.

CH. III. *The story of St. William (Court-nez) duke of Septimania and count of Toulouse and Barcelona under Charlemagne—His wars with the Saracens—Becomes a monk—founds the abbey of St. Saviour in the Herault.*

HAVING happened to mention St. William, I take the opportunity of inserting in my history a short account of his life. I am satisfied that it is very little known in this province, and there are many persons who will be gratified by being furnished with a faithful memoir of so distinguished a saint. Anthony, a monk of Winchester, brought it here not long since, and, complied with our eager desire to see it. There is indeed a story in verse concerning St. William which is commonly sung by glee-men,² but the preference must be

¹ An opportunity will occur in b. ix, of our author's history, for giving some account of the first three saints here mentioned, who belonged to the Greek church. St. Maurice, and his soldiers of the Theban legion, suffered martyrdom on September 22, 286, under the emperor Maximian, at a place then called *Aganum*, but now well known as St. Maurice in the Valais. St. Sebastian was martyred at Rome about the year 288 (Jan. 20). St. Eustachius also suffered martyrdom at Rome under Adrian (Nov. 1).

² These songs on the acts of St. William, called William Court-Nez,

justly given to an authentic narrative, written with care by learned monks, and which is respectfully recited by studious readers in the presence of the assembled brethren. But as the bearer was in haste to depart and the severe winter's frost prevented me from writing, I made a short abridgment on my tablets,¹ which I now hasten to transfer correctly to parchment and thus spread abroad the fame of the brave lord-marcher.

In the time of Pepin, king of the Franks, count Theodoric² had by his wife Aldana a son named William. The boy was taught letters from his childhood, and afterwards took arms in the service of Charlemagne. He obtained the title and office of a count and the command of the first cohort in the army. Charles afterwards made him duke of Aquitaine,³ and confided to him an expedition against king Theodebald,⁴ the Spaniards and Saracens. Having lost no time in marching into Septimania, he crossed the Rhone and laid siege to the city of Orange which he reduced, defeating the invaders. He then fought many battles with the infidels from beyond sea and the Arabs of the neighbourhood, his sword, by God's help, giving safety to the faithful, enlarging the bounds of

are preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. See description of the MSS. by M. Pauslin. Paris, t. iv. p. 113 and 172.

¹ The author again speaks of his sufferings from the cold at the close of the present book. The climate of Normandy does not appear to have been much improved since he wrote, for even at a recent period Mr. St. John, in his entertaining journal of a residence near Caen, describes the winter to have been so severe as to have often incapacitated him for literary occupation, much in the same terms as Ordericus used eight hundred years before. The nature and scarcity of the fuel must, doubtless, have added to the distress. Our author seems to indicate that the frost interfered less with his tracing his extracts on tablets coated with wax, using a hard *stile* or pen, than with his writing on parchment with pen and ink, which is perfectly natural.

² Some authors have supposed that this Count Theodoric is the same person as the *Theodoricus comes* described by Eginhard as a relation of Charlemagne.

³ St. William was not created duke of Aquitaine by Charlemagne in 789, but count de Toulouse, in the place of Corson, with the title of duke, probably of Septimania.

⁴ We find no such name as this among the Saracen kings and emirs with whom St. William was in conflict during his long military career, 789—806, in the time of Hachem and El-Hakem, successively caliphs of Cordova.

the Christian empire, and subduing the Saracens.¹ William built a monastery in honour of St. Saviour and the twelve apostles in the territory of Lodève in a valley called Gellone surrounded by rocks,² placing in it an abbot and a company of devout monks, and largely endowing it with all things necessary for them, and he had their grants confirmed by his own and royal charters. His two sisters Albana and Bertha became nuns there and continued perseveringly in the service of God.

A long time afterwards, William coming to France on the summons of Charles³ was honourably received and disclosed to him his desire of becoming a monk. The king could not refrain from tears in granting his permission, and bid him take whatever he would from his treasury to carry to his church. However William rejected all worldly riches, but asked for and obtained a reliquary containing a portion of the wood of the holy cross. It had been sent to Charles by Zachariah, patriarch of Jerusalem, a prelate of great worth, while the king was at Rome in the first year of his reign. When William's intention to change his state of life became known, the king's court was agitated and all the city in an uproar. A crowd of nobles forced their way into his presence, and sorrowfully entreated him not to desert them. He however, inflamed with divine ardour, abandoned all, and, being brought on his way with great honour, bidding them farewell, at length left the army of the Franks amid their tears and groans. When he reached the town of Brives he offered his armour on the altar of St. Julian the martyr,⁴ hanging his helmet and splendid shield over the martyr's tomb in the church, and suspending outside the door his

¹ It does not appear that the invasions of the Saracens during the government of Duke William ever reached the banks of the Rhone, and still less the territory of Orange. His most remarkable exploit was the taking of Barcelona in the year 801.

² The little valley of Gellone, near its junction with that of the Herault, in the canton of Lodève.

³ According to the original legend, the emperor did not send for the count. This intercourse took place in the year 806.

⁴ The altar of the church of the celebrated chapter of St. Julian of Brives in the Limosin. The arms offered by St. William were still preserved in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the treasury of this chapter, and attested by their weight, as well as their dimensions, the strength and size of the warrior who bore them.

quiver and bow with his long lance and two-edged sword; as an offering to God. He then set forth in the guise of a pilgrim of Christ and passed through Aquitaine to the monastery which he had built a short time before in the wilderness. He drew near to it with naked feet and with hair-cloth about his body. When the brethren heard of his approach, they met him at the cross roads, and forming a festive procession against his will, conducted him to the abbey. He then made his offering of the reliquary more precious than gold, with gold and silver vessels and all kinds of ornaments, and having proffered his petition gave up the world with all its pomps and enticements.

In the year of our Lord, therefore, 806, in the fifth¹ year of the reign of the Emperor Charles, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Count William became a monk, and was suddenly changed and made another person in Christ Jesus. For after his profession he was taught without being offended, and corrected without being angry. He suffered blows and injuries unresistingly and without having recourse to threats. He rejoiced to be subject, and delighted in every kind of humiliation, being ready to serve, obey, and submit to all. He made daily progress in all sanctity and religion and the observance of the sacred rule, like gold made bright in the furnace. He completed, according to his design, the monastery which was in an unfinished state when he became a monk, receiving the aid of his sons Bernard and William (to whom he had resigned his counties²), and of other counts in the neighbourhood. He made a road to the monastery by a sharp and difficult ascent through the mountains, cutting the rocks with

¹ It should be the *sixth* year.

² M. Le Prévost remarks that "our author, following his original, here represents the pious monk as disposing of his dignities just as if he had lived several generations later." The titles of duke, count, &c., certainly were not hereditary in the time of Charlemagne, nor till long afterwards. They were merely personal, and conferred official rank and power as governors of provinces, &c., at the will of the emperor or king. Still St. William, as a favourite general of Charlemagne, may have obtained permission to resign his governments in favour of his sons. In point of fact, we find Bernard, the eldest, in possession of the duchy of Septimania and the *counties* of Toulouse and Barcelona, but not till the year 817 as to the first, and 820 as far as concerns the two last.

hammers and pickaxes and other iron tools, and with the fragments laid the base of a causeway along the river Herault and abutting on the heights.¹

Lewis, king of Aquitaine, the son of Charlemagne, at the request of William, gave to the monastery, with great willingness, several fiefs in his territories, and confirmed the grant by a royal charter sealed with his ring.² Meanwhile, William caused vineyards and oliveyards, and several gardens to be laid out on the ground surrounding the monastery, and clearing the valley of the woods which naturally grew there, planted fruit-trees in their place. He devoted himself with intense industry to these and similar works, labouring with his own hands, for the love of God, in rural occupations, and continually thus employed himself with true humility and religion. He often prostrated himself before the abbot and brethren, beseeching that for God's mercy, he might be allowed still greater self-renunciation and humiliation. He sought the lowest offices in the monastery; it was his desire to be considered the vilest of all, and to be held in contempt. He would be a beast of burthen, and as an ass's colt bear the burthens of the brethren in the house of the Lord. He who had been a mighty duke was not ashamed to mount a miserable ass with a load of bottles. See the Lord William from a count become a cook, from a duke become a menial, loading his shoulders with faggots, carrying vessels of water, lighting and extinguishing fires. With his own hand he washes the bowls and platters, gathers vegetables, makes the soup and mixes the pulse with it. When the hour of refection is come, without delay he spreads the table for the monks in due order, while he himself, still fasting, watches and guards the house. He

¹ The Herault, which now gives its name to a department of France, rises in the Cevennes, and runs into the gulf of Lyons between Montpellier and Narbonne. The abbey of St. Saviour being built in a rocky valley, surrounded by mountains, far up towards the source of the river, the difficulties St. William had to contend with in making the road may be easily conceived. But the old general seems to have been a good engineer as well as planter and gardener, to say nothing of the more humble offices ascribed to him in this most amusing legend, in which truth and fiction are strangely mingled.

² The royal charter bears date, Dec. 28, 808. The lands granted are in the district of Béziers.

undertakes the baking, heats the oven, places the loaves in it and draws the bread when it is baked.

Once, when wood for baking was scarce, he was forced to gather twigs, straw, and whatever he could lay hands on, which he threw into the oven in order to heat it quickly. But as time pressed and those within sharply chid this servant of God because the usual hour for the brethren's meal was somewhat passed, and he had nothing that would serve to clear out the ashes, he invoked Christ, and making the sign of the cross, entered the oven and did all that was needful without sustaining any injury. Throwing out the hot cinders with his naked hands, he collected the ashes in his cowl without its being singed, put the oven in order and sprinkled it for putting in the loaves. Though William thus stood in the fire for some time, neither his body nor his clothes were scorched. After this, however, the abbot, by the advice of the brethren, forbade his engaging in any servile works, and, allotting him a suitable cell, enjoined him to apply his leisure to prayer and holy meditation. Thus having had a long experience of active exercises, he began to take rest in a life of reflection, and, having performed the service and busy occupations of Martha, joined with Mary in the delights of heavenly contemplation.

When, at length, William was full of perfection in virtue, he was endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and his course of life was shown him by divine revelation. He predicted the day of his death to the abbot and brethren, and even announced it in writing to many of the neighbours. He also sent a messenger to Charlemagne to inform him distinctly by what sign he should know the hour of his death. At last, after all offices had been duly performed, the blessed William departed on the fifth of the calends of June,¹ [May 28], to the joy of angels and the grief of men. There immediately followed in all the churches, great and small, throughout the neighbouring districts, a loud and strange tolling of the bells, both tenor and treble;² and the knell was rung and the small bell tinkled for a long space of time,

¹ In the year 812.

² "Il est visible que dans ce passage, *signum* ordinairement synonyme de *cémpana*, a été employé dans le sens de clochettes ou grelots, *tintinnabula*."
—Le Prévost.

although no human hands pulled the ropes or swung the clappers, but solely by divine power acting on them from heaven. The holy body of the illustrious saint was honourably interred in the abbey of St. Saviour, and the praises of God were devoutly sung for many miracles gloriously performed. The venerable monastery remains there to the present day, in which a great company of monks, the army of the Lord God of Sabaoth triumphantly serves, and by the merits of St. William, who from an illustrious knight became a pious monk, crowds of sick people receiving health rejoice in Christ Jesus, who gives eternal glory to all who are united to him.

CH. IV. *Gerald of Avranches, prior of Cranbourn—afterwards abbot of Tewksbury—Robert Fitz-Hamon, its founder—Roger Fitz-Warrene a noble monk of St. Evroult.*

It was thus that Gerald of Avranches frequently recounted the triumphs of the invincible soldiers of Christ, and stirred up the knights with whom he associated, and their well-born squires, both by persuasions and alarms, to a similar course of life. The result was, that in the first instance five men of eminence quitted the earl's household, whose names are these; Roger, son of Erneis, nephew of William Warrene, earl of Surry, Arnulf, son of Humphrey de Tilleul, nephew of Hugh de Grantmesnil, viscount of Leicester, and Guy of Mantes his squire; Dreux, son of Geoffrey de Neuf-Marché; and Odo, son of Arnulf of Dôl, and chaplain to the earl. At the suggestion of Arnulf, whose kinsmen had assisted in building the abbey of St. Evroult, all these went to Ouche and were gladly received into the monastery by abbot Mainier. They lived there regularly for a long time, and contributed to the prosperity of the community by their exertions and care.

Thus Gerald had by preaching the word of God stirred up to better things those who were sunk in fatal obliviousness in the gulf of the world's temptations, as the cock rouses those who are sleeping in the dead of the night. He now shook his wings, and casting off his sluggishness, with a lively effort prepared to follow his disciples, who have just been named, to St. Evroult. But God's providence com-

pelled him to remain in England. For, having reached Winchester, he was taken very ill, and, in fear of death, devoutly assumed the monastic habit in the old monastery of St. Peter, where he long lived a regular life under the abbot Walkeline, and Godfrey the religious and learned prior.¹ Some time afterwards he was canonically advanced to ecclesiastical rule, and was appointed the first abbot of Tewksbury, when Samson of Bayeux² was bishop of Worcester. Robert Fitz-Hamon³ had founded this abbey of Tewksbury, on the river Severn, in the reign of William the younger, king of England, and richly endowed it.⁴ Gerald, now raised to the summit of pastoral care, diligently fulfilled the holy duty of preaching, which he had willingly performed while he was only a clerk, and by that means drawn many from the depths of debauchery and rapacity to purity and innocence of life. He gave the regular institutions of the order to his new society, admitted a number of novices

¹ Godfrey de Cambray was made prior of Winchester in 1082, when his predecessor Vauquelin was appointed abbot of Ely. He died in the odour of sanctity, Dec. 27, 1107.

² He was brother of Thomas, archbishop of York, and was consecrated bishop of Worcester, June 15, 1096, and died, May 5, 1112.

³ Robert, earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I., married the daughter and heiress of this Robert Fitz-Hamon, and succeeded to his great estates. Hamon-aux-Dents, lord of Creulli and Torigni, who was killed at the battle of Valèsdunes (1047) left two sons, Hamon, steward of King William, and Robert, who appears to have died without children before the Domesday book was compiled. Hamon, the steward, was viscount of Kent, and one of the judges in the cause between Lanfranc and Odo, bishop of Bayeux. He had two sons, the eldest of whom was this Robert Fitz-Hamon, and the second was named Hamon, like his father and grandfather.

⁴ It was originally a priory, founded as early as the year 715. Alward, or Ethelward, surnamed Mew, was its patron in the time of King Ethelred and St. Dunstan. About the year 980 he founded a small monastery on his domains at Cranbourn in Dorsetshire. Brictric Mew was his lineal descendant and heir. His estates were given to Queen Matilda, and after her death, by William Rufus to Robert Fitz-Hamon. That king, and afterwards his brother Henry in 1100, confirmed to the abbey of St. Mary at Tewksbury the endowment made by Robert Fitz-Hamon, who, at the instance of his wife Sibyl, and Gerald d'Avranches, abbot of Cranbourn, determined in 1102 to rebuild the church of Tewksbury from the foundation, and to transfer there the monks of Cranbourn, except a prior and two brethren. The union of the two establishments dates only from this period and not from the time of Alward.

under the monastic rule, and gave them the best regulations for a life of strictness. He took part with those who were under his government in religious offices, and sometimes even exceeded the juniors in the labours to be undergone; while he managed the affairs of the monastery both internally and externally with diligence and prudent address. However, after some years the malice of Satan was directed against the Lord's flock, grievously afflicting the tender sheep by the trouble iniquitously caused to their shepherd. For, after Robert Fitz-Hamon's death, Robert of Brittany brought some false charges before King Henry against his abbot, by whom he had been admitted into the monastery. The abbot being summoned before the king declined to enter into long explanations, but, satisfied with the consciousness of his innocence, voluntarily resigned to the king the government of his abbey, and after submitting to Martha's toilsome services, chose with Mary the better part, by returning again to his retirement in the monastery at Winchester. To finish his history, he sometime afterwards received an invitation from the venerable Ralph, bishop of Rochester,¹ and at the request of many persons, went to the bishop for the purpose of conferring with him on sacred subjects; but while there, at the summons of God, he took to his bed, and having duly performed all that was fitting for a servant of God died in sanctity.²

Roger de Warrenne, who was converted, as we have already seen, by the exhortations of Gerald, escaping as it were from the destruction of Sodom, went to St. Evroult with four of his companions to become a monk, and lived there nearly forty-six years, filled with zeal for the duties of his order, and abounding in all virtues. Though his person was handsome, he chose to disfigure it by a mean dress. A respectful modesty marked his whole demeanour,

¹ He was born near St. Pierre-sur-Dive, and assumed the monastic habit at St. Martin-de-Séez, of which he became abbot in 1089. Being obliged to leave Normandy on account of the tyranny of Robert de Belesme, he took refuge in England in 1103, was made bishop of Rochester in 1103, and translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, April 26, 1114.

² It appears from the chronicle of Tewksbury, that Gerald (who is called Giralde) was at first abbot of Cranbourn, before the change mentioned in the preceding note. He was therefore the first abbot of the new monastery, as our author says, and the last of the old.

his voice was musical, and he had an agreeable way of speaking. His strength of body enabled him to undergo much toil, while he was at all times ready to sing psalms and hymns. He was gifted with pleasing manners and courteous towards his brother monks. He was abstemious himself but generous to others, always alive for vigils, and incredibly modest. He did not plume himself with carnal ostentation on account of his noble birth, but obeyed the rule with unhesitating humility, and chose with pleasure to perform the lowest offices required of the monks. For many years he was in the habit of cleaning the brethren's shoes, washing their stockings, and cheerfully doing other services which appear mean to stupid and conceited persons. He ornamented a book of the gospels with gold, silver, and precious stones, and procured several vestments and copes for the chanters, with carpets, and curtains, and other ornaments, for the church. He got all he could from his brothers and relations, as occasion offered, and what he wrested from their bodily gratifications he applied with joy to divine offices for the good of their souls.

Richard de Coulonces, the brother of this Roger, came to St. Evroult and gave to the abbey the church of Étouvi, which he had redeemed from one Ernest, his tenant, adding the tithe of two mills. The grant of these possessions, in which Adelaide, his wife, and the aforesaid Ernest, joined, he placed on the altar. In return for this grant, the monks gave to Richard eight livres, and to Robert de Mowbray,¹ who was the paramount lord, a hundred shillings, whereupon he forthwith, in the orchard of Turstin de Soulangi,² confirmed the grant of the church of Étouvi as the monks required. This Richard de Coulonces became very rich, and being a favourite with King Henry rose to eminence among his peers. His prosperity continued to an advanced age, and he had by his wife eleven sons and four daughters, whose names are here given: Hugh, Geoffrey, Richard. John, Robert, Odo, Henry, Ivo, Rodolph, William, and Henry; Rohais, Adeliza, Matilda, and Avicia. Of these, two were dedicated to God from their infancy; for John

¹ Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, nephew of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances.

² Soulangi, near Falaise.

was admitted a monk at St. Evroult, and Adeliza became a nun in the convent of the Holy Trinity at Caen.

Richard de Coulonces died on the seventeenth of the calends of October [September 15], in the year of our Lord 1125; and the year following his son Hugh came to St. Evroult, and making an offering to God upon the altar, of a golden salver, truly confirmed the grant of all that his father had given as before-mentioned, placing also the charter on the altar. He also devoted himself to St. Evroult.

CH. V. *Abbot Mainier's journey to England—Obtains grants of lands and tithes for St. Evroult—The charter of William I.—Queen Matilda's visit—Abbots Roger-du Sap and Warin des-Essarts.*

ENCOURAGED by the serenity shed on affairs by prosperous times, Abbot Mainier crossed the sea to England in the fourteenth year of his government,¹ having in his company Roger de Warrene and Dreux de Neuf-Marché. He presented himself at the court of King William, from whom he had often received invitations, and paid friendly visits to Lanfranc the archbishop, and others, to whom he was greatly attached. He was treated with great respect by the king and his nobles, and took the opportunity of addressing prudent admonitions to the brethren of St. Evroult, who had left Normandy to better their fortunes, and obtained promotion in England. These distinguished monks were also received with favour by the great lords of the realm, whose kindness to the strangers was shown by the gifts heaped upon them out of the wealth acquired with violence in a foreign land. The king and his nobles joyfully made them gifts of farms, sums of money, and ornaments for their church, commending themselves to their prayers with confidence and devotion. At this time the possessions, churches, and tithes, which the friends and neighbours of the monks of St. Evroult had granted to them, were recorded in a charter for the better knowledge of posterity. The charter by which the illustrious William freely confirmed the grants made by himself and his liege-men to the abbey of St. Evroult, by his royal authority, is in these words:—

“William, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of

¹ In the year 1081.

Normandy and prince of Maine, to all who profess the catholic faith and keep the peace of the church, sends full and infinite joy. Whereas the life of man is short, and all things are transitory from one generation to another, we are pleased to confirm the statutes of our time by an instrument in writing, that what we duly execute, of our own right and the power given to us by God, none of our successors may presume to violate, lest he should be found to withstand Him who disposes kingdoms according to his will. I therefore William, by the grace of God king, have determined to endow, in frank-almoign, in the kingdom committed to me by God for my eternal profit, the convent of St. Evroult; and whatever my faithful subjects lawfully dedicate to God, for the common salvation of all, out of the possessions given them by me I ratify, and by these presents, under my hand, make known the confirmation to all now living, and to all the faithful in time to come. In the first place therefore I give, out of my domains, to the abbey of Ouche, which Evroult the holy confessor of Christ built in the wilderness, the ville called Rawell, that is, Goatswell, in Gloucestershire,¹ and, in Lincolnshire, the church of Nettleham,² with all its appurtenances. Moreover, the lords who hold under me having given the following domains to St. Evroult, have demanded that they should be secured by the authority of a royal charter against all pretenders. Roger of Shrewsbury hath given all that he holds at Melbourne, in Cambridgeshire,³ together with Onne and Marston⁴ in Staffordshire, and one hide of land in Graff-

¹ Before the conquest this manor belonged to the Saxon Ulward. The monks of St. Evroult exchanged it, by licence from Ed. I., with those of Winchcomb for twenty pounds rent out of their manors of Drymarston and Admington.

² Nettleham, three miles from Lincoln. Domesday book contains no record of this grant to St. Evroult. The patronage of the church has belonged from time immemorial to the bishop of Lincoln.

³ *Melbourne* and Meldreth, two parishes in the present hundred of Armingford in Cambridgeshire, are recorded in Domesday book as belonging to Roger de Montgomery.

⁴ *Little-On*, in the parish of Church-Eaton, Staffordshire; the church is of Norman architecture. Marston is a manor near Stafford, and gave name to a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Mary there. In Domesday book, Marston is appropriated to the abbey of St. Evroult, under Earl Roger. The manor afterwards belonged to the Giffards of Chillington.

ham,¹ and the land of Wulfine the goldsmith, at Chichester, and the tithes of cheese and wool at Poulton,² and the tithes of Shengay in Cambridgeshire. Likewise Mabel, the said earl's daughter, gave out of her rents in England sixty pence sterling for the lights of the church. Warin, viscount of Shrewsbury, gave to St. Evroult Newton³ and the church and tithes of Hales, with the tithes of Weston in Staffordshire. All these Earl Roger his lord confirmed. Moreover, Hugh de Grantmesnil, (who, with his brother Robert and his uncles William and Robert, sons of Giroie, rebuilt the abbey of St. Evroult), gave the following hereditaments in England to hold for ever: all the land he had in Little Pillerton in Warwickshire, and two parts of the tithes of all his lands, together with sixteen villeins to collect the tithes, and nine churches. He gave also three villeins at Shilton,⁴ two at Ware,⁵ two at Belgrave, one at Stoughton, one at Laughton, one at Tormodeston, one at Kirkby,⁶ one at Merston, one at Oxhill,⁷ one at Charlton, and one in the other Charlton.⁸ He also gave the church of Ware, with all the tithes belonging thereto, and two plough-lands; and

¹ *Graffham*, a parison near Midhurst in Sussex.

² *Poulton*, in the hundred of Highworth, Wilts.

³ *Newton*, a hamlet in the parish of Blithfield, *Sherriff-Hales* (from Warin the viscount), and *Weston-under-Lizzard*, all in Staffordshire. Newton and Weston were held of the king *in capite* at the time of making Domesday book, by Reginald de Baliol, who married the widow of Warin the viscount, and succeeded him in his office. Hales was at the same time held *in capite* by Earl Roger, and under him by Reginald de Baliol. It afterwards became the chief seat in England of the family of Pantoul, called also Paunton, Pantulf, or Pandulf. William Pantoul was a great benefactor to St. Evroult, and the connexion continued after the family settled in England. See b. v. c. 16.

⁴ *Earl-Shilton*, a manor and chapel in the parish of Kirkby-Malory, in the hundred of Sparkenhoe in Leicestershire.

⁵ *Ware* in Hertfordshire, a priory dependent upon the abbey of St. Evroult. The prior acted as general proctor for the abbey in England, not only as regarded the possessions of that house, but also for those of its priories of Noyon and Neuf-Marché.

⁶ *Belgrave*, near Leicester; *Stoughton*, a hamlet in the parish of Thornby; *Church-Langton*, near Market-Harborough; *Tormodeston* (Thurmeston), a hamlet and chapel in the parish of Belgrave; *Kirkby-Malory*, mentioned before, in Leicestershire.

⁷ *Butlers-Merston*; *Oxhill* (Ostesilve); parishes in the hundred of Kineton in Warwickshire.

⁸ *Charlton-Curlieu*, Leicestershire, and *Charlton-upon-Otmoor*, Oxfordshire.

the church of Turchillestone, the tithes thereto belonging, and two yard-lands: the church of Glendfield, with all the tithes, and two yard-lands; the church of Charlton with the tithes, and five yard-lands: the church of Nosley¹ with the tithes, and two yard-lands; the church of Mergrave, now called Belgrave, with the tithes and eleven yard-lands; with Wilcot,² and whatever Hugh the clerk of Sap held under him in England: the church of Merston³ with the tithes and land thereto belonging; also the church of Pilardenton, with the tithes and tenements appertaining to the church; the church of the other Charlton, with the tithes and three yard-lands; the church of Cotesford,⁴ with the tithes and one hide of land; and the church of Peatling, with all that Leofric held there under him.⁵ These are the possessions which Hugh de Grantmesnil hath given to St. Evroult with my consent. Also Ralph de Conches hath given to the said saint two manors, Alvinton in Worcestershire and Caldecot in Norfolk;⁶ and Hugh, the son of Constantius, hath given the church of Guafra and one hide of land.⁷ Moreover, Hugh, earl of Chester, hath dedicated his son Robert to God, as a monk in the abbey of St. Evroult, and hath given to the same church one hide of

¹ *Turchillestone* (Thurcaston) *Glendfield*, *Nosley*, all in Leicestershire.

² *Wilcot*, a manor and hamlet in the parish of Quinton, Gloucestershire.

³ *Merston*; Butler's-Merston, already mentioned. The patronage of the church did not rest with the abbey of St. Evroult, which possessed only the tithes. Ralph-the-Butler gave it to the abbey of Alcester.

⁴ *Cotesford*, a parish in the hundred of Ploughley, Oxfordshire. The manor had been granted to Ralph d'Ivri, Hugh de Grantmesnil's son-in-law, when Domesday book was compiled. His wife, Adeline de Grantmesnil, gave it to the abbey of Bec, with several other manors composing her dowry, and her sister Rohais, married to Robert de Courci, gave to the same abbey a manor she held by the same title at Cotesford. The monks of St. Evroult ceded the patronage of this church to the priory of Okebourne, a cell of Bec.

⁵ In Leicestershire; part of the domains of Adeliza, Hugh de Grantmesnil's wife, when Domesday book was made, which says that Leofric held under her eight plough-lands and a half. Peatling was called a priory until about the year 1379, when it is described as a dependency on Ware.

⁶ *Alton*, a hamlet in the parish of Rock, hundred of Doddingtree, Worcestershire; *Caldecot*, a hamlet, formerly a parish, in the hundred of Guenhow, Norfolk.

⁷ *Guafra*, *Wara*, *Ozer*, Churchover, in the hundred of Knighton, Warwickshire. In Domesday book it is part of the fief of Robert de Stafford, brother of this Ralph de Conches, or Toni.

land in Little Pilardenton,¹ and the tithes of one farmer in the vill called Birch-hill,² and the tithes of Shenley in Buckinghamshire. Also Robert de Rhuddlan, with the consent of his lord, the said Hugh, earl of Chester, gave Kirby,³ with two churches, one in the village itself, and the other at the manor lying near, surrounded by the sea; together with the church of St. Peter the apostle and its appurtenances, in the city of Chester;⁴ and the church of St. Lawrence at Marston, in Northamptonshire, with its appurtenances; and in the same county the church of Byfield, with two ploughlands.⁵ Also other mesne-tenants of Earl Hugh gave to St. Evroult tithes in Lincolnshire, viz., Roscelin of Stainton, Osbern, son of Tezson, of Newbold, Baldric de Fairford,⁶ the tythe with one villein; Roger de Millai,⁷ and Brisard, and Robert Pultrel⁸ in Leicestershire. All these gave their tithes to St. Evroult, and the aforesaid earl freely confirmed the grant. All the aforesaid lands which I have given to the abbey, often before mentioned, from my own demesne, and which my barons and I have confirmed to the same, I ratify by this present charter, made at the city of

¹ *Little Pillerton*, in the hundred of Kineton, Warwickshire.

² There are three adjoining parishes of this name in the hundred of Newport, Buckinghamshire. *Shenley*, in the same hundred, has been mentioned before.

³ *West Kirby*, a parish in the hundred of Wirral, Cheshire. The church is dedicated to St. Bridget. The other church here mentioned is St. Mary's, in Hilburg-Eye (Norsk for an islet), now Hillbree, and annexed to the parish of St. Donald, belonging to the cathedral of Chester.

⁴ The abbey and convent of St. Evroult afterwards gave up to the monks of St. Werburgh at Chester all their rights in this and the two preceding churches, in consideration of a yearly rent of twenty pounds issuing out of the manor of Peatling in Leicestershire.

⁵ *Marston-St.-Lawrence*, a parish in the hundred of King-Sutton; *Byfield*, in that of Chipping-Warden, both in Northamptonshire. These two manors formed part of the *hundred* of the earl of Chester, and were held under him by Robert de Rhuddlan when Domesday-book was compiled.

⁶ All in the division of Lindsey in Lincolnshire. These three places were part of the domains of Earl Hugh, and the names mentioned in the charter are included among his vassals in Domesday-book.

⁷ Roger de Millai was also a mesne tenant of Earl Hugh in Teddington. His surname was brought with him from Normandy, very probably from the parish of Mélai in Cinglais.

⁸ This Robert de Pultrel gave his name to Ilotton, a hamlet of the parish of Pustwold, also held of Earl Hugh. The name of Poultrél is still common in Normandy.

Winchester, in the year of our Lord 1081, the fourth indication; and I deliver this instrument to be executed with the mark of the holy cross, to those my capital tenants, who have given their lands in frank almoign or their sureties, that this endowment may be for ever ratified by royal authority, and that sacrilegious invaders of sacred rights may incur the penalty of an irrevocable anathema, unless they repent of their crime."

In consequence William, the great king of England, first affixed the sign of the holy cross to this charter, and after him the following nobles also subscribed, whose names are hereunder written: viz. Robert and William, the king's sons and earls of the highest rank; Roger of Shrewsbury, Hugh of Chester, Ralph de Conches, and William de Breteuil, Hugh de Grantmesnil and his nephew Robert de Rhuddlan,¹ Robert son of Murdac,² Goulfier de Villeraï,³ William de Molines,⁴ Richer de Laigle, Eudes the steward, and Warin, Viscount of Shrewsbury.⁵

On his return from England, Abbot Mainier brought with him this charter and laid it up in the archives of the church. Then Queen Matilda, hearing a good report of the life of the monks, came to St. Evroult to pay her devotions, and being received by the brethren with due honours offered a mark of gold on the altar, and commended herself with her daughter Constance to the prayers of the brethren.⁶ She also ordered

¹ Rhuddlan in Flintshire.

² This noble family, which has extended its branches both in Normandy and England, and a member of which was archbishop of York in the twelfth century, appears to have been originally lords of Courtonne-la-Meurdrac, near Lisieux. In Domesday-book we find Robert, son of Murdac, described as tenant *in capite* of two manors, one in Oxfordshire, the other in Hampshire.

³ See b. iii. c. 19.

⁴ See b. v. c. 13.

⁵ Warin, the viscount, often mentioned before. See p. 196. He was not, however, the brother of Reginald de Baliol, but his first wife's husband.

⁶ It appears from this passage that Queen Matilda remained in Normandy while William was in England. M. Le Prévost remarks that he was mistaken in fixing the marriage of Constance with Alan Fergan, duke of Brittany, about the year 1077, when she was quite young. See c. 13, p. 105. She may have been betrothed about that time (1076), but the marriage did not take place till 1086.

that a refectory of stone, for their common use, should be built at her expense. She further gave to St. Evroult a chasuble enriched with gold and jewels, and an elegant cope for the chanter, with a promise to make further offerings if she lived; but she was prevented by death from fulfilling it. Likewise Adeline, wife of Roger de Beaumont,¹ gave to the monks of St. Evroult an alb fringed with gold, which the priest was used to wear when celebrating mass on solemn occasions. In like manner many persons of both sexes made offerings of various kinds to the abbey, desiring to participate in the spiritual benefits which were there conferred by the Maker of the universe.

At this time three brothers served God with merit in the monastic habit at St. Evroult; Roger, surnamed Nicholas, Roger and Odo. They were the sons of a priest named Gervase de Montreuil, who had been long ago transferred by abbot Theodoric from being curate of the parish of Les Essarts to that of Sap. The three brothers made their profession while they were youths, and becoming remarkable among the brethren for their worth, were highly esteemed both by God and man. The eldest was an unlearned man, but a devoted lover of virtue, and he skilfully superintended the work of building the new church. The two others were eminent scholars and priests, firm supporters of their superior, and his able vicars, both within and without the convent. The abbot made Odo prior of his monastery, for though he was the youngest brother he was the best speaker and most fitted for active affairs. Roger the eldest brother who had made the greatest advances in learning, was sent to England on affairs of the church. In this he promptly obeyed his superior's command; he also made by his own efforts a shrine to hold relics of the saints, which he elegantly ornamented with silver and gold.² His skill procured many treasures for the church, such as a variety of furniture, and copes and vestments for the chanters, sconces, silver dishes, and other

¹ She was daughter of Waleran, and sister of Hugh, count de Meulan, who became a monk at Bec in 1077, and died in 1079 or 1089. She married Roger de Beaumont in 1036, and died in 1081.

² A *chasse*, or reliquary, of very ancient and curious workmanship, which may possibly have been that here mentioned, escaped the plunder of the revolution, and is still preserved at St. Evroult.

ornaments used in divine service. He was gentle and modest, temperate in food, drink, and sleep, and beloved by all for his kind disposition. Having filled the various offices which the monastic system requires for twenty years, he was afterwards promoted, by common consent of the brethren, to succeed Mainier and Serlo in the government of the abbey of St. Evroult.¹ He held it for thirty-three years through good and evil fortune, but finding himself broken by the infirmities of age, he committed it to one of his disciples named Warin, and for three years before his death, made him, as far as possible, his deputy and successor.² But of these affairs, if life be spared me, I shall, with God's help, give a full account in the sequel of this history. I now return to the enumeration of the possessions granted to the abbey of St. Evroult.

CH. VI. *How the tithes of Lommoie were granted to the abbey of St. Evroult.*

THE young Ralph, son of Albert de Cravent, at the commencement of his military career, fell in with Guitmond the monk³ in the valley of Guyon, coming from Maule, attended by a servant; and unhorsing the monk, carried off the palfreys. The monk made his way to Paci on foot, and in great tribulation implored Albert's protection against his son.⁴ The knight however replied superciliously, and at once refused to render him any assistance in the recovery of his horses. Upon finding this, Alberede his wife began making lamentations, tossing her hands, and tearing her hair, and mourning for her son as if he were just dead. She cried out like a distracted person, exclaiming with mingled groans and tears: "My son Ralph, you have begun your career in folly rather than in arms. Alas! you have listened to detestable teachers, and, foolish boy! have been led astray by their fatal sophisms, by which you are miserably drawn to the brink

¹ Roger du Sap was consecrated abbot of St. Evroult the 24th of August, 1099.

² Warin des Essarts was consecrated on Ascension day, the 24th of May, 1123. His predecessor survived till January 13, 1126 or 1127.

³ Prior of Maule. See book v. c. 19.

⁴ Paci-sur-Eure. Albert probably had a command in the garrison. The valley of Guyon must have lain between it and Maule.

of perdition. What a sad message have you sent me! what bitter grief have you occasioned me! misguided young man! what shall I say to you? You have incurred fatal degradation by unjustly treating an unarmed servant of Christ. O my son Ralph! what were you doing in your folly when your first passage in arms was against the Almighty? I am persuaded full well, that I shall have small cause for joy and abundant sorrow for your exploit. Do not all the doctors of the church agree in asserting unanimously, that the Most High dwells in his saints and shares with them good and evil? And you, his father, come to the aid of your infatuated son, and use all diligence to have the stolen horses restored to the disconsolate monk, lest your only son should, for such a crime, be forthwith given over to the devil." The prudent mother thus supplicating for her son's welfare, and seriously endeavouring to console the distressed monk, Albert and all his household were moved and frightened, and his mule being returned he sent his men-at-arms with him as far as Bréval, and having severely reprimanded his son insisted on his instantly giving up every thing he had taken from him. Guitmond therefore, recovering his horses, departed for Paci, having returned thanks to Albert and his wife, both of whom solicited and obtained his pardon for the offence which had been committed. Alberede was daughter of Hugh bishop of Evreux,¹ and was highly esteemed by the neighbours for her great worth, as far as things were in her power.

The same year the young man just spoken of fell sick, and repenting of his crime sought for pardon from the monks of St. Evroult, and devoted himself and all he possessed to the saint. At his death his sorrowing father caused his corpse to be conveyed to the abbey, and gave one moiety of the tithes of Lommoie to St. Evroult, free as he himself possessed it. The other moiety was held of him by the monks of Coulombs,² under the agreement that they should pay and perform on his behalf all episcopal dues and all services which were reserved. This grant was made to St. Evroult in the year of our lord 1070, when Philip was king of France and Geoffrey (nephew of Reginald, bishop of Paris) was bishop

¹ Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, who died at the council of Rheims, held in October, 1049, was eldest son of Ralph, count d'Ivri, uncle of Richard II.

² An abbey on the right bank of the Eure, near Nogent-le-roi.

of Chartres.¹ Ralph Malvoisin, who was the lord of the fee, freely granted at Médan, on the request of abbot Mainier, the tithes of Lommoie, which as before related belonged to the church.

Not long afterwards Albert himself died, and his body was carried to St. Evroult, and the gift of the tithes was confirmed by his heirs, Guy his son-in-law, Everard de Rai his son, and Ralph de La Cunelle, and others who have succeeded to the present time; and the monks of St. Evroult, by God's mercy, have quietly possessed them for nearly sixty years under three bishops, Geoffrey, Ivo, and Geoffrey.²

CH. VII. *Foundation of the priory of Aufay near Dieppe, a cell to St. Evroult—Possessions belonging to it in Normandy and England.*

I WISH now to commit to writing for the benefit of posterity how and at what time the cell of Aufay, in the county of Talou,³ was erected, and subjected to the monks of St. Evroult, in the time of King William and Archbishop John, and to record in this work the charter of donation and confirmation which was authorized by King Henry.

As human life is constantly fleeting, and mortal man must irrecoverably part with the possessions which he has used the greatest exertions to acquire, every one ought faithfully to obey the commandments of God while he lives and has it in his power, that, holding transitory things in contempt, he may by God's grace obtain those that are eternal. Taking this into his serious consideration, a noble Norman knight, named Gilbert, son of Richard de Heugleville,⁴ at the instance

¹ From July 30, 1077—1089. The date given in the text is incorrect, though it is written at full length in the MS. of St. Evroult. It should probably have been 1080. This Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, has been mentioned before, book v. c. 16.

² Geoffrey I., 1077—1089; Ives, 1090—1115; Geoffrey II., 1116—1149. This paragraph must have been written some time about the year 1140.

³ The priory of Aufay, in the county of Talou, on the Sie, a rivulet which discharges itself into the sea a little to the west of Dieppe. Aufay is the second station on the railroad to Rouen, as Longueville, presently mentioned, the original seat of the Giffards, earls and dukes of Buckingham, is the first.

⁴ Heugleville-sur-Sie.

of his wife Beatrice, determined to establish monks on his patrimonial domains at Aufay, by whose intercessions and merits he might be aided in the day of account. His nephew Dreux had lately retired from his worldly service, and become a monk in the monastery of St. Evroult the confessor, for which reason Gilbert had become much attached to abbot Mainier and the monks, and gave them the church of St. Mary d'Aufay, with all his prebends; in such wise that six monks should be appointed instead of the six canons who then served the church, and should succeed to their prebends when the canons died or gave up their secular calling for a stricter rule of life. The aforesaid lord gave also to the same monks all the vill of Parc,¹ with the church and entire tithes of the same vill, as free and discharged from all burdensome services, as he held it himself. He released the men of Parc from all compulsory service, except they were summoned by the duke of Normandy in a general levy. He gave for yearly tithes from his mill at Aufay two bushels of wheat, and half a bushel of any sort of grain from another mill on the Sie. He also granted liberty for the monks to receive daily two ass-loads of fire-wood from his forest of Hérichards. The aforesaid knight had the fee of two waggon loads of wine yearly from the duke of Normandy, out of which he granted for ever to the monks one muid for use in celebrating the mass. He further gave two churches, with all the tithes and land belonging to them, one at Parc which was built in honour of St. Mary, mother of God, and the other at Beaunai, dedicated to St. Peter, prince of the apostles. These being prebends of the church of Aufay were then held by two of the canons. Ralph served the church of Parc, but some time afterwards he was overtaken by a tempest as he was returning from England, and the ship being wrecked, perished in the sea with all on board. Walter had the church of Beaunai, but he soon afterwards became a monk of St. Evroult.

All these Gilbert, with his wife Beatrice, freely gave to the church of God for the good of his soul, and he often used his best efforts to persuade his tenants and friends to augment his endowment. Geoffrey therefore, one of his knights, gave to St. Mary the church of St. Denys² with all

¹ Notre-Dame-du-Parc.

² St. Denys-sur-Sie.

the tithes, recovering for the church by entreaties and purchase the portions thereof which three knights, Osbern Capes, and two sons of Aszo, Bernard and Ralph, held of him. He also gave a farm, with the villeins and all the services due from them, in La Rue-Sauvage. Robert, a knight of Heugleville, gave to the monks the church of St. Aubin with the tithes, receiving a gratuity of sixteen livres of Rouen. Bernard, son of Geoffrey de Neuf Marché, granted to St. Mary the church of Speen¹ with the land belonging to it, and all the tithes which Everard the priest held, and gave for exchange of the churches of Burghill and Brinsop² twenty-pence of the rents of Newbury, at the feast of St. Michael. Baldric son of Nicholas, gave one burgess at Dieppe,³ and Ralph son of Ansered one cottier at Hotot.⁴

In the year of our Lord 1079, the second indiction, in the fourteenth year of William the Great,⁵ king of England and duke of Normandy, the aforesaid Gilbert and Beatrice his wife deposited the donation of the possessions before mentioned on the altar of St. Mary, in the presence of the following witnesses: Gilbert, Ralph, Walter, and John, the four canons of that church; Bernard de Neuf-Marché, Geoffrey de St. Denys, Osbern Capes, and Osbern Budo, Eustace de Carcuit, and Eustace de Torci, Robert de Heugleville, Roger de Parc, and many others.

At last, Gilbert dying on the eighteenth of the calends of September [the 15th August], and having been honourably interred by the monks he had established on his domains, his son Walter succeeded to the fief, and confirmed the grant of all that his father and his vassals had

¹ Speen, near Newbury, Berkshire.

² Burghill and Brinsop, two parishes in Herefordshire.

³ Dieppe had been recently built. It appears not to have been in existence as a town when William first embarked there on his return to England in 1067. (See book iv. c. 4.) There might have been a few scattered huts near the mouth of the river Arques from an early period, as Roger de Toni, who was contemporary with Duke Richard I., gave his *vill* of Dieppe to the abbey of Conches; but the place really owed its foundation to the intercourse with England which sprung up after the conquest.

⁴ Hotot-sur-Dieppe.

⁵ As the donation here referred to was made before the 15th of August, 1079, it must have been in the *thirteenth* year of William I., reckoning his reign from Christmas, 1066.

given to St. Mary. Again also, in the time of Robert duke of Normandy, having married Avicia, daughter of Herbrand de Sackville, at her instance he ratified the endowment made by his father and mother by his own act. He also added the tenth of the tolls of Aufay, and six burgesses, with all their services, entirely releasing them from all obligation to himself, except in respect of the general service due to the duke of Normandy. He also granted to the monks liberty to fish at their pleasure in all his waters.

Moreover, his wife Avicia, in her zealous love of God, gave to the monks sixty pence out of her rents payable on the calends [1st] of October to buy, yearly, oil and wax for lights in the church, together with incense; and she offered the deed of gift with her husband on the altar of St. Mary. The witnesses to these grants were Adam and William, sons of Tedfred, Osbern Buflo, and Eustace de Torci, Robert de Cropus,¹ and Robert, son of Godmond, John-Catus, and many others. Some years afterwards the same Walter and Avicia his wife, making progress in devotion to God, demanded from Roger, abbot of St. Evroult, twelve monks, and assigned for their necessary sustenance the mill of Parc, which paid eleven bushels, and five acres of land at Heugleville, with three cottiers paying fifteen pence of yearly rent. and the church of the Holy Trinity, with the whole tithe, at the ville called "The Hundred Acres."

All these grants to the monks of St. Evroult by Gilbert and his mesne-tenants, were ratified by the confirmation of William, king of England, and John and William, archbishops of Rouen. Afterwards Robert II., duke of Normandy, granted to the monks of St. Evroult all that Walter,² son of Gilbert, added to his father's endowment; and also granted them licence to hold a fair at Parc on the nativity of St. Mary, and, by Walter the elder, surnamed Giffard, entirely prohibited every one from having any toll or privilege in it except the monks. Moreover, his brothers William Rufus and Henry, kings of England, and Geoffrey the archbishop, granted to the monks of St. Evroult all the

¹ Cropus, to the N.E. of Aufay. Walter de Cropus settled in Brecknockshire after the conquest.

² Walter Giffard, second of that name, earl of Buckingham and lord of Longueville.

premises before mentioned, which they have now peaceably possessed for many years. The canons gave place to monks, perceiving that the latter excelled them in virtues to which they were unable to attain. Guinimar, Benedict, and John his son, associated themselves with the monks for many years, and their infirmities increasing, at last departed. But Gilbert, who was far the most intelligent of the canons, and Walter, voluntarily embraced the monastic rule, and, engaging in a stricter course of life, died worn out with age.

CH. VIII. *Account of the lords of Aufay and their connections*
 —*Bernard de Neuf-Marché, lord of Brecknock and others*
 —*The author advocates the practice of endowing monasteries.*

It is now my intention to give some account of the origin of the lords of Aufay, and their acts. Gilbert, surnamed the Advocate of St. Valery,¹ married a daughter of Duke Richard, by whom he had Bernard, father of Walter de St. Valery and Richard Heugleville. Richard was long employed in the military service of his uncle, Richard, duke of Normandy, from whom he received in marriage the noble Ada, widow of the elder Herluin of Heugleville, with all her inheritance. The duke also made him many presents, and promised him more; which promises he would have liberably performed if Richard had taken pains to please him. He built a town at the place formerly called Isnelville, on the river Sie, and called it from the hill above it overspread with beech-trees, Aufay [Alfagium], introducing among his colonists the customs of Corneilles. This Richard was distinguished for his military conduct and great liberality, whereby he was formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his friends.

¹ *Advocatus*. It is meant that the lords of St. Valery (sur Somme) did not hold the fief in their own right. They were tributaries to the abbey founded there by Clothaire in 613, to which the lordship belonged. It was not likely, that as this was the port from which the Norman fleet sailed for the conquest of England, its lords would be forgotten in the division of the spoil. We find, accordingly, Walter de St. Valery possessed, among other domains, of the extensive manor of Isleworth, Middlesex, which continued to be part of the English barony of St. Valery. It was still held by Robert, count de Dreux, in 1220, in right of his wife Annora, daughter and heiress of Thomas, lord of St. Valery-sur-Somme.

During the non-age of William, Duke Robert's son, when William d'Arques revolted against the duke,¹ and almost all the lords of Talou likewise deserted the cause of the bastard prince, Richard alone held his castle near the church of St. Aubin against the rebels, and endeavoured to defend the country round in its allegiance to the duke against the irruptions of the garrison of Arques. He was seconded in this enterprise by his sons-in-law Geoffrey and Hugh de Morimont, both sons of Turketil de Neuf-Marché;² but Hugh having been suddenly surrounded, with his followers, by the people of Arques near Morimont, they were cut to pieces, defending themselves bravely. As for Geoffrey, he had two sons by Ada, daughter of Richard, Bernard and Dreux, whose lots were very different. Dreux relinquished military service and devoted himself to a religious life at St. Evroult; becoming a monk, he learnt letters, and rose through the different gradations of holy orders to the priesthood. On the contrary, Bernard continued in the career of arms till an advanced age, and served in the wars under three kings of England with great bravery.³ In the time of William Rufus, he fought a battle with Rhys, king of Wales, and having slain him, built the castle of Brecknock, and possessed the kingdom of the Welsh, of which Talgarth was the capital for many years.⁴ He also built a church in honour of St. John the Evangelist in his town of Brecknock,

¹ This rebellion broke out in 1053.

² As to Geoffrey de Neuf-Marché, see book iii. c. 10, and book v. c. 12.

³ For Bernard de Neuf-Marché, lord of Brecknock, and his wife Nesta or Agnes, daughter of Trahaern-ap-Caradoc, king of North Wales, and their posterity, see *Dugdale's Monast. Anglic.* vol. i. p. 319.

At the time Domesday-book was compiled, Bernard did not possess any estates in England. The manor of Speen belonged to Humphrey Vis-de-Lew; Burghill and Brinsop to a Saxon named Alfred de Marlborough, and Newbury was not yet built on the territory of Speen. Bernard's signature appears on the charter of William the Conqueror to Battle Abbey, but it is probable that he did not acquire the domains here mentioned till the time of William Rufus.

⁴ Rhys-ap-Tewdor, king of South Wales, was slain in 1091, at the age of ninety-eight, gallantly defending his country and throne, in the battle fought near Brecknock with Robert Fitz-Hamon and his confederates. His tomb is seen in the cathedral of St. David's. Talgarth is situated ten miles N.E. from Brecknock.

and settling monks there, endowed them with the tithes of all his possessions.¹

Gilbert, Richard's son, married Beatrice, daughter of Christian de Valenciennes,² an illustrious captain, who bore to her husband Walter, Hugh and Beatrice. This lord, the duke's kinsman, fought by his side at the head of his vassals in all the principal actions during the English war. But when William became king and peace was restored, Gilbert returned to Normandy, notwithstanding William offered him ample domains in England; for with innate honesty of character, he refused to participate in the fruits of rapine. Content with his patrimonial estates, he declined those of others, and piously devoted his son Hugh to a monastic life under abbot Mainier in the monastery of St. Evroult. He lived long with his religious wife, who was a cousin of Queen Matilda, and continued to the end in the practice of almsgiving, prayers, and other good works. The venerable Beatrice survived her husband three years, and died in a holy confession on the second of the nones [4th of January].

Walter was a young man of elegance but little wisdom; in consequence of which he paid a ready submission to Edmund and other false teachers. Frequenting the society of spendthrifts, he wasted his inheritance by their pernicious advice, and troubled the monks and clergy and tenants with frequent and unjust attacks. Having been knighted, he married Avicia, the accomplished and beautiful daughter of Herbrand,³ by whose counsels and wise influence he was in a measure withdrawn from his evil ways. She was prudent, fluent in speech, and devoted to God from her youth, exercising herself in good works to the utmost of her power. She had three brothers, Jordan, William, and Robert, distinguished knights, by whose assistance their brother-in-law prevailed against his crafty advisers, and recovered much which he had dissipated and lost by fraud and robbery. Avicia bore her husband twelve sons and daughters, most of whom died prematurely in their infancy. She herself, after

¹ Bernard made the priory of Brecon a dependency on Battle Abbey.

² This lady probably came into Normandy with the Duchess Matilda, being her cousin, as we are told towards the close of the paragraph.

³ De Sackville.

living fifteen years with her husband, died on the eighth of the calends of March [22nd February], and was buried in the cloisters of the monks she so much loved, near the church door. Prior Warin caused an arch of stone to be built over her grave, and Vitalis the Englishman composed her epitaph, as follows:—

HAVISE, a noble lady, lies below,
 May Christ on her eternal rest bestow!
 Her life to excellence in virtue's ways
 She framed with earnest zeal—her highest praise.
 Still she was fair, and to her beaming face,
 Wisdom gave eloquence, and talent grace.
 To God her earliest years she willing lent,
 Her steps to mass and vespers daily bent;
 Then WALTER D'AUFAY's honoured wife became,
 Bore him twelve scions of his ancient name,
 And fifteen years maintained her spotless fame.
 For sacred rites this priory she endowed,
 With her own ornaments the altars glowed;
 Nor cost nor care for priests and monks she spared,
 And widows, sick, and poor, her bounty shared.
 When February's latter days gave promise fair,
 And holy church kept feast of "Peter's chair,"¹
 High festival, o'ershadowed then with gloom,
 Saw pious Havise summoned to the tomb.
 Ye men of Aufay, mourn your lady lost;
 Christ, number her among the heavenly host! Amen.

Walter survived his wife's funeral nearly three years, and suffering under a lingering disease, assumed the habit of a monk, and soon afterwards, having made his confession and received absolution, he died on the sixth of the calends of June [26th May]. Prior Hildegord buried him at the feet of his wife, and Vitalis made the following verses upon him:—

SIR WALTER, LORD OF AUFAY, here finds rest;
 Peace be his endless portion with the blest!
 A cloistered monk, he went from hence to heaven,
 When May's bright suns had numbered twenty-seven.
 His sins confessed, his lingering tortures ceased,
 Christ's mercy shield him, from his guilt released! Amen.

¹ The 22nd of February, the day on which the church celebrates the anniversary of the installation of St. Peter as patriarch of Antioch, which is supposed to have taken place on the 22nd of February, 37. His installation at Rome has the date assigned it of January 18, 44. These two feasts, which are of very high antiquity, bear the name of "St. Peter's Chairs."

Walter left at his death four orphan children; Richard, Jordan, Walter, and Elias; who fell to the guardianship of King Henry, and he entrusted the government of the lordship of Aufay to Robert the viscount, for two years. Meanwhile, Jordan de Sackville obtained the whole fief by his services and presents to the king, and had the custody of his nephews to bring them up out of their own patrimony, which for four years he managed well and improved. Richard, however, died when he was only twelve years old, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, mother of God. Jordan then succeeded his brother; he was a handsome youth, and his conduct was excellent. Having learnt his military exercises in the court of Henry, that king gave him a prudent and handsome wife, Juliana, the daughter of Godescalch, who had followed Queen Adelaide to England from the country of Louvaine.¹

Thus far I have frequently spoken of the affairs of St. Evroult, which fill the greatest part of my book. I entreat my reader not to be displeased, if, mindful of benefits conferred, I make mention of our benefactors. It is indeed my desire to fix firmly in the memory of posterity the history of our founders and their benevolent fellow labourers, that the children of the church may be mindful before God, in the presence of angels, of those by whose endowments subsistence is provided for them while they perform the services of the Creator of all things. Thus when Abram returned victorious from the slaughter of the four kings, and recovered his nephew Lot, with his fellow captives of both sexes and all his substance, he commanded his confederates to take their share of the spoils of Sodom. By Abram, which signifies the supreme father, are to be understood those men of perfection who contend daily with evil spirits and the sins of the flesh, overcoming the world and the prince of this world, and treading under foot and esteeming as dung worldly vanities and the temptations of the flesh. By Lot led into captivity by the barbarians, but nobly delivered

¹ Adelaide, Adeliza, or Alice, de Louvain, daughter of Godfrey I., count of Brabant and Louvain, and Ida of Namur, was married to Henry I. in 1121, his first queen, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, having died in 1118. Adeliza was remarkable for her great beauty. See *Huntingdon's History*, p. 249 (*Bohn's edition*).

by the active valour of his spiritual uncle (Lot signifying one bound or led aside), is meant the carnal mind or brutal people, enchained in Sodom, that is in sinful delights, and which fast bound in the embraces of sin, is led astray from God and made captive by evil spirits. By the confederates of Abram who, as we read, fought in his company, are justly signified those faithful laymen who at his command are said to have received a share of the spoils. For thus it is written in the book of Genesis: "And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the persons and take the goods to thyself. And Abram replied to him, I will not receive anything that is thine, save only that which the young men have eaten and the portion of the men which came with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre: let them take their portion."¹ Many of the laity are distinguished by their courteous and decorous manners, are united in faith and good-will to the regular soldiers of Christ, and kindly cheer them in their manful conflicts with the demons. But they do not give up the fleeting world, nor entirely relinquish its advantages, they are bound to it by a legal servitude, and they offend God by repeated transgressions of his law; but they expiate their sins by alms, as Daniel counsels. They found monasteries for the service of God, from the portions they receive of the spoils of the enemy, and from the mammon of iniquity they piously erect hospitals for the sick and poor, and provide food and clothing for the votaries of heaven out of their substance. Moreover, the king of Sodom, when congratulating Abram on his victory, represents the devil who daily tempts the saints with a thousand artifices, assailing them night and day with blandishments and terrors, and craftily employing all the delights of the world, its wealth and its honours, to the sole purpose of drawing souls into his own pit of perdition. We find, however, that Abram despised the king's smooth flatteries, and disdained to accept either his praises or his gifts, only suffering his companions in arms to receive their portions, and what was necessary for their subsistence. So it is that holy men while they spend the time of their warfare in this present life despise all worldly things in their

¹ Genesis xiv. 21—24. Our author, as usual, is not very exact in his quotations from the sacred writings.

desire after heavenly, and desire no reward for their sanctity. Still they warn the great men of the world, who are their fellow heirs of the catholic faith and the hope of everlasting bliss, that they ought to endow the monasteries with some portion of their domains and fortunes, and thus support by their gifts the poor and the despisers of the world, that they may claim eternal glory from Christ who saith, that he dwells with the poor. It may be proved by many authorities and examples that men are the gainers towards their eternal salvation to the full extent of all they mercifully distribute in alms, according to our Saviour's precept; for what they lavishly spend in carnal delights, or throw away to no purpose on the empty splendour of worldly felicity, passes away like flowing water never to return. Those also who amass great wealth to leave it to their heirs often, alas! lay up for themselves an increase of perversity and wretchedness, and only take pains to bring up their children to many misfortunes, while they themselves, abandoned to robbery, rapine, and all kinds of wickedness, deservedly perish, undergoing the vengeance merited by their crimes. Thus it happens that they are neither fit for heaven or earth, and while their ungrateful heirs succeed to their ample possessions, those who have gathered enormous riches for unworthy successors are subject to the maledictions of many.

Wise and provident men make themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, who, while they receive their carnal things for the sustenance of life, repay their benefactors by their merits and prayers with spiritual and eternal benefits. Evroult of Bayeux took great pains to obtain such debtors. I have already related many things concerning him in the present work; I shall now enter into further particulars of this father, shortly abridging his acts as they have been handed down to us from old times, either in writing or by tradition, and endeavouring to insert his life in these pages for the edification of my readers.¹

¹ This legend of St. Evroult is very inferior, both in point of antiquity and as a composition, to that published by Mabillon in the *Acta SS. ord. S. Benedicti*, sæc. I., from the the two MSS. of Bec and Conches. But both literally agree in all the details.

CH. IX. *The life of St. Evroult, the founder of the abbey of that name in the forest of Ouche, in the sixth century.*

THE venerable father Evroult was descended from a noble family, and born at Bayeux.¹ His parents educated him with great care, and entrusted him to teachers of the catholic faith. Such was the facility with which he pursued his studies both in divinity and human learning that he is said to have excelled his masters while he was yet a boy. For divine grace, which foresaw that he would become a doctor of religion, efficaciously rendered him docile in all things. Nor did he, by the pride or self-conceit natural to his age, spoil the dignity of his exalted character. His person was graceful and his discourse agreeable, and no fickleness of temper ever led him to be severe to any one. Illustrious, as we have just remarked, by birth, and already marked out by the prescience of Almighty God, he presently became known to King Clothaire, son of Clovis, who was the first of the Frank kings who became Christian, and was baptized by St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, with three thousand of his nobles. Clothaire, discovering who Evroult was and his high nobility, ordered that he should be forthwith presented to him, judging that one so gifted with brilliant talents should serve in the offices of the state. Notwithstanding his humility, the Supreme Ruler gave him such favour with the earthly sovereign that he was preferred before others, and obtained the highest appointment in the palace. Endowed with great eloquence, he took his seat among the most learned officers of the court who had the administration of affairs. But while thus applying himself to secular affairs he never diverted his mind from the contemplation of heavenly love.

As on him rested the hope of continuing the line of his father's family, he was induced by the frequent well-intended instances of his friends to choose a wife of fitting birth. Marrying for the sake of offspring and not for carnal pleasure, he frequently meditated on the divine precepts,

¹ Mabillon places the birth of St. Evroult in the year 517. The flourishing state of the church of Bayeux during the first half of the sixth century is very remarkable. It then produced the two first heads of monastic establishments in Normandy, St. Marcellus and St. Evroult.

which he devoutly fulfilled. The man of God thus fully enjoyed temporal blessings, while using great care not to displease his Maker in the use of his benefits; and becoming very wealthy, delighted more in good works than in the abundance of his possessions. It was his anxious study to transfer to himself the virtues of the old fathers of whom he read accounts in many volumes. Multiplying his alms, and prayers, and vigils, he induced his wife to join him in the same holy course, so that, herself pious, her piety was increased by that of her husband. Thus living, though as yet a layman, he seemed scarcely to differ from those who were under the restraints of monastic discipline.

While this blessed man was thus worthily living under a certain rule of his own, and zealously submitting to the evangelical precepts, he happened to be struck with what was said by our Lord to his disciples in the gospel: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me."¹ The man of God had deeply stored in his mind, as the sum of perfection, that which truth itself promises to the contemners of this world: "Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have forsaken all things for my name's sake shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life."² Inflamed by these divine promises Evroult no longer confined himself within the boundary of his former discretion, but sold all that he had, and gave whatever was in his power to the poor. The wife he had married in order to become a father, he caused to take the veil, espoused to a heavenly husband, whilst he himself hastened to a monastery, like one escaped from shipwreck, and becoming a monk remained there for some time serving God in all humility; and the love of that holy state of life increased in him more and more.

The author of his life has not told us the name of the monastery to which the holy man retired. I think it, therefore, worth while shortly to note for the information of posterity what I have learnt from the reports of old persons respecting it. The venerable Martin, abbot of Vertou,³ had

¹ Luke ix. 23.

² Matthew xix. 29.

³ The history of this saint may be found in the *Acta SS. ord. Benedicti*, smc. i. p. 371. He was a native of Nantes, and founded the abbey of Vertou, near that city, about the 24th of October, 600.

founded a monastery in a place which from ancient times was commonly called Deux Jumeaux,¹ from the restoration to life of the twins which old accounts represent to have taken place there. For the twin children of a powerful lord had died prematurely and without baptism, which occasioned excessive sorrow to both their parents. But the blessed Martin, on his return from England, found his friends plunged in grief, and, imploring Heaven to give them relief, restored the twins to life by his prayers and merits, and dedicated them to God as monks on their own property. The village preserves to the present day the ancient name it derived from this occurrence, and great masses of stones, which formed the foundations of buildings, and ruined walls, prove that the territory of Bayeux was formerly the residence of men of great dignity. It is reported that Evroult, while yet a layman possessed of great wealth and honours, was a liberal contributor to the erection of this monastery. He aided with his counsel those who undertook it, encouraged the hesitating, and forwarded the new work by supplying funds, and in various other ways. At length he stripped himself of every thing, and retiring there became truly one of the poor in Christ, embracing the monastic rule, and engaging in the Christian warfare with the arms of obedience, so that he was a bright example to all observers.

When, however, the glorious confessor Evroult began to be honoured by the brethren on account of the grace of sanctity, he felt the danger he incurred of self-elation, and determined without delay to plunge into the wilderness and devote himself altogether to the contemplation of God, taking with him three monks who were attached to him by a familiar intercourse, and were as he knew well fitted for the struggle after the highest perfection. Passing therefore through the district of Exmes, they came to a place called Montfort,² and resting there, because the spot was pleasant and abounded with woods and springs, they led for awhile a solitary life according to the rules of holiness. But as there

¹ In the canton of Isigni. It is possible that a monastery may have existed in this place in the sixth century, and even that St. Evroult may have assumed the habit there. But it could not have been under St. Martin de Vertou, whose foundation was not anterior to that of St. Evroult.

² St. Evroult de Montfort, half a league north of Gacé.

were two castles in the neighbourhood, Exmes and Gacé¹ to which a number of people were attracted by judicial proceedings, the servants of God were often exposed to interruptions by the resort of so many strangers. It is reported that these towns existed in the time of Cesar² and stoutly resisted him, and that they were the seats of princes for many ages. It now happened that numbers of persons of all ranks, both high and low, to whom the noble lord was known when he was in an exalted station, came to visit him while he was fervently devoting himself to heavenly contemplations, and by their multiplied conversations on affairs in which they were interested, disturbed his mind when he was meditating on divine things. The venerable men therefore quitted the spot; on which a church was afterwards built in honour of St. Evroult, which is standing at this day.

In their ardour for a hermit's life, the monks then struck into a forest which the people of the neighbourhood call Ouche. It was fearfully gloomy from its depth of shade, the frequent resort of robbers after their predatory excursions, and the abode of ferocious animals.³ However, they traversed its vast solitudes with fearless steps, without being able to find a spot suited to their devotional purposes, when at length St. Evroult, in the fervour of his pure spirit, prayed to the Lord, saying: "O Lord Jesus Christ, who shewedst thyself to thy people Israel as their faithful guide in their journey through the wilderness by a column of cloud and of fire, vouchsafe mercifully to show us, who desire to

¹ Roger de Montgomery was viscount D'Exmes. Gacé is a little bourg on the post road from Lisseux to Alençon. Gacé stands on the skirts of the forest, through which it is a pleasant walk to St. Evroult.

² Our author evidently obtained the references he makes to the Roman antiquities of Normandy from a fabulous composition which was popular in the eleventh century under the title of *Gesta Romanorum*, but is now lost. There is no foundation for the accounts of Julius Cæsar's proceedings in this part of Gaul. See a preceding note respecting Lillebonne, p. 130.

³ This forest still overspreads the country in a circuit of fifty or sixty English miles. Like most of the French forests, it is for the most part denuded of timber, but while traversing its dense thickets on a gloomy evening for three leagues in one direction, the scene struck us as even now possessing many of the features ascribed to it by our author. The forest abounds with wild animals, including wolves, numbers of which are killed every winter.

escape the condemnation of Egyptian servitude, a place of liberty and an asylum for our weakness." Scarcely had he finished his prayer when an angel of the Lord appeared to the holy man, commissioned to point out what he desired. Following his guidance, the solitaries came to springs well suited for drinking, which, issuing from several sources shortly collected in one large pond. Kneeling down on this spot they offered fervent praises to God their conductor, who never forgets his servants who trust in him. After this thanksgiving, they invoked the name of the Lord, and built a hut with boughs and leaves, just large enough to shelter its intended inhabitants; and having made an inclosure round it by a slight fence of the same materials, settled themselves in it, having obtained the quiet resting place they had long coveted. The freer their service now was, the more acceptable it proved to be to God. Trampling under their feet all the turmoils of the world, they gave their thoughts entirely to heavenly contemplations, and having abandoned all earthly things, had nothing left but God only. They might well therefore say with the Psalmist: "Thou art my portion, O Lord; I have promised to keep thy law."¹ Obedient to the law of the most high God, they sought him as their only portion.

While, however, their whole attention was directed to their spiritual progress, and neither the wildness of the place nor fears of savage beasts diverted them from their object, it happened that one of the robbers who made their resort in the woods paid them a visit. Admiring their resolution and perseverance in the service of Christ, he said to them: "O monks, what disturbances have driven you to take shelter in these thickets? How can you venture to make your abode in such a desert? You have not chosen a fitting spot. Do you not know that this is a place for robbers, and not for hermits? The inhabitants of this forest live by plunder, and will not suffer among them those who live by the labour of their hands. Here you cannot long be safe. Besides, you will meet with nothing but a barren and unproductive soil, on which your labour would be spent to no purpose." To this the venerable father Evroult, as he was a man of eloquence, replied with reference to each pro-

¹ Psalm cxix. 57.

position: "In truth, brother, it is no swelling tumult, but the providence of Almighty God which has conducted us here; nor do we come to usurp this place, but to have more liberty to bewail our sins. And as the Lord is with us, having him for our defence, we fear not the threats of men, since he himself hath said: 'Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul.'¹ As to what you said last concerning our labours, you should know that the Lord is able to prepare a table for the sustenance of his servants in the wilderness. You also, my son, may be partaker of his abundance, if you turn from your evil courses and promise devoutly to serve the living and true God. For saith the prophet: 'In the day that the sinner turneth away from his wickedness, our God shall deliver to oblivion all the evil that he hath done.'² Do not despair therefore, my brother, of the goodness of God on account of the enormity of your sins, but follow the admonition of the Psalmist: 'Flee from evil and do good,'³ understanding of a surety that 'the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers.' But I would not have you ignorant that the same passage contains a terrible threat: 'The countenance of the Lord is against them that do evil, to root out the remembrance of them from the earth.'⁴ If the regards of divine mercy are present with the just, it is doubtless plain that they must be turned away from the unjust, that their wickedness may be some time severely punished." The robber, touched to the heart by grace from above as he listened to this discourse, presently departed. When however morning was come, he left all that he had, and, taking with him only three cakes, baked on the embers, and a honey-comb, returned with hasty steps to the servants of God, and throwing himself at the feet of St. Evroult made a holy offering, and shortly afterwards, inspired by the Holy Ghost, promised to amend his life and there first assumed the profession of a monk. Following his example many robbers, who infested the same forest, either became monks through the preaching of the holy man, or abandoning their life of rapine became cultivators of the soil. His fame and merits being noised abroad, some came to him also from the

¹ Matthew x. 28.² Ezek. xviii. 21.³ Psalm xxxiv. 14.⁴ Psalm xxxiv. 17.

neighbouring districts desiring to see his angelical countenance and hear his delightful discourse. They supplied him with things necessary for his bodily wants and returned home with joyful hearts refreshed with his spiritual gifts. Some of them also entreated him to admit them into his holy company that they might have the advantage of constant intercourse with him, so that from the numbers who frequented it, the forest soon lost its character for solitude.

As the number of the brethren increased, so also grace and virtue increased in the blessed Evroult. His patience was singular, his abstinence remarkable, his prayers incessant, his exhortations fervent. He did not permit himself to be elated by prosperity nor cast down by adversity. What was brought to him by pious people who flocked about him he ordered to be distributed to the poor, saying that monks ought not to be anxious for the morrow.

One day when there was not sufficient bread, a poor man came to the gate and asked for alms. As the minister to whom he applied informed him that they had nothing to give him, the venerable father said: "Brother, why do you disregard the cries of the needy? give alms, I pray you, to this poor man." Upon which he answered; "My father, I have only half a loaf which I have kept for our poor children, all the rest I have distributed according to your orders." But he said; "Son, you ought not to hesitate, have you not read what the prophet saith: 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble?'"¹ Never, indeed, will the faithful Creator of all things fail to nourish those for whom he condescended to shed his precious blood, nailed to the cross." The minister on hearing these words of the venerable father gave the half loaf which he had reserved for the children to one of the servants, saying: "Run quickly, and give this to the poor man, but do not call him back." The servant, in obedience to his commands, ran after the poor man until he overtook him at the distance of almost a stadium from the monastery, and addressed him saying: "Take, master, the alms which the abbot sends you," whereupon he stuck in the ground the staff which he carried, and received the offering of charity in both hands. But when he withdrew the staff which

¹ Psalm xli. 1.

he had planted in the ground, before the bearer of the alms had left the spot a plentiful spring of water suddenly burst forth on the spot following the point of the staff, and it continues flowing there to the present day.¹ Many diseases have been cured at that place, and persons afflicted with fevers are attracted from distant quarters in the hope of obtaining relief. Many also received visions commanding them to seek out the forest of Ouche, and, for the recovery of their health, drink of the spring which flows there. Several came from Burgundy, Aquitaine, and other parts of France, and made inquiries for Ouche under great difficulties, for the place was desert and unknown, so that it was scarcely possible to find it out. When at length they had discovered the fountain, and drawn the water and drunk it in faith, invoking the holy name, or bathed the head or limbs, they had the happiness to recover their health, and giving thanks to God, returned joyfully home.

Miracles were wrought at this place for many ages, until the times of Henry, king of France,² when, in consequence of the ravages during the Danish invasions, the district of Ouche had become thinly populated, and was thrown out of cultivation. At that time a certain peasant named Beranger succeeded by inheritance to that farm, and inclosed the spring with a hedge to prevent the sick people who resorted to it from treading down his crops; for the farmer was often incensed and grieved because his meadows, gardens, and all his land round about were trampled upon by strangers who flocked there for the benefit of their health. Thenceforth miracles of healing ceased to be performed as long as Beranger and his heirs, Lethier, William, and Gervase, possessed the farm.

¹ About a league from the abbey there is a hollow in the wood covered with green sward, and shaded by scattered forest trees, beneath which the spring mentioned in the legend bursts forth, still bearing the name of the fountain of St. Evroult. Its cool and pellucid waters collected in a large tank of solid masonry, are still resorted to by pilgrims and sick persons in reliance on their virtues. On the bank above stands a little chapel, with a statue of the saint in a niche over the door. The building had fallen to decay, but was under repair in the autumn of 1853, the bishop of Seéz being expected to re-open it with solemn services in the ensuing summer.

² July 20, 1031—August 29, 1060.

St. Evroult, having caused the bread to be given to the poor man, lo! before sunset a beast of burden was seen to stop before the door of the cell with a full load of bread and wine. The conductor called the minister; and, saying that he was a borrower at usury, delivered to him what he had brought, adding, "Go, brother, and give it to your abbot:" so saying, he mounted the horse, as if to hasten his journey, and quickly departed; so that, when the holy father wished to see him, he was told with what despatch he had taken his leave. He therefore understood that the provisions were sent by God; and, rejoicing in spirit, gave thanks to His unbounded loving kindness, who magnifies his mercy to his servants, and makes a rich return for small offerings. From that day there never failed to be a sufficient supply of what human wants required.

The temporal goods of the new society, through the merciful providence of the Lord, beginning to increase, two fierce robbers from another province, hearing that their substance was multiplied, directed their steps towards the cell of the holy man, and seizing a herd of swine, hastened to make their escape from the forest; but, instead of doing so, found themselves repeatedly following the same track in a circuit round the inclosure. Being unable to discover any free way of exit, they were astonished at what happened; when, just as they were worn out with wandering, they heard the bell which summoned the brethren to assemble to their usual office of prayer.¹ The sound struck them with excessive terror, and leaving the swine, they came with all haste to the man of God, and, confessing the crime of which they had been guilty, became monks on the spot.

To render the glory of the master more conspicuous, we must not omit what the sevenfold grace of the Spirit performed by means of one of the disciples of so illustrious a saint. A crow which had built its nest near the monastery, secretly stole eggs, and getting into the refectory by one of the windows, put everything in disorder, and carried off to its nest all that it found. Then one of the brethren, whose

¹ This circumstance concurs with others of the same kind mentioned by Gregory of Tours, to prove that the use of bells in the western church was far anterior to the time of Pope Sabinian to which its introduction is frequently attributed.

duty it was to look after the refectory, praying with simplicity, said: "O Lord, avenge us of the enemy who carries off what thy mercy has bestowed on us." And the bird was forthwith found dead under the tree where she had made her nest. Thus whoever attempted to injure the monks, either quickly perished, or, repenting of it, engaged in a better course of life.

God, who beholds all things, regarding with favour the glorious conflict of his beloved servant Evroult, strengthened his heart with all the firmness of faith, that, persevering in his good work, he might become a model of regular discipline to others. He, indeed, longed to retire to the deepest recesses of the wilderness, and free himself entirely from human companionship; but wiser counsels led him to consider how best his presence might profit the band of combatants, whose leader and master he had become. Fearing, therefore, that if he, the founder of the establishment, withdrew, the work, in its infant state, would receive a shock, he took precautions that he might not cause injury to others, while he was providing a quiet retreat for himself.

In consequence, as the general of this militant body, he remained at his post, fighting in the ranks as a private soldier, and also exalting himself by his eminent virtues as a brave commander in front of the ranks. His great reputation for sanctity, being spread abroad through many provinces, attracted numbers of wealthy, resolute, and God-fearing persons, to enrol themselves for the same conflict. They surrendered to the holy man, their houses, farms, possessions, and families, entreating him to cause monasteries to be built for them; and that, as their wise pastor, he would give them a rule under which to live. The saint granted their petitions, and founded fifteen monasteries for men and women, with regular institutions, appointing a person of approved conduct to govern each. He himself continued to preside over the convent which he first built, exhorting the brethren to make a loftier progress, and to shun the multiform snares of the devil. At length the fame of the sanctity of so eminent a father reached the ears of the princes who then held the reins of government among the Franks, recently brought into subjection to the light yoke of Christianity.

Clotaire the elder reigned fifty-one years,¹ and at his death divided his kingdom into tetrarchies among his sons. Caribert fixed the seat of his government at Paris, Chilperic at Soissons, Gontran at Orleans, and Sigebert at Metz. Sigebert, the youngest, was the first to marry, taking for his wife Brunehaut, daughter of the king of Galicia,² who bore him Childebert, who became king, Ingonde, wife of Herminigilde, king of the Goths and martyr,³ Bertha, wife of Ethelbert king of Kent,⁴ and Beuve, who became a nun.⁵ Eight years afterwards⁶ Sigebert was slain by the treachery of his brother Chilperic, and Childebert, who was yet a child, mounted the throne, with his mother Brunehaut as regent. He maintained himself in it resolutely twenty-five years, as it is related in his acts; but, after many difficulties, was taken off by poison.⁷ He left the two portions which belonged to his father and his uncle Gontran to his sons Theodebert and Theodoric,⁸ with whom Clotaire the Great, son of Chilperic, was at variance for nearly twenty years. At length he slew King Theodebert in battle, and caused Brunehaut, who was now advanced in age, to be cruelly bound to the tails of wild horses, and this powerful queen, whose favour had been humbly implored by Pope

¹ 511—after November 10, 561.

² Youngest daughter of Athanagilde, king of the Visigoths, 554—567. We do not understand why our author makes him king of Galicia, as he made Toledo the capital of his kingdom of the Visigoths.

³ Ingonde was married in 580, and died in 585. Herminigilde suffered martyrdom the 13th of April, 586.

⁴ Bertha married Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 566, and he was converted in 597. She was not the sister of Ingonde, but her cousin-german, and daughter of Caribert, king of Paris.

⁵ St. Beuve, abbess of Rheims, was not a daughter of Sigebert I. Frodoard supposed her to be daughter of Sigebert II., but she was probably his niece.

⁶ It does not appear from what event our author reckons these eight years, unless from Brunehaut's marriage in 566, or 568. We know, however, that Sigebert, king of Metz in 561, was assassinated in 575 by Fredegonde's emissaries.

⁷ Childebert, king of Austrasia, was poisoned in 596, his reign having then lasted only twenty years, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. His government did not merit the epithet applied to it by our author.

⁸ Theodebert II., king of Austrasia, 596—612. Theodoric II., king of Orleans and Burgundy, 596—613. Theodebert II. was killed at Chalons-sur-Saone by Theodoric and Brunehaut.

Gregory (as it is stated in the Pontifical Acts and the Register), was torn to pieces.¹ Thus Clotaire, having got rid of all his rivals, reigned sole king of France, and at his death left the kingdom to his son Dagobert, whose history is very well known to the French.

At that time, while these princes governed the Franks, Justinian and Justin the younger, Tiberius, Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius were emperors of Rome;² and the apostolical see was filled by Hormisdas, John, Felix, Boniface, John, Agapete, Silverius, Vigilius, Pelagius, Gregory the great doctor, Sabinian, Boniface, Deusdedit, and Boniface, famous for the dedication of the church of All-Saints.³ In those times Flavius, Pretestatus, Melantius, Hildulfus, and Romanus, the celebrated son of Benedict, were metropolitans of Rouen.⁴

I have collected these particulars from the Chronicles, and shortly noted them for the reader's benefit, in order that it may clearly appear in what times the holy father St. Evroult, whose life was prolonged for eighty years,⁵ flourished in the world. I must now endeavour to retrace my steps for the purpose of relating some circumstances which I have not found in books, but have learned from stories told me by old persons. The writings of the ancients, as well as the churches and monasteries, were destroyed in the furious storms which devastated Normandy in the time of the Danes; and with whatever ardour posterity thirsts for them, the most zealous students of our day have failed to recover them. Some, which were adroitly saved from the hands of the barbarians by the care of our predecessors, have since perished, shame to say, by the culpable negligence of their successors, who took no pains to preserve the profound wisdom contained in the works of their spiritual fathers. With the loss of the books, the actions of the men of former ages sunk into oblivion, and all the efforts of

¹ In 613, at Renève, in Burgundy, five miles from Dijon. The *Register* was the name given to a collection of St. Gregory's Epistles.

² The reigns of these emperors embraced the period from 527 to Feb. 11, 641. See vol. i. pp. 114—119.

³ These popes filled the papal chair from the month of July, 514, to the 21st of October, 625. See vol. i. pp. 338—349.

⁴ For these archbishops, see before, pp. 145—147.

⁵ St. Evroult lived from A.D. 517—December 29, 596.

modern times to retrace them are fruitless, these ancient monuments having disappeared with the revolutions of the world from the memory of men, like hail or snow lost in the waters of some rapid river, and flowing onward, past recovery, in its mingled current.¹

The names of the places at which father Evroult founded the fifteen monasteries, and of the fathers he set over the religious societies, as vicars of Christ, have been lost in the various revolutions of four hundred years, during the reigns of the numerous kings who have governed France from Lothaire the Great and Childebert to Philip and his son Lewis.² Nevertheless, some old men, bowed down with years, have related to their sons with natural garrulity what they saw and heard, which these again retained by strong efforts of a tenacious memory, and handed down to the succeeding age. These traditions of things worthy of remembrance they make known to their brethren, thereby stirring up the hard hearts of men to the love of their Creator, and not hiding their talent in the earth with the useless servant, and incurring his condemnation. Listen, then, to what I heard myself, when a boy, from our old fathers, and magnify with me the wonderful works of God in his saints.

The fame of the holy father Evroult being noised abroad far and near, reached the ears of Childebert king of France, who, impelled by a strong desire to see him, undertook a journey to Ouche with his wife and some of his family.³ Approaching the monastery of the man of God, at the place where the church dedicated to St. Mary, mother of God, now stands,⁴ he dismounted from his horse, and com-

¹ This noble image recalls to memory a passage in the bible which contains the same idea: "Let them fall away like water that runneth apace." Ps. lviii. 6.

² This passage was written in the reign of Lewis-le-Gros, and consequently before the month of August, 1137, the date of that king's death.

³ See note to book iv. c. 16 (p. 101). This visit of Childebert and his queen to St. Evroult probably took place shortly after the 28th of March, 893, when Gontran left to his nephew vast possessions in the west of France, of which Childebert might wish to take possession in person.

⁴ Probably the church now called Notre-Dame-du-Bois, built on the site of the oratory, under the same invocation, acquired by Abbot Theodoric. See vol. i. p. 399. The church stands on the right bank of the Charenton,

manded all to prepare themselves duly for meeting the saint. Then the clerks who were in his train stood ready in their vestments, laying their hands on the crosses and relics which they had spread on palls; but when they attempted to remove them, they could by no means do so. All, therefore, in great tribulation, threw themselves on the ground, and humbly prayed for God's mercy. The queen, also, bound herself by a vow, saying: "If Almighty God shall give us the power of safely removing the holy things which we have here deposited, I will cause a venerable church to be built on this spot in honour of his mother." After she had said this, the clerks again laid their hands on the sacred things, but to no purpose. Then the queen was very sorrowful, and said with tears: "I know that I deserve for my sins not to see the servant of God; but if God the Creator of all things shall, by the intercession of the saint himself, take pity on us, and permit us to remove the holy relics, I will have a marble altar made at my own expense, and cause it to be brought to the holy man." When she had uttered these words, all the relics moved of themselves, and they took them up, and went in joyful procession to meet the man of God. Already the blessed man was on his way, attended by a body of the monks; and a crowd of people of both sexes hastened with him in great triumph towards the king. Being received into the monastery, the king remained there three days. On the third day he signed a charter granting ninety-nine vills to St. Evroult, and then returned homewards rejoicing.

The queen, remembering her vow, caused a church to be built in honour of Mary, mother of God, always a virgin, on the hill which stands between the rivulet of Charenton and the wood,¹ and also sent the marble altar which she promised to the venerable man, which remained for many years in the

overlooking the valley in which the abbey of St. Evroult stood on the other side of the river. The French editor of Ordericus here corrects a note which is inserted in vol. i. p. 399, describing this church as having been originally the mother-church of the parish in which the abbey was built. However that may be, it is the parish church at the present day.

¹ The church of *Notre-Dame-du-Bois* stands on the side of the hill above the Charenton, and must formerly have been surrounded by the forest, the verge of which in the course of time has receded to some little distance.

same place. Long afterwards, in the course of years, a worthless fellow attempted to transfer part of the marble to another place; but it happened to break in the middle. It was plain to all that this act was displeasing to God, and he did not suffer it to remain long unpunished, for before the year was past the man lost his life.

In the church built by the queen, as I have just stated, two altars were consecrated; one of them dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity the other to the pure virgin mother of God. It is reported that there was there a convent of monks, and a cemetery for the monks and men of distinction. Their bodies were carried thither for interment, because the ground in the valley was marshy, and in the winter wherever it was dug, the water forthwith sprung up, and, overflowing, filled the graves. Traces of a building of importance are discovered near the church of the Virgin Mother, and to this day stately tombs are preserved there, which are believed to have certainly belonged to eminent persons. After this description, I proceed to relate what further remains.

The man of God, seeing that he could not bear the crowds of people who flocked to him, set his convent in order, and withdrawing from it privately, concealed himself for three years in a crypt, so that none of the monks knew where he was, except one whose name was Malchus, a godson of the saint, who knew his secrets better than the rest. The crypt stood by the side of a rivulet under a wooded hill, and was almost half a league distant from the monastery.¹ Meanwhile, the devil, that enemy of all that is excellent, perceiving that the brethren were growing in good works, sought to fill them with the gall of bitterness, and to cause lamentable disturbances among them. He therefore raised a tumult, which was carried so far that two were killed and the rest were plunged in unutterable grief. When the godson of the holy man perceived this incurable wound in the body of the brethren, he ran with all haste to the abbot. The man of God, seeing him from a distance thus running, concluded that it was not without reason he made such haste, and going to meet him inquired the cause of his

¹ This crypt was probably in the neighbourhood of the fountain of St. Evroult, described in a former note.

coming. Upon this, Malchus related at length how the monks had been stirred up to insurrection by the instigation of the devil. Hearing this, the holy man, inflamed with zeal for God, shuddered, and hastened to accompany the messenger on his return. When he drew near to the convent, and had reached the spot where the church founded in honour of him now stands, all the bells of the monastery began to ring of their own accord. So also did the bells in the church of St. Mary, and in that of St. Martin, called The Elegant, at a place commonly called La Bercoterie.

Then the devil, perceiving that the saint was come, assumed a human form, and began to flee. The holy man seeing this, said to his godson: "My brother, do you see that man running?" He replied, "My lord, I see no one." Then said the saint, "Lo, the devil flees, transfigured into the form of a man, and fearing to remain any longer in this place." As he said this, he pursued Belial as he fled; but when he was come to the village now called by the inhabitants, Echaufour, Satan, not having permission to flee any further, stood still. Upon which the blessed Evroult boldly went up to him, and threw him into a fiery oven which was heated in readiness for baking bread, and immediately closed its mouth with an iron stopper which he chanced to find. From this circumstance the place took its name of Echaufour.¹ The women who had brought their loaves to be baked, seeing with astonishment what was done, said to the man of God, "What, sir, shall we do with our loaves?" To which he replied, "God is able to bake your loaves without corporeal fire; clear well the hearth before the oven, and lay your loaves in order upon it, and when they are thoroughly baked, depart to your homes, which was done accordingly; all who saw it giving glory to God. Then the blessed Evroult returned to his monastery and having commanded the two monks who had been killed to be brought before him, laid himself prostrate on the

¹ From *echauffer*, to heat; *four*, an oven. Echaufour is a small bourg, with a fine old church, on the verge of the forest, about three leagues from St. Evroult, the monks of which had large possessions in the parish. There was a castle here, probably on the site of the present chateau, about a mile from the village, which was the scene of a surprise described in vol. i. p. 433.

ground, and continued praying until such time as the brethren were roused from the sleep of death. Having confessed and communicated with the Lord's body, they again gave up the ghost, to the joy and astonishment of all who saw it. The venerable father ordered them to have honourable burial, and being assured of their salvation, gave devout thanks to God.

Old men report these and many such miracles performed by Evroult, adding that they had seen at Ouche a very aged monk named Natalis, who had a large volume filled with accounts of the miracles and actions of this servant of the Lord. One day, mass being ended, a lighted candle was carelessly left on the altar, and while the attendants were busy about other matters, the wick burnt down till it set fire to a napkin, and the flame caught the altar-cloth, which was utterly destroyed, as well as the book, of which we have never been able to discover another copy; and every thing on and about the altar which was of a combustible nature was burnt. All joined in lamenting this irreparable loss of the record of past events: but as the monks were illiterate, they did not supply it by writing, but transmitted verbally to the younger members of the society the particulars of what they had seen and heard. When they were removed by death, the thick clouds of ignorance overspread their successors, and hid under an impenetrable veil the knowledge of past events, except only what some erudite man made, a short abstract of the life of St. Evroult to be read in the church. Having already inserted in my work the first part of this recital, I will now proceed to relate from it the end of the holy father's life and labours in a profitable manner without any false colouring.

Twenty-two years having passed since the monks began their settlement in the depth of the wilderness, the monastery was subjected to the ravages of a plague producing sudden death, by the assaults of the great deceiver of mankind.¹ The blessed Evroult did not act as a mercenary who

¹ The same plague appears to have ravaged at this time the rising convent of Glanfeuil, now St. Maur-sur-Loire. It is also mentioned by Gregory of Tours as having prevailed in 580. The date here given by our author enabled Mabillon to calculate the time of the establishment of St. Evroult in the forest of Ouche, which he fixed in 560.

took to flight and left the sheep in the midst of the wolves, but like a true shepherd, engaged with them in the conflict, and, fulfilling the apostle's admonition, "rejoiced with them that did rejoice, and wept with them that did weep."¹ Addressing them in words of exhortation, he said, "Brethren, strengthen your hearts, and be prepared. Be courageous and comforted in the Lord, knowing that tribulation worketh patience.² Be renewed in the spirit of your minds and fight against the old serpent. Be of one heart and one mind in the Lord. Behold the day of our vocation is near, when our works shall be made manifest, and the righteous Judge will give to every man according to his merits. Watch, then, and pray, for ye know neither the day nor the hour. Blessed is that servant who, when the Lord cometh, shall be found watching." By these and such like evangelical discourses, the wise preacher addressed himself to the consciences of the brethren, enlarging on the joys prepared for the good, and the torments which awaited evil doers.

Sudden deaths becoming frequent, it happened, in order to exhibit in a clearer light the powers of the saint, that one of the monks named Ansbert died without receiving the viaticum. The brother who had the care of him immediately came to the abbot, saying: "Father, pray for your son who has just departed out of this life most unhappily. Let your intercessions prevail to bring him safely on the way, seeing that he was not strengthened for it by the communion of the blessed sacrament. St. Evroult severely blamed himself for this occurrence, as if it happened from his own negligence, and hastening to the bed of the deceased, shed tears, and threw himself in the dust, using the arms of prayer, on which he relied. When however he felt within himself the presence of the divine power, he arose from the earth, and called on the dead man. At the sound of that voice, he who had lost his sight raised his head and opened his eyes, and perceiving the restorer of his freedom, said, "Welcome, my liberator, welcome! your prayers have saved me, having unravelled the devices of the enemy, who had claimed me as his own, because he found me without communion. Shut out from the feast of the blessed, I was condemned, as not having received the viaticum to the torments of cruel hunger.

¹ Rom. xii. 15.

² Rom. vii. 3.

Wherefore, kind father, I pray you not to delay allowing me to partake of the life-giving host." Need I say more? The sacrament was ordered to be brought, and as soon as he had received it, while all were wondering at his revival, he again gave up the ghost by the wise dispensation of God. The glorious saint exults in the certainty of the brother's salvation; the monks exult, praising God for this new miracle. Evroult rejoiced because he had restored to life, by the accepted way, a brother snatched from death; the monks rejoiced that they had a father at whose prayers hell trembled. Great as they felt the perils of the pestilence which threatened them with destruction, with such a leader and guide they were encouraged to be less fearful of being cut off unprepared. However, the mortality was so great, that eighty-eight of the monks died of the pestilence, and the loss among the domestics was not less.

I must not pass over in silence what happened to one of the number, a most useful officer of the abbey, who breathed his last on the very day of our Lord's nativity. Everything having been properly arranged for his funeral, he was borne forth from the monastery to the spot where the place of burial lay. There the corpse was deposited until the mass was finished preparatory to its being committed to the grave. The whole society grieved for the loss of so worthy a servant. He was a most active steward, and managed the affairs of the monks with great industry, so that he was held in high esteem by them all. While they were thus plunged in general grief, St. Evroult felt the Holy Spirit conceived within him, and trembling with awe, while he compassionated the sorrow of the brethren, had recourse to his familiar remedies. His prayers were fervent, he smote his breast, and he shed tears, and continued his intercessions until such time as the domestic for whom they were offered rose to life and threw himself at the holy father's feet, giving thanks for his restoration. Then shouts rose to heaven; the name of the Holy Trinity was blessed by all, and Evroult was acknowledged to be illustrious and apostolical, because he raised the dead. The servant restored to life resumed his duties, and lived for many years afterwards. At length, through divine mercy, this fatal pestilence terminated.

Notwithstanding, however, the mortality ceased, the

good shepherd continued to pray for the departed, believing that true charity is more concerned about the soul than about the body. Although his head was become grey with venerable age, he was far from being bowed down by the burden of years, but prolonged his labours of reading and praying into the night, according to what the psalmist says amongst other descriptions of the man who is blessed: "He meditates in the law of the Lord both day and night."¹ Inflamed with ardent charity, he devoted himself more zealously to the exercise of all virtues. Though he was compassionate to sinners, he carefully guarded his own discourse. Neglecting the care of his person, his hair was cut only three times in a year. He was never known to return evil for evil. When any loss of transitory things was reported to him, his constant reply was: "The Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."² He had such a happy art of reconciling differences that, however much at variance persons came to him, they returned at peace, soothed by his honeyed words. Indeed, all who approached him, high and low, poor and pilgrims, met with a cheerful reception. He made himself pleasant to all, and seldom any one was permitted to retire from his presence without receiving some little present. The sick, who regained their health by his benediction, departed, joyfully giving thanks to God. It was restored to all who resorted to the holy man in the hope of recovering it. Many, also, who were so prostrated by the violence of fever that they could not come into the presence of the saint, sent messengers to entreat that, of his goodness, he would send them some token, such as a girdle which he had made himself from rope, or some fragment of his clothing; and those who handled these things with faith regained their former health.

A certain mother of a family, who could not obtain a cure from any physician, hearing a report of the virtues of the blessed man, sent to beg the fringe of his garment, and having received it, she was relieved from her disorder, as were many others. Behold this admirable physician, who not only granted the gift of health to those who hastened to his presence, but failed not when absent to impart it to those

¹ Psalm i. 2.

² Job i. 21.

who were at a distance. Those felt his influence who never saw his face.

While all flocked to him in their several necessities, one poor wretch among the rest came from a strange country. Perceiving that his whole frame was wasted by severe disease, and that he was bent to the knees as he walked, the most compassionate saint said to him: "Brother, how could you bear the fatigue of such a journey, seeing under what debility you labour?" He replied: "My lord, it was under compulsion by a double necessity that I determined to come to your holiness; first, I was hungry and wanted employment, and secondly, I was infirm and depended upon you for a cure." The holy man told him to remain there, and immediately restoring his health, made him a monk, and set him to work in the garden. So he who came with two requests, rejoiced at obtaining three benefits, for he escaped the danger of famine, found a remedy for his infirmity, and was admitted to the profession of a better course of life.

Another pauper presented himself who, though he was in sound health, pretended to be sick and somewhat palsied, in order to obtain something more than the others. Presently, however, when he had received alms from the man of God, he was struck with fever, what he had feigned becoming a reality; and he breathed his last a few days afterwards in the monastery, having confessed his wicked fraud.

In the midst of so many striking proofs of his miraculous powers, the aged soldier of Christ, having attained the age of eighty years, fervently desired to see the face of him he had so long served; regarding him as an unbelieving servant who would wish to avoid the presence of his master. For forty-seven days, during which he was afflicted with a fever, he was never seen to take food, except occasionally the sacrament of the body of the Lord Jesus, and was incessantly engaged in imparting the mysteries of the divine word to the brethren, as if he suffered no inconvenience. And when pious persons of the neighbourhood came to see him, and begged of him to accept something, as an offering of their love, which might serve to sustain his feeble body, he said to them: "Cease, brethren, cease from persuading me to receive what I altogether loathe." Truly he was in no need of earthly food who was nourished within by the Holy

Spirit. He was fed by the sweet hope of eternal delights, and assured of enjoying a blessed immortality as the reward of his labours. At length the day approaching on which it was his desire to be dissolved and to obtain the wished-for vision of his Maker, he called together the brethren, and as they were sorrowing at his departure, and considering what they should do when their shepherd was dead, he thus addressed them: "My children, continue to be of one mind, united by the bond of charity! Let there be divine love among you, one toward the other! Be not betrayed into the deceitful snares of the devil, and study to fulfil your vows to God! Be lovers of temperance; observe strict continence; cultivate humility; eschew pride, and let each strive to excel the others in good works! Receive with benevolence pilgrims and strangers for the sake of Him who said, 'I was a stranger and ye took me in.'"¹

The glorious Evroult uttering these and other his last words to the same purpose, and having given his blessing to the brethren, his most holy soul departed from the body, and immediately his face shone with so much brightness, that no one doubted that his free spirit was already triumphing among the angels in heaven. He left the world on the fourth of the calends of January [December 29], in the time of Robert bishop of Sééz, and in the twelfth year of the reign of King Childeberty.² The brethren carried the corpse into the church with great reverence, and chanted hymns and praises to God for three days and nights, while they carefully watched the holy body, waiting for the assembling of the servants of God. When it was known at Sééz that the benefactor of the whole country was removed from the world, all the inhabitants flocked together to the monastery to have the happiness of being present at his solemn funeral.³ The poor lamented him who was indeed one of

¹ Matt. xxv. 43.

² It should be Clotaire, which is the ancient reading of the MS. of St. Evroult. In fact, St. Evroult died the 29th of December, 596, in the eightieth year of his age, which was the twelfth of the reign of Clotaire, and the twentieth of that of Childeberty, king of Austrasia, 575—596. The notice here taken of Robert, bishop of Sééz, 584—628? is the only trace of that prelate to be found in history.

³ Sééz, the smallest *city* in France, is about thirty miles distant from St. Evroult, which belonged to the diocese. The cathedral is a fine

Christ's poor; the rich, him who was rich in spiritual blessings; children, a father; the aged, one stricken in years. All had found him a common friend, and all lamented their common loss.

I think I ought not to omit mentioning that remarkable proof of his goodness which, amongst others, the holy man gave, when he was now in the enjoyment of eternal light. One of the brethren, distinguished for his piety and the grace of obedience, had served in the monastery, and was raised to the rank of deacon. Evroult loved him much on account of his merit of sanctity. When this deacon found that he was deprived of so great a father, he became overwhelmed with grief, and said: "Alas! wretched man that I am, what shall I do? Why, my father, have you left him whom you confessed you loved? Why have you suffered him who was in your entire confidence to be separated from you? Do you treat as an enemy him you called your son? Assuredly I never deserved that you should wish to descend into the tomb before me."

"In sighs and tears thus vented he his grief:"¹

And behold, on the very night of the circumcision of our Lord, the deacon, by God's will, gave up the ghost. This plainly appears to have been accomplished through the intercession of the holy father Evroult, that he whom he loved might not become the sport of the world, and that he himself might exhibit his readiness to hear the petitions of those who invoked his aid. Thus the monk, according to his wishes, was carried out for burial on the morrow, at the same time with his abbot. Oh, glorious death, more precious than life! It secured him in heaven what he lost on earth. As far as I can conjecture, it was better thus to die than to be restored from death to life. For now, assured of his salvation, he has not to fear being defiled by sin. If he were raised up again, he would have to struggle with uncertain hope against

edifice, with one of those deep porches for which the French churches are remarkable, flanked by two spires, and a nave of the early pointed style.

¹ "Talía perstabat memorans, lacrymasque ciebat."

The first part of this verse is taken from Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 650; the second from *Æn.* vi. 468.

a double danger. This miracle is therefore not to be considered less than that of the resurrection of dead persons before related.

The venerable father Evroult was interred in a marble tomb of admirable workmanship in the church of St Peter, prince of the apostles, which he had built himself of stone. To this day many persons are there healed of their infirmities, and by the goodness of our merciful Redeemer the sorrowful find consolation. To Him be honour and power, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, throughout all ages! Amen.

CH. X.—*Materials for history destroyed by the Northmen—Relics of saints dispersed—Those of St. Evroult translated to Orleans—The abbey deserted—Its restoration—Notices of public events—Letter of Abbot Warin, in the name of Hervey, bishop of Ely.*

I have thus faithfully described the life of the holy father Evroult, inserting it in this work, as it was compiled by our predecessors, that the knowledge of so exalted a patron may profit the reader, and my labour and regard be pleasing to the Lord God, while I have endeavoured to publish the glorious actions of my nursing father to the praise of Him in whom we live, and move, and have our being. But, from the time that this illustrious man was taken from the world, who and what his successors were in the convent of Ouche for four hundred years, or what were the fortunes of the monks or the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, I am entirely ignorant. In the times which succeeded, as I have already distinctly stated on several occasions, bands of pirates issued from Denmark, first with Hasting for their leader, and afterwards Rollo, invaded Neustria, and ignorant of Christianity and of the pure worship of God, inflicted the most cruel disasters on the believing natives. They burnt Noyon and Rouen, and many other cities, towns, and villages, destroyed a number of monasteries of venerable sanctity, devastated a vast extent of country with their incessant ravages, and having either exterminated or driven out the inhabitants, reduced the towns and villages to utter solitude. In the midst of so much desolation, the defenceless monks, not knowing what to do, were often in the greatest terror;

and in their tribulation gave vent to their distress in continual lamentations, and waited their end in caverns and thickets, absorbed in grief. Some indeed in terror at the savage cruelty of the barbarians, fled to foreign lands which had hitherto escaped the hostile attacks of the pagans. Some also bore with them the remains of their fathers, whose souls reign with the Lord of Sabaoth, whom they devoutly served while on earth. The fugitives also carried abroad with them the writings which contained the acts of these same fathers in the Lord, and accounts of the possessions of the churches, their nature and extent, and by whom they were given; but great part of these documents was swept away in the storms of the times, and alas! irrecoverably lost amidst such fearful commotions.

This is what the monks of Jumièges and Fontenelles did;¹ overtaken by a terrible disaster they never brought back what they carried away. The monks of Jumièges translated to Haspres² the relics of St. Hugh the archbishop and abbot Aicadre, which the inhabitants of Cambray and Arras preserve in precious shrines, and venerate to this day. The monks of Fontenelles carried to Ghent the relics of the holy confessors Wandrille the abbot, and Ansbert and Wulfran, archbishops,³ which are in the possession of the Flemings to

¹ Both these abbeys stood in the valley of the Seine, and were therefore particularly exposed to the devastations of the Northmen. For some account of Jumièges, see a note towards the close of the present chapter, under date of the year 1050. The abbey of St. Wandrille, originally Fontenelles, was founded in 648. Its ruins are now seen embosomed by woods in a glen which issues on the road from Rouen to Havre, about three miles from Caudebec. The refectory exhibits the only relics of the Norman structure, and with some pointed arches of the church destroyed at the revolution, is the principal remains of this once stately abbey.

² Haspres, between Cambray and Valenciennes. It appears that Pepin d'Herinstal, towards the end of the sixth century, founded a priory in this place, which he attached to Jumièges. The remains of St. Aicadre and St. Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, were translated there to secure them from the outrages of the Northmen, but it must have been after their first devastation of Jumièges, which took place the 24th of May, 841.

³ The relics of St. Wandrille and St. Ansbert, after several migrations from Fontenelles to Boulogne-sur-Mer, and from thence to Chartres and back again to Boulogne, between the years 858 and 944, found their final resting place on the 3rd of September of the latter year in the abbey of St. Peter at Blankenberg, near Ghent. The account of the translation of the relics of St. Wulfran is not so clear, but there are formal records of

the present time, and are held by them in high veneration. The monks of several other abbeys did the same thing, whose names I omit partly from want of information (as I have not discovered them all), and partly that I may avoid a wearisome prolixity on matters of small importance.

Dudo, dean of St. Quintin, wrote with care concerning the arrival of the Normans and their barbarous cruelty, and dedicated his work to Richard II., son of Gonnor, duke of Normandy. William, surnamed Calculus, a monk of Jumièges made a skilful use of the materials furnished by Dudo cleverly abridging them, and adding the history of Richard's successors to the conquest of England, finished his narrative with the battle of Seulac.¹ He addressed his work to King William, the greatest of his native princes. As others have published magnificent accounts of sublime actions dedicated to exalted personages, and have voluntarily offered themselves to describe important events in fitting colours, I too, moved by their example have undertaken a similar enterprise, and have already written an account at some length, of the monastery in the forest of Ouche which was honourably restored in the time of William, who was first, duke of Normandy, and afterwards king of England. However, I have been able to find no written records of ancient times after the decease of father Evroult, and I shall therefore more especially endeavour to commit to writing the traditions I have collected from old persons respecting the translation of the remains of the holy confessor from his own abbey of Evroult. A short account is to be found at Rebais, which I do not altogether approve, and it seems to have been drawn up by an ignorant writer, not fully informed with any certainty, as it appears to me, of dates and circumstances. As therefore I cannot rely on the narrative of another writer, I propose

their having also been carried to Blankenberg, with the others already mentioned. On the other hand, the monks of St. Wandrille (Fontenelles) maintained that the body of St. Wulfran, discovered in their monastery in 1027, had never been removed from it; while the inhabitants of Abbeville also claim the possession of these remains on respectable authority, as having been conveyed there direct from Fontenelles. See Mabillon, *Acta S. Benedicti*, sæc. iii. part i. pp. 365, 366.

¹ Some account of these two Norman historians is given in the notes to pp. 375 and 376 of vol. i. of the present work.

to commit to writing a clear account of what I have myself gathered from old inhabitants of Ouche respecting the time and manner of the French obtaining possession of the precious remains of the venerable Evroult.

In the year of our Lord 943, after Arnulph count of Flanders had slain William Long-sword, duke of Normandy, and Richard son of Sprote, his son then aged only ten years, had succeeded to the dukedom and received at Rouen before his father's funeral the homage and fealty of all the barons, Lewis D'Outre-Mer, king of France entered Normandy with an army and succeeded by fraud in carrying off the young duke to Laon, promising the Normans on oath that he would bring him up as his own son, and have him fitly educated in his royal court for governing the state. But things turned out otherwise; for king Lewis, at the instigation of the traitor Arnulph, resolved to put the boy to death, or at least to deprive him of the power of bearing arms by amputating some of his limbs. Osmund, the youth's tutor, learning this from Ives de Creil,² grand master of the royal ordnance, he secretly persuaded Richard to feign sickness, that he might thereby induce his guards to be less vigilant.

One day, while the king was at supper, and every one was engaged in his own concerns or those of others, Osmond bought a truss of green forage, and ascending the castle rolled it round the young duke. Then descending the tower he made all haste to his quarters with the truss of grass and spreading it before his horse, concealed the lad. When the sun was set, he got out of the town, cautiously taking the prince with him, and made for Couci where he gave him in charge to Bernard, count de Senlis, his uncle.²

Meanwhile, Bernard the Dane, who was governor of Normandy, sent envoys to Harold, king of Denmark, announcing to him the death of Duke William, and that his son was deprived of his inheritance. Harold, in consequence, sailed to Normandy with a powerful fleet, and, being received in the Cotentin by order of Bernard, waited two years for a

¹ Near Senlis.

² Bernard, count de Senlis and Valois, son of Pepin II., a descendant of Charlemagne. He was not Richard's uncle, but cousin-german of the Duchess de Leutegarde, William Long-sword's queen.

favourable opportunity of falling on the French, but at length took a bloody revenge for the murder of his cousin William and the banishment of that duke's son. For, hostilities breaking out during a conference between the Danes and French, he seized king Lewis, and put to the sword Herluin and Lambert, with sixteen barons and numbers of inferior rank.

While however, Richard, the young duke, was detained for nearly three years in exile, and the king of France supposed that Normandy was entirely his own, he had some apprehension of Hugh the Great, duke of Orleans, rendering aid to the Normans, and he therefore ceded to him Exmes, Bayeux and all the district of the Cotentin as far as Mont St. Michel-in-peril-of-the-sea, giving him strict orders to reduce the rebellious Normans with a strong force, and get possession of their fortified places. The ambitious marquis received these commands with great satisfaction, and, at once breaking the treaties which he had previously entered into, invaded Normandy with a powerful army. Hugh himself established himself with his household at Gacé, while his troops overspread the whole province. Herluin, the duke's chancellor, and Ralph de Tracy, were quartered at Ouche, and lodged in the convent of St Evroult the confessor. Both were men of piety and lived in the fear of God. The simple monks rejoiced to entertain such distinguished men, and rendered them all hospitable attentions in their power with the utmost kindness. Conducting them without reserve through their chapels, oratories, and secret recesses, they showed them, to their loss, the shrines and relics of the saints which they contained. The strangers examined with great reverence these objects preserved with so much secrecy, and on their departure offered their prayers and gifts; but they returned shortly afterwards, like the Chaldeans to Jerusalem, and cruelly carried off the holy vessels of the church, and all its valuable treasures.

Hugh the Great sat down before Exmes with his army, but the garrison made a brave resistance and prevented his further advance. At the same time, the king of France entering the country of Evreux with a strong force spread fire and rapine through all Normandy. Bernard the Dane

being apprized of these incursions. and receiving sure accounts of the devastation of the country, was in great dismay at his inability to withstand the attacks of such powerful princes, with only his Norman levies. In consequence, having keenly surveyed the state of affairs, his crafty genius devised the means of extricating himself and the people he governed from the difficulties in which they were placed. He therefore met the king with the air of a suppliant and thus addressed him : " What are you doing, my lord the king ? Your undertaking is impious and unbefitting your rank. All this Normandy, which you are ravaging, is your own. Rouen and the other cities, with the villages and strong places, throw open their gates at your command, and the whole population, both rich and poor, submits to you, and having no other lord respect and love you. Who can have given you the disastrous counsel to ravage your own property with the sword of the destroyer, and to butcher a people devoted to you ? He must be a wicked traitor who has persuaded you to devastate your own states with fire and sword." The king's heart was softened by this specious language, so that he dismissed his army and entered Rouen with Bernard. Bernard gave him a brilliant reception, surrounded with the citizens full of joy, and having prepared for him a magnificent banquet entertained him for several days with great respect. However, as the king was sitting one day after dinner in the great hall, conversing cheerfully with those about him on affairs of state, the crafty Barnard addressed them in ambiguous terms : " We have," he said, " O Norman lords, great cause for joy, and let us render thanks to God for it, as we ought. Hitherto we have obeyed a duke of the race of Rollo ; now, by God's will, we are the subjects of a great king of the race of the emperor Charlemagne. To this time we have been ducal, now we are royal, and, what is more, imperial." All the company applauding this discourse, and deceiving the French by flattering words, Bernard again entreated silence, and thus proceeded while there was general attention : " I acknowledge the shrewdness of the French in many affairs, but there is one thing my lord the king has done which I cannot approve, for I perceive in it his own disadvantage and great dishonour. We all know that Hugh the Great is a traitor, and the son of a traitor ; and yet the

king has aggrandized him, as I think, to his own great injury, by giving him the districts of Exmes and the Cotentin, with many thousand men bearing arms. Some pestilent adviser has taken advantage of his master's simplicity, and, to speak the truth, has plunged a dagger into his heart by persuading his lord to strengthen his enemy against himself. I wonder much, my lord the king, that you have so entirely forgotten the past. It is plain to all the world, for such crimes cannot be committed in private, that Robert,¹ Hugh's father, was a traitor, and having rebelled against your father Charles, and breaking his oath of allegiance usurped the crown and deservedly fell in battle. Hugh was a party to these designs, and disturbed France for seven years while you were an exile with your uncle Athelstan in England.² Is it not clear as the light to any sensible person that he is guilty of high treason who wickedly suggests to the king that stripping himself of his own estates, he should lessen his own dominions to augment the strength of an enemy who will turn it against yourself. Let no one have a share in the duchy of Normandy, but the king of France be the sole ruler of the Normans who pay him their willing obedience."

On hearing this, the king became anxious about the gift he had voluntarily made to Hugh, without any application on his part, and asked to be advised what he should do in the affair. The crafty Dane replied that the king ought without hesitation to annul his engagements, and give a positive command to Hugh to raise the siege of Exmes; and if he should rebelliously resist the order, they should fall upon him with their united forces. Bernard selected two knights for this embassy, and the king dictated to them the imperious orders they were to carry to Hugh. Thereupon, the envoys made all haste to the camp of Hugh, and reported to him faithfully the king's message: "Your presumption," they said, "is intolerable in invading the dominions of your lord the king of France, and besieging the castle of Exmes,

¹ Robert, duke of France, second of the name, was son of Robert the Strong, king of France, June 24, 922—June 15, 923.

² Louis d'Outre-Mer, who was born in 920, resided at the court of his uncle Athelstan nearly *thirteen* years, from the captivity of King Charles, his father, in 923 to 936, when he was crowned at Laon.

which has been a royal seat from ancient times.¹ Hear now his commands in this matter; and on the fealty you owe him, obey them without delay. Raise the siege before sunset, and give account of your rash enterprise to the king at Laon, with the advice and judgment of his peers, when he shall appoint a time. Otherwise, prepare yourself and your people for battle, for the king your lord, if he finds you here, will attack you with the forces of France and Normandy before the week is passed."

This message violently enraged Hugh the Great, and rousing him to the highest pitch of resentment, he exclaimed to his attendants: "This weak king must be demented to send me such a message while I am supporting him with all my power. I never coveted the possession of Normandy, or demanded any part of it from him; but he made me the voluntary offer of the whole country on this side of the Seine, as far as the sea, and required my assistance to subdue these indomitable pirates. Does he not manifest his folly to all the world when he threatens to fight me at the very time I am obeying his orders. The man who serves an unjust master is much to be pitied, and he who submits to one who is at once faithless and weak is a fool himself. Let us make a hasty retreat; but see that you devastate the whole country, ruin the churches, burn the houses, level the ovens and mills, drive off the flocks and herds of cattle, and carry away with you, never to return, every sort of plunder, and, loaded with booty, leave those miscreants to themselves."

Receiving such orders, the troops dispersed themselves like bands of robbers throughout the province, and taking the country-people by surprise, while they thought themselves safe under the duke's protection, executed his orders without mercy. Then Herluin, the chancellor, and Ralph de Tracy did not trouble themselves about the cattle or the goods of the peasantry, but recollecting their sojourn at Ouche, returned thither, and unexpectedly entered the convent with their followers. While the monks who suspected no evil, stood aghast, the armed band burst into the church with violence, and penetrated into its secret recesses, and

¹ M. Le Prévost remarks that Exmes had never any pretensions to be a royal residence.

even broke open the tombs. Taking the bodies of the three saints Evroult, Evremond,¹ and Ansbert² out of their coffins and wrapping the bones in deer-skins, they carried them off with the relics of other saints. The armed retainers penetrated into every corner of the abbey and irreverently laid hands on all that was serviceable to human existence, in spite of the lamentations of the weeping monks. Setting no bounds to their rapacity, and respecting no one, they pillaged the books, vestments, and various articles of furniture belonging to the monks and their servants, and ransacking every place which the brethren themselves had opened to them on a former occasion, as already related, they swept every thing away. They then joined the rest of the invaders, and the whole, united in one body, marched out of Normandy, and hastened back to their own country with the booty they had collected. The monks of Ouche were overwhelmed with grief at their sad desolation, and were at a loss to determine what they should do or where they should go now that they had been stripped of all. After considering, however, all circumstances, they resolved to leave the country, and follow the relics of their sainted founder.

A venerable old man, whose name was Ascelin, filled at that time the office of prior of Ouche, diligently performing its functions according to the circumstances of the times. Seeing the monks and their servitors plunged in excessive grief, and all preparing to leave together their now desolate abode and follow their blessed patron among hostile bands, after much careful reflection he determined to wait the time of his dissolution in that place in the fear of the Lord. He, therefore, called the brethren together, and when they were all assembled, thus spoke: "For our sins, and those of our fathers,

¹ St. Evremond was a native of Bayeux, as well as St. Evroult, and their legends are very similar. St. Evremond quitted the world to retire into a solitude in another part of the diocese of Séez, Fontenay-les-Louvets, after previously founding a monastery half a league from thence. Annobert, bishop of Séez, drew him from his retreat to take the government of another convent, called *Mons Major*, supposed to be Montméré, between Argentan and Séez, where he died in the odour of sanctity about the year 720.

² This saint is the monk restored to life by St. Evroult, in order that he might receive the viaticum, and not St. Ansbert, archbishop of Rouen, mentioned before, p. 290.

the scourge of God has fallen upon us, and its terrible stroke has levelled us and ours, and brought us to irreparable ruin. Behold the Judge Almighty, as he destroyed Jerusalem by the hands of Nebuchodnosor and the Chaldees, justly humbling his own sanctuary, so he has punished this house by the hands of Hugh and the French with afflictions of various kinds, but principally (which is most to be lamented) by depriving us of the bones of the blessed father Evroult and other saints. As for you who propose to follow the relics of your founder, for various reasons, I do not venture to prohibit your enterprise, as this whole neighbourhood is now a desert, and defenceless monks would starve while princes are in arms. Go, with God's blessing, and be faithful servants to the kind father who has hitherto sustained you in his own country, becoming now pilgrims with him in a strange land. For myself I shall not desert Ouche, but shall still serve my Creator in this place where I have enjoyed so many blessings, and never quit it while life remains. I know that the bodies of many saints repose here, and the spot was pointed out to our holy father by an angelic vision, for the exercise of his spiritual warfare to the profit of numbers. A great company of the faithful have here offered to the King Most High the acceptable incense of a devout life, of which they are now receiving the crown and the rewards in paradise. Here, then, I shall remain after your departure, and in imitation of our founder, become the guardian of these solitudes in the name of the Lord, until, through his mercy who is King of kings, better times shall dawn upon us."

At these words, the afflicted brethren parted. Thereupon, the monks of St. Evroult and their attendants abandoned their home, and joining their enemies, followed weeping the relics of their patron. Their number, including their domestics, was about thirty, and they all marched on foot in company with the [duke's] chaplains. The latter knew the monks well enough, but showed them no courtesy, as they suspected and feared that their object was privately to rob the French of their precious treasure. But the merciful Lord, who chastises the erring to bring them back to the right way, treats those who are converted with fatherly

kindness, and gives his aid in a wonderful manner to those who need it.

The troop encamped the first night after leaving Normandy at a place called Champs,¹ and after supper some of the duke's boon companions fell into bantering and unseemly talk. One of these jesters said jocosely to the duke: "Have you heard, my lord duke, what your chancellor Herluin and your chamberlain Ralph have done? They have dug up the bodies of some Norman peasants, and deluding themselves with the notion that they are holy relics, they have deposited them in your chapel, and are reverently conveying them into France." The duke asking the names of those whose bodies they were carrying, the jester said: "Evrout, Evremond, and Ansbert;" whereat the French, to whom these names were not familiar, and who were ignorant of the glory to which the blessed saints were exalted in heaven, indulged in much idle banter about the relics. But in the first night-watch, when all were asleep, the Almighty thundered awfully out of heaven, and shooting forth his lightning in bright flashes, struck the buffoon and his companions who had made light of the holy relics. Their sudden death caused no small alarm to the duke and his whole army; whereupon he assembled the troops very early in the morning, and commanding the chancellor to bring the relics reverently into his presence, he made every one offer their devotions to them before they began their march. He also summoned before him the weeping monks and their attendants, and requiring from them some account of Evrout and his companions, listened with pleasure to the history they gave of the venerable men, and called on the Belgian nobles² to hear the marvels. He was also touched by the worth and simplicity of the monks of Ouche, and being moved to compassion towards them by the inspiration of God, who shows mercy to his faithful servants on all occasions, he said to them: "I esteem above gold and silver the relics of your founder which you voluntarily follow. For his sake, too, I will

¹ Champs, in the canton of Torouvre, the church of which is dedicated to St. Evrout, probably in memory of this circumstance.

² Our author is mistaken in his references to the Roman topography of Gaul. The nobles who followed Hugh in his expedition did not belong to the Belgian provinces.

show you favour and take you under my protection, ordering my chancellor to take charge of you and treat you well, and to permit you to receive all the offerings made to the holy relics, until you shall reach Orleans, the capital of my duchy,¹ when I will provide for your sufficient maintenance."

The prospects of the monks of Ouche in a strange country now began to brighten, and they daily received large offerings from the faithful, and, through God's mercy, were comforted by the abundant gifts which flowed from the necessities of the sick or the benevolence of the devout. When they arrived at Orleans, the troops of soldiers with their squires and horses, filled all the houses and buildings in the city, so that the monks with the holy relics took refuge in a bakehouse, where they rested the first night. The citizens afterwards built a church on the spot, dedicated to St. Evroult, and through the merits of the saints many miracles of healing were performed there. Herluin the chancellor was abbot of St. Peter-en-Point, where he deposited the holy relics by command of Hugh the Great.² Then Ralph de Tracy claimed his part of the spoil, and would not relinquish it at any price. He was an eminent citizen of Soissons and the duke's first chamberlain, possessed large domains, honours, and wealth, and was distinguished by his piety and other virtues. No one dared to wrong so powerful a lord, and by a general order the relics were brought into court and divided in the presence of the judges. Herluin being a priest, and abbot of the canons of St. Peter, as well as first chaplain to the duke, retained for his share the head and the greatest part of the bones of St. Evroult, also a book and a portable altar plated with silver, the gown and girdle of St. Evroult, and the charters of donation; the rest of the body he yielded to Ralph. There was no difficulty about the division of the other relics, for the Orleannois chose the bones of St. Evremond the abbot for their share,

¹ Orleans was not Hugh's capital as duke of France, but as count of Orleans.

² This monastery became afterwards a collegiate and parochial church, and the anniversary of the translation of the relics of St. Evroult was annually celebrated in it till the revolution. Its site is now occupied by a Rotunda lately built for Protestant worship.

and left those of St. Ansbert, the monk, to Ralph. He hastened with this precious treasure to Rebais,¹ and devoutly offered it to that abbey of which he was a brother and friend. The monks of Rebais, in white and silken vestments, came forth in procession with lighted tapers and censers fuming with incense to receive the relics in great triumph, and they preserve them with reverence to this day. Then Ralph, wishing to augment the property of the church out of his own domains, gave them Port d'Aunois and Bonneil,² and that there might be abundant means for supplying shrines for the relics he added large sums of gold and silver. In return for these offerings, this lord at his death was buried in the church.

In such changes foreign worshippers are sometimes deceived, but as their object is good, they easily obtain pardon for unintentional error. They venerate, indeed, the relics which chance gave them, to the utmost of their power; being mistaken, however, in their notions respecting Ansbert, a stranger to them, and exalting him beyond his due by making him to have been archbishop of Rouen. But I boldly assert what I have learnt from careful inquiries, that this Ansbert was the young monk who, having died suddenly without the viaticum, was soon afterwards restored to life by St. Evroult, and having received the communion departed in the Lord, and was admitted to partake in the feast of the saints. As for Ansbert of Rouen, his remains are preserved at Fontenelles with those of abbot Wandrille and Wulfran, archbishop of Sens, and are daily honoured by the devotions of the faithful.³ Thus I have given a faithful account of the division of the relics of St. Evroult, as I received it myself long ago from truthful and religious old persons.

On the death of Hugh the Great, his son, also called

¹ The abbey of Rebais in Brie was founded by St. Ouen in 634. It was at first called Jerusalem, but afterwards took the name of the stream on which it was built. St. Agile was the first abbot, and it was under him that St. Philibert, the founder of Jumièges, embraced the monastic profession.

² Probably the hamlet of Aunois, on the bank of the Marne, between Château-Thierry and Bonneil.

³ See what our author says of the translation of these relics, and the notes, p. 297.

Hugh the Great,¹ succeeded him in the duchy, and disturbances breaking out between Charles and the nobles of the realm, Hugh usurped the crown, which has descended to his heirs to the present day. Geoffrey,² son of the count of Anjou, was this Hugh's godson, and having been brought up by him until he arrived at man's estate, received at his hands the honour of knighthood. Having learnt with sorrow at court that his father was dead, he demanded of the king to be invested in his hereditary domains, at the same time earnestly beseeching him to give him some part of the bones of St. Evroult, whose miracles he had often witnessed while residing at Orleans. Hugh had a great regard for the young man, and he therefore granted him his father's estates, and gave him some of the relics of St. Evroult. It was therefore through him that the relics of St. Evroult were obtained, which still receive the veneration of the faithful in the church of St. Main-beuf at Angers.³ The monks of Ouche, who expatriated themselves with the holy body found, by God's providence, a welcome home among their foreign hosts, and receiving abundance of bread and wine, and also of fish, which the Loire supplies, ended their days in France, after experiencing the many changes of unstable fortune.

Meanwhile the aged Ascelin remained in the wilderness at Ouche with a few poor inhabitants, bringing up his nephew Ascelin, with Guisbert de Gacé and Harmond de la Tillaie, and some other youths whom he taught reading,⁴ that they might perform the daily service of God in that place. One day he assembled all the scattered dwellers in

¹ It does not appear that Hugh Capet ever bore the surname of Hugh the Great as well as his father. The author has committed the same error before. See vol. i. p. 141, where the dates of the events here referred to are given.

² Geoffrey, first count of Anjou of that name, who succeeded his father in 958, could not have been the godson of Hugh Capet, nor received knighthood or the investment of his county from him, as he was much his junior. But as Geoffrey lived till the 21st of July, 987, it is very probable that he was on friendly terms with Hugh Capet, and received from him some relics of St. Evroult.

³ The collegiate church of St. Mainbeuf at Angers. It would appear from what follows that all the relics of St. Evroult which were deposited at Orleans, were afterwards translated to Angers.

⁴ "Communes literas edocuit." Taught them their letters.

those solitudes, and announced to them his intention to hold a festival, which at the appointed time he celebrated to the best of his power, and after a solemn mass delivered this discourse to the people who were present:—"We ought to fear the divine threatenings, but our hearts are so hardened that we take no account of the warnings addressed to us, until, like the wicked servant, we feel the rod with which we are scourged, and its sharp strokes cause us to wail and lament. When formerly the Danes, who were then pagans, ravaged Neustria under Hasting, and returned with new fury under the command of Rollo, they ruined numberless churches and monasteries, cities, and fortified places, but we, living in a wild and barren country, escaped, under God's protection, the swords of the invaders, although we were subject to great alarm and severe penury.¹ Now, alas! the day of the Lord's wrath is come unexpectedly upon us, and we have been robbed of the sacred relics which we valued above all precious things by those we trusted on the score of the hospitality we had shown them. We read in the holy Scriptures that God forsook the tabernacle in Silo and delivered his tent that he had pitched among men to the uncircumcised, that is the falsely accusing, Philistines.² A like judgment has now fallen upon us; we have lost the bodies of the saints, in which we placed our main dependence, and our brethren having followed the coffins of our fathers into a foreign country, we are left alone, few and weak in this wild solitude. But although the French have translated the sacred bones, and carried off our books, vestments, and other precious articles, they have still left us the tombs and the most sacred ashes of the saints' bodies, through God's mercy, to our great consolation, with other holy things which they could not remove. It is our duty to use diligence, in carefully concealing and preserving with reverence, what our enemies have left us. We still have, by

¹ M. Le Prévost considers that our author is perfectly correct in stating that St. Evroult and the country round escaped the devastations of the Northmen. He remarks that it was too poor and too remote to attract the pirates from the neighbourhood of the navigable rivers. Ordericus falls into the error, common to the Norman historians, of perpetually introducing the name of Hasting into a province in which, as far as is known, he never set foot.

² Psalm lxxviii. 61.

God's mercy, a hair of the apostle St. Peter's beard, which Pope Romanus sent to St. Evroult at the dedication of this church. We also know of other precious relics which have been hidden in this church by the old fathers. I now propose, if it is agreeable to you, to examine and inspect all these memorials, and conceal them in a place of safety, to preserve them from sacrilege, until they shall be discovered by a revelation of God to future worshippers." All who were present approving his design, the old monk finished the mass, and when the service was ended gave the benediction and dismissed the people, retaining however the young scholars to carry the candles and censer of incense. He then proceeded, accompanied by a mason, to the grave of St. Evroult, and causing the stone which covered it to be removed with reverence, collected some nodules of the sacred dust. He also took out several cases and reliquaries inscribed with the names of the relics they contained. Then desiring the youths to go to dinner, he caused the mason, with the assistants required, all of whom were of mature age, to build up the relics in a place of concealment, having dismissed the youths that they might not learn the secret.¹ I received this account from themselves many years afterwards, but the exact spot where the relics were deposited I was unable to discover, because, as I have already said, my informants were excluded at the time of their concealment.

These events happened in the time of Duke Richard I., who governed Normandy fifty-two years, and, as it has been before related, was at first driven into exile and endured many tribulations, but afterwards, by God's help, subdued his enemies and became powerful. In the midst of furious storms, the good old Ascelin continued to live under the monastic rule until he was bowed down with age, and at his death committed the guardianship of Ouche to his nephew

¹ It is very difficult to reconcile this statement with the dates furnished by our author. He says, just afterwards, that the circumstances took place in the time of Duke Richard I., who died in 995, and Asceline may have lived till about the same period, and probably did not conceal the relics till his end was approaching. But supposing the choristers to have been ten years old at that time, they would have been one hundred in 1085, when Ordericus, at the age of eleven, was admitted a novice at St. Evroult. The account has an air of great probability, but a link in the chain of traditions appears to be wanting.

Ascelin, who was a clerk. This young man, in the ardour of youth, became disgusted with his rude and solitary life, and longed after the enjoyments of a town; and betaking himself to France for the purpose of gaining instruction, he was so captivated by all sorts of pleasures, that he lived there almost fifty years, rising by the regular steps to the rank of priest. Enslaved by carnal delights, and inflated by growing prosperity during his residence in France, he lost all recollection during his long life, even to old age, of what his predecessors had entrusted to him in Normandy.

Meanwhile, by the death and departure of its inhabitants, Ouche returned to its original solitude, and all vestiges of human life having disappeared, the oratories and houses became overgrown with thick wood, and for a long period were the resort of wild animals. Then it was said in a vision to a certain priest named Restold, who lived in the province of the Beauvaisis; "Go to St. Evroult in Normandy, and you will enjoy there length of days, and a life full of joy and pleasure." The priest therefore left his native country, and journeying through Normandy searched for the house of St. Evroult, but although he continued his inquiries for many days, he could find no one to point it out. At last he found the old church of St. Evroult at Montfort,¹ and sojourned there for some time, in the belief that it was the spot assigned by his heavenly oracle to him and his posterity.

A peasant of the name of Fala, in the territory of Bauquencé, had a bull which, frequently separating from the herd, ran into the forest, and though the owner sought for it a long time with his servants and dogs, he never could find it, but at the end of five or seven days, when it was supposed to be irrecoverably lost, it made its appearance in good condition. This happened so repeatedly that it became a customary thing. It became a joke among the neighbours who observed it, and the bull had free leave to go and come when he pleased. After a time, however, the curiosity of the herdsmen was roused, and attempts were made to trace the bull's wanderings in the forest, and it was followed through the thickest brakes. Fala obtained the assistance of an experienced hunter, whose name was Duilett, and he tracked the bull with the sagacity of a hound,

¹ Near Gacé.

until it was discovered lying before the altar of St. Peter the apostle as if it were at prayers. The walls of the church were shattered and held together by roots of ivy, and the ruins of ancient buildings could be traced by the observers. A dense wood had sprung up both within and without, no one having lived there for fifty years. Upon this discovery grey-headed old men recollected, that according to what their fathers had told them, St. Evroult and many others, who held the world in contempt, had dwelt there.

Restold also had a new vision, which rebuked him for not having justly obeyed the former command; and upon the priest's anxiously inquiring by what means he could better fulfil the injunctions laid on him, he was told to go to Ouche, and there serve God as the follower of St. Evroult. Restold therefore left his first habitation at Montfort, and going to Ouche with his wife and his son Ilbert, was the first who now took up his abode there.

There was at that time a noble knight, named Gaston de Montfort, who, inspired by the fear of the Lord, formed the design of restoring all the churches in his neighbourhood which had fallen to decay from age and neglect during the many troubles I have before mentioned; and to this good work he devoted his whole attention, and consecrated all the means in his power. In consequence, he repaired the old church of St. Peter at his own expense, endeavouring to propitiate Almighty God by this undertaking. One morning, as his herdsman was keeping his oxen on a hill, washed at its base by the rivulet of Charenton,¹ and was resting among the ruins where the herbage was most luxuriant, all of a sudden, one in the guise of a pilgrim stood before him, and appearing wearied by his journey, sat down and began to converse with him: "Go," said he, "quickly to Gaston, and tell him to come to me without delay." The herdsman

¹ The Charenton is only a rivulet in this part of its course, but has worked for itself a deep channel in the soft bed of the valley. After its confluence with the Risle, their united waters discharge themselves into the estuary of the Seine, between Honfleur and Quillebœuf. The Orne, also, and the Dive, the Touques and the Iton, all take their rise in the elevated forest district about St. Evroult which is the water-shed between the rivers which discharge themselves into the Manche, and the Sarthe, the Huine, and other rivers and streams flowing into the Loire.

hastened to his master and gave him the pilgrim's message, but Gaston was idly disposed and would not obey the summons, but desired the pilgrim, through his servant, to come to him. The pilgrim repeated his message to Gaston a second and a third time, but being occupied by I know not what affairs, he obstinately refused to come. When therefore the herdsman returned the third time and told this to the pilgrim, the old man said, "Come with me and mark carefully what I say: this place was sanctified in ancient times by the divine benediction, and is rich in most sacred relics." Thus saying, the hoary speaker rose and pointed out, in the middle of the area, the site of the altar of the holy Mary, mother of God,¹ and to the east that of the holy and undivided Trinity. He then said further to the astonished herdsman: "If your master had come to me as I required him by you, I would have discovered to him hidden treasures, by means of which he might have repaired this old church, and I would have made known to him another secret, which would have caused great joy throughout all Normandy. Upon hearing these last words, the servant retraced his steps and repeated them to Gaston, who immediately mounted his horse and came with all speed to the place pointed out, but the pilgrim had disappeared. He was now extremely sorry for the indifference he had manifested, and eagerly questioned the herdsman as to all he had heard about the holiness of the place and the two altars. He then had a conference with Ralph Fresnel,² son of Thorold, who was then lord of the soil, and with God's help undertook the restoration of the church of St. Mary-always-a-virgin. The labourers cleared out the old ruins, in which they found a prodigious quantity of stones, enabling them to carry on the work with great dispatch. They found the tombs of many noble persons, in which old men declare, from certain marks they discovered, the bodies of kings and bishops were laid.

¹ The church here spoken of is that built by Queen Faileube in honour of the Virgin, and on the site of which Notre-Dame-du-Bois now stands.

² A person of this name is related in the sequel to have built the castle of La Ferti-Fresnil. His sons William and Robert are mentioned before, vol. i. p. 399.

Some miracles were also wrought there. A knight named Harduin, having observed a large block of stone among the ruins of the church, desired to appropriate it to his own use, and caused it to be transported to his house and converted into a cistern for himself and his cattle; but when they began to hollow it out, he fell ill. During his illness, Gunfold de Touquette,¹ a knight of that country, had a vision; instructed by which he visited Harduin, who was lying sick, and admonished him to restore the block of stone to its original site, otherwise he would inevitably die. On hearing this, the sick man immediately called his servants, ordered them to harness four yoke of oxen to a waggon, and earnestly begged them to carry back the stone to the church of the holy Virgin Mother. The block of stone being loaded on the waggon, he caused himself to be lifted on it, and thus conveying it back to the holy building from which he had purloined it he confessed his sin, and invoking the mercy of the Almighty Lord, was immediately cured.

Many other miracles were wrought in this place which have fallen into oblivion by the death of the neighbours then living, not having been committed to writing, from the great dearth of penmen at that time in Normandy.

When, at last, the church was erected on a wooded hill, all the inhabitants of the district were full of joy, and the cure of it with the government of the parish was committed to Restold of the Beauvaisis, as well by Gaston and Ralph, as by the bishop of Evreux, in whose diocese it stood.

At that time William, son of Giroie,² was lord of Echaufour, and heard of the existence in the forest of the fountain of St. Evroult and the old church of St. Peter the apostle on the rivulet called Charenton. Led by curiosity, he surveyed this spot, and, perceiving it to be a fitting place for the worshippers of God, honoured it with respect, and settled there the priests Restold and Ingeran, providing them a sufficient maintenance out of the revenues of Echaufour. In process of time, as is fully related in the third book of the present work, the abbey of St. Evroult was restored by this William Giroie and his brothers and nephews, and received

Touquette, a commune to the west of St. Evroult.

² A full account of William Giroie is given in vol. i. p. 384, &c. The abbey church of St. Evroult was dedicated to St. Peter.

regular institutions by the labours and means of the monks of Jumièges.

In the year of our Lord 1051 Theodoric, a monk of Jumièges, undertook the administration of the abbey, educating the young flock with piety and prudence for eight years,¹ and instructing them to work worthily in the law of the Lord according to the rule of St. Benedict. Afterwards, as I have already related, he shrank from the burden of the government, and resigning it, to the great grief of the prelates Mauritius of Rouen, and Hugh of Lisieux, he became a pilgrim in foreign lands, treading under foot worldly things, and, longing for the heavenly Jerusalem, laboured to reach the terrestrial. But he died in the island of Cyprus, in the church of St. Nicholas, before the altar, on the calends [1st] of August, and was interred with respect by the convent of monks in that place, which he made illustrious by frequent miracles in healing the sick. I composed the following epitaph in heroic verse, to his memory :—

Trained in Jumièges' holy school,
Thence called St. Evroult's monks to rule,

¹ Our author states in b. iii. p. 387, that Theodoric was appointed in 1050. There is a further mistake here respecting the period of his administration. It lasted from October 3, 1050, to August 29, 1057. Jumièges, founded by St. Philibert in 654, was one of the most magnificent of those Benedictine abbeys which were celebrated for their learning in the dark ages. A short notice of William Calculus, one of the monks who wrote the histories of the dukes of Normandy, and who died in 1090, is given in a note, p. 376, of vol. i. The situation of the abbey on a peninsula round which the Seine makes a bold sweep, almost encircling it with its stream and high wooded banks, was well calculated for a studious and contemplative life. The remains are among the most considerable and the best preserved of the monastic buildings of Normandy. The west front of the abbey church is still surmounted by two lofty octagonal towers, but one side only of the great central tower is standing. The nave, with its massive pillars and columns supporting circular Norman arches, remains entire. These parts of the building are of the date 1067. The choir has been razed to the ground, except part of the apsis, and some arches exhibiting the pointed style of the thirteenth century. The site is strewn with interesting fragments of the building and monumental slabs and effigies, which are carefully preserved though the ruins have repeatedly changed owners. Many portions of the conventual buildings may still be traced. The gate-house has been converted into a residence, and a lofty wall surrounds the large enclosure formerly the convent gardens, and now a well planted park, over the trees and shrubberies of which the grey ruins tower with a most picturesque effect.

THEODORIC taught the discipline
 Which thirty years his task had been,
 While Satan's malice he defied,
 And triumphed o'er his hellish pride.
 The flock he reared in forest glade
 Eight years his gentle sway obeyed;
 Religion in the wilderness
 He nurtured in her humblest dress,
 And, pattern of wise industry,
 The scribe's art practised skilfully.
 At length inspired with ardent zeal,
 Before the Saviour's tomb to kneel,
 The pilgrim found a hallowed grave,
 Where Cyprus fronts the eastern wave;
 The last of July saw him die,
 Christ give him endless life on high!

The monks of St. Evroult, profoundly grieved at not possessing the body of their patron, have made various efforts to obtain its restoration, but hitherto without success. Having been unable to fulfil their wishes in this respect, they have procured several relics by various ways, and, by God's favour, recovered some at different times.

Fulk, prior of St. Evroult, who was afterwards abbot of Dive, was sent by William the Bastard, king of England, to the countess Bertha, at Brie, on particular business. While there he obtained from a chaplain of the countess, a Norman who belonged to the church of Rebais, a tooth of St. Evroult, which on his return he restored to the abbey at Ouche to the joy of all.

During the reign of King Lewis,¹ there was a canon at Paris named Fulbert, who possessed one of the vertebral bones of St. Evroult, which a chaplain had purloined from the chapel of Henry king of France, and had presented to him long before as a pledge of his regard. Fearing however, on various accounts, to keep it in his possession, Fulbert, through the intervention of Fulk, a priest of Maule, sought an interview with William de Montreuil, prior of Maule,² and delivered the relic to him for transmission to the church of St. Evroult. The prior received the present with great delight, and speedily fulfilled the errand. While

¹ Lewis le Gros, August 3, 1108—August 1, 1137.

² According to b. v. c. 19 (p. 236), this William was third prior of Maule.

he was still speeding on his way, he experienced the holy father's aid; for without being aware of it he partook of poison in his food, which the exercise of riding diffused through his limbs and entrails. Finding that death was approaching his vitals, he cried to God in great anguish of mind praying that, for the merits of St. Evroult, he would have mercy on him. His prayers and invocations being ended, he vomited the poison, and was soon cured; so that, having returned thanks to God, he arrived safely at St. Evroult, where he deposited the relic with great joy, enclosing it decently in a silver shrine.

In the year of our Lord 1130, Warin seventh abbot, of St. Evroult, paid a visit to Rebais, where he understood one half of the saint's body was deposited. He was attended by two monks, Odo of Montreuil, and Warin of Sééz, in this search after their holy father's remains, in which they met with considerable difficulties. Natalis, the abbot of Rebais,¹ was absent at that time, and it was the pleasure of the convent to receive them not with hospitality, but with hostility. They found the neighbours equally averse to them, and they were warned to depart with threatening language. However, their good resolution was only strengthened, and pushed them forward to the object they had in view. Abbot Warin therefore, leaving his two companions at Rebais, and laying aside his state as abbot, undertook a toilsome journey, and riding as a poor monk, was not ashamed of being met on the road. Determined to find Abbot Natalis, he went first to the court of Count Theobald at Rugni;² and on the second day he was introduced to the abbot, but did not tell him who he was or what he wanted. Natalis told him that it was his intention to go to Clairvaux, and offered to conduct him there. In consequence, they went in company to Clairvaux, with their attendants, and were kindly received by the brethren of that monastery, who endeavour to practise the rule of St. Benedict to a letter. They presented themselves to the Lord Bernard,³ abbot of

¹ Natalis, abbot of Rebais in 1133, was chancellor of France in 1140. He retired to end his days at Cluny, and died there in 1145.

² Rugni, near Tonnere. Theobald the Great, count of Champagne.

³ St. Bernard, first abbot of Clairvaux, which he founded in 1115. The two abbots were fortunate in meeting him in his monastery this year, for

that monastery, and, conversing with him, made many inquiries, and were struck with his profound wisdom. He commented with clearness on the sacred scriptures, satisfying all their questions and demands. On hearing the claims of the monks of St. Evroult, he kindly supported Abbot Warin, and gave letters of exhortation to the convent at Rebais. The abbots Warin and Natalis now returning thither, found the monks Odo and Warin in good spirits and on most friendly terms with the monks of Rebais; for they were both of mature age, courteous and modest and well founded in both sacred and profound learning. But though they were equally distinguished for their eloquence and erudition, Odo, in his loving zeal, did all in his power to have Warin preferred to himself. Indeed, Warin had much grace and wisdom in discoursing on religion, and during the eight days they staid there he gave, at the request of Amaury the prior, exhortations to all who were in the cloister; so that he obtained the good opinion of the whole convent, and was no longer regarded as an enemy, but as a faithful friend. Abbot Warin delivered the letter of the venerable Abbot Bernard, which was well received by the chapter of Rebais, and when it was read they determined to comply with the request. By God's will, Stephen¹ bishop of Paris, and Burchard² bishop of Meaux, were present, and earnestly exhorted the monks of Rebais that they should comfort those of St. Evroult with a sweet charity. A day was therefore appointed by the bishops when, by common consent, the relics of the saints reserved there should be exhibited together, and the people of the neighbourhood be assembled to see them and made joyful with a multiplied benediction; whereupon the monks of St. Evroult should receive what they desired and return home.

But now Abbot Natalis changed his mind, and gave uneasiness to the monks of St. Evroult by his caution and incon-

he was twice absent on remarkable occasions; first in April, to attend the council of Etampes at which he presided, and secondly, to have an interview with Henry I., king of England, and induce him to embrace the cause of Innocent II. in the schism which then divided Christendom.

¹ Stephen, bishop of Paris in 1124, had been chancellor of France in 1106—1119, and died May 6, 1142. He was son of Guy de Seulis, lord of Chantilly and Ermenonville.

² Burchard, bishop of Meaux, 1120—1134.

sistency; for he said, that without Count Theobald's consent he would never part with what he had given to the convent. It was, therefore, agreed that Odo of St. Evroult should proceed to Normandy and see the count, who had gone there to confer with his uncle, King Henry. The monk, obedient to his orders, undertook this toilsome journey, and following the count, arrived at Vernon,¹ where, in the first instance, he made known his secret object to the king himself, begging him to further it. The king promised his assistance, and interfered with his nephew on behalf of the monks. The count acceded to his uncle's request, and transmitted his consent to the monks of Rebais by his steward Andrew, who, however, did not appear on the day when the relics were exhibited, but remained at Coulommiers, the duke's castle. In consequence, the abbot of St. Evroult, with Warin of Sééz, and Andrew of Coulommiers,² proceeded to the steward, who received them graciously, and commending himself to their prayers, informed them of the count's consent, and declared himself his master's envoy and commissioner in the affair. Abbot Warin and his companions now returned to Rebais with great joy, and Abbot Natalis, that hearing the count's licence was obtained, and repenting of the vexation he had caused the monks of St. Evroult, granted their petition. (The prior, Amaury, therefore, assembled the chapter the following morning, and led the way to the church with the monks of St. Evroult; the whole assemblage forming a procession to the sacristy. The silver coffer, which contained the memorials of St. Evroult³ was then opened, and the relics reverently taken out, consisting of the right arm, and a casket full of fragments of bones. The monks of St. Evroult now returned to Normandy, arriving at Ouche on the seventh of the calends of June [May 26th]. They were met by a vast multitude of both sexes to the number of four thousand, who assembled to partake of the blessings of their great patron, and to obtain by their prayers his intercession with God. Those who were labouring under various disorders hastened to

¹ Vernon-sur-Seine.

² Coulommiers in Brie, two leagues from Rebais, and on the same river.

³ An ancient *chasse*, or reliquary, supposed to have contained the relics of the saint, is still preserved at St. Evroult.

implore the Most High to relieve them of their pains, for the merits of the good father Evroult, of whom numbers having their petitions granted, triumphantly confided in the merits of the holy saint.

There was a man named Geoffrey, a native of Brittany, but living in the Corbonnais,¹ who, as he related himself, was in his youth addicted to rapine and theft, but after a time, by God's grace, changed his course of life for the better. He took a wife in lawful marriage whose name was Hildeburge, and listening to her good advice, dismissed his fierce and bloody followers, and laboured with his own hands for the means of existence. He even gave alms of what he procured by the sweat of his brow, distributing among the poor, the clergy, hermits, and monks all the superfluity he thus earned, beyond what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family. He frequented the society of the monks of St. Evroult, and becoming their brother in Christ, maintained well the bond of fraternity. He was always present in the abbey at the principal festivals of the saints, and remembering the precepts of the law, did not come empty handed.

A singular occurrence happened two years before the death of King Henry. On the night of the Nativity of the Holy Innocents,² a snow storm came on suddenly with such violence that the like had not been seen in the memory of any man living, or of those who were their teachers. All entrance to the houses was blocked up, the surface of the roads was covered, valleys were filled to the level of hills, birds and animals were suffocated, and even men were buried in the drifts, and numbers of the faithful were prevented from attending the service in the churches on that day. Geoffrey, however, got up while the storm was raging, and, disregarding the depth of snow, loaded a pack-horse with bread made of wheaten flour,³ took his son with him and set forth to attend the feast of the holy father, St. Evroult.

¹ Also called La Perche, lying to the south of Normandy, and the east of Maine.

² The night of Thursday, December 28, 1133. The feast of St. Evroult was held on the morrow, December 29.

³ Bread made of the flour of wheat was at that period esteemed a great luxury. Several centuries afterwards the meal used in making bread was composed of one part of wheat, one of barley, and one of oats.

But when he reached the water called the Risle,¹ over which there was no bridge, he found that it was not fordable as the waters were in flood, and in great terror and dismay he cried to the Lord of mercy, and implored his aid. He immediately became sensible of the divine support in the pious undertaking in which he was engaged, and found himself carried over the river without any visible conductor. But he stood there alone, discovering that his son and the beast, with its burden, were still on the other side of the stream. At last the son, whose faith and merits were perhaps less than his father's, trembling, entered the water, up to the middle, and dragged the horse with its load of bread after him, getting safe through with some difficulty. Although the loaves intended for God's servants were plunged in the stream, they remained dry and uninjured, so that they were in a fit state for the use of Christ's household, being miraculously preserved in the midst of the waters. Father and son then proceeded in company to their place of destination, and triumphantly described the perils they had escaped, both on the roads and in the waters, attributing their safety to the merits of St. Evroult, for whose feast they were bound. The crowds collected at this solemnity, having heard their account, glorified the Lord God of Sabaoth, who is for ever the Saviour of his people.

At that time Warin was abbot of St. Evroult,² and he had a great regard for Geoffrey, and respected him much for his fervent devotion to God. The abbot himself was zealous in the performance of divine worship, and set an example by his constant attendance. He highly esteemed religious men, giving place to them with the greatest marks of respect; and he also applied himself diligently to useful studies. Deeply learned as he was, he readily divested himself of his magisterial authority, and putting himself on a level with his juniors, joined as one of themselves in the pursuits suited to their age with an alacrity which afforded

¹ To reach St. Evroult from the south-east, this rivulet, not the Charenton, would have to be crossed. They afterwards form a junction. See note, p. 313.

² This paragraph was written, as it appears, after the death of Abbot Warin des Essarts, which happened on June 21, 1137. He was then of the age of sixty-six years, forty-six of which he had spent in the abbey.

an excellent example to all who were under his government. Geoffrey was of middle stature, tall and thin, so that not being burdened with flesh, his activity was remarkable. In his humility he heard with attention the words of instruction and doctrine which fell from the lips of others, and frequently made diligent inquiries from his equals and inferiors on subjects with which he was very well acquainted, listening to them with the deference of a disciple. He handled the lessons of the divine law with overflowing eloquence, and skilfully explained the most profound doctrines by his lucid dissertations. Having assumed the profession of a monk when he was a young man of, the age of twenty-three years, he was a soldier of the most high King forty-six years, and gave to the world the fruits of his penetrating genius and deep meditations in metrical poems, eloquent epistles, and other works. I will extract from them, and insert in this book of mine, an account of one miracle which he learnt when he was at Thorney Abbey in England with Abbot Robert,¹ and committed to writing, at the request of the bishop of Ely² and the convent of monks. The following is the text of the letter:³—

“To all the faithful sons of holy church, and especially to those who are subject to the rule of the excellent father Benedict, Hervey, the humblest servant of the servants of God and the unworthy minister of the church of Ely, sendeth greeting, and trusts that what is well begun may be happily ended. It is our wish to publish for the praise and honour of St. Benedict, the patron of monks, a circumstance worthy to be recorded as most agreeable to those who hear it, most useful to those who retain it in their memories, and perhaps very profitable to those who are at present ignorant of it.

“In the time of Henry, king of England and duke of Normandy, in the sixteenth year of his reign over England and the tenth of his government of the duchy,⁴ there was on the

¹ Robert was abbot of Thorney (in Cambridgeshire), 1113—1151.

² Hervey, first bishop of Ely, 1108—1130, Henry I. having erected the bishopric in October; 1108.

³ This letter, though bearing the name of the bishop of Ely, was in fact written by Warin des Essarts, as our author tells us.

⁴ Henry I., crowned king of England, August 5, 1100, obtained

possessions of our church a certain free-tenant called Briestan, who lived at Chatteris.¹ This man, according to the testimony of his neighbours, never injured any one, and, content with what he had, meddled not with what belonged to others. Neither very rich nor very poor, he conducted his affairs and brought up his family, in moderate independence, according to the habits of laymen. He lent money to his neighbours who wanted it, but not at usury, while, on account of the dishonesty of some of his debtors, he required security. Thus holding a middle course, he was considered not better than other good men, nor worse than the ill-disposed. Being thus at peace with all mankind, and believing that he had not a single enemy, he was inspired by divine influence (as it appeared in the sequel) to entertain the desire of submitting himself to the rule of St. Benedict, and assuming the habit. In short, he came to our convent dedicated to St. Peter the apostle and St. Etheldrida,² implored the favour of the monks, and engaged to put himself and all he had under their rule. But, alas! the evil spirit, through whose malice Adam fell in paradise, will never cease from persecuting his posterity to the last man who shall exist. God, however, whose providence ordereth all things in mercy and goodness, in his omnipotence bringeth good out of evil, and out of good what is still better. When, therefore, the news was spread abroad (for Briestan, though his acquaintance was not extensive, was sufficiently well known), a certain man who was in King Henry's employment, but more especially a servant of the devil, interfered with malicious spite.

"We must make a short digression that you may understand what sort of man this was. His name was Robert Malart (which signifies in Latin *malum artificem*) and not without reason. He had little else to do but to make mischief against all sorts of persons, monks, clerks, soldiers, and country folk; in short, men of all ranks, whether

possession of the duchy of Normandy, September 28, 1100. The circumstance here related occurred, therefore, between September, 1115, and August, 1116.

¹ Chatteris, in the fens, ten miles from Ely. At the time when Domesday-book was compiled, it was divided between the abbeys of Ely and Ramsey.

² See vol. i. p. 124, for an account of this saint.

they lived piously, or the contrary. That I may not be accused of calumny, this was his constant practice, wherever he was able to vent his malice. He slandered every one alike to the best of his ability, and exerted himself to the utmost for the injury of others. Thus mischievous to one and another, he may be counted among those of whom it is said that 'they rejoice to do evil and delight in the frowardness of the wicked.'¹ When he failed of truth for his accusations he became a liar, inventing falsehoods by help of the devil, the father of lies. It would be impossible for any one, even if he had been his constant companion from childhood, to recount, much more to commit to writing, all the evil doings of this man, who was truly called Thousandcraft;² let us, therefore, proceed with our story.

"When Robert heard the news that Bricstan wished to assume the habit of a monk, he lost no time, in accordance with the teaching of his master the devil, who is always lying and deceiving, in presenting himself at the convent. Having a false account to give, he began with a falsehood, saying: 'This Bricstan is a thief; he has fraudulently appropriated the king's money in secret, and wishes to become a monk, not to save his soul, but to save himself from the sentence and punishment which his crimes merit. In short, he has found a hidden treasure, and has turned usurer with sums clandestinely subtracted from what is the king's by right. Being therefore guilty of the grave offences of theft and usury, he is afraid to appear before the king or the judges. In consequence, I have the royal authority to forbid your receiving him into your convent.' Whereupon, having heard the king's prohibition, and dreading his anger, we refused to admit the man into our society. What shall I say more? He gave bail and was brought to trial. Ralph Basset was judge,³ and all the principal men of the county were assembled at Huntingdon, according to the custom in England: I,

¹ Prov. ii. 14.

² *Mille-Artifex*; a name commonly given to the devil in the middle ages. Our author has made use of it in the legend of St. Martial, vol. i. p. 304.

³ Ralph Basset was one of the minions of Henry I., whom he raised, from a low origin, to the highest offices in the state, in preference to his nobles.

Hervey, was also there with Reginald, abbot of Ramsey,¹ and Robert abbot of Thorney, and many clerks and monks. Not to make the story long, the accused appeared with his wife, the charges falsely made against him were recapitulated. He pleaded not guilty, he could not confess what he had not done; the other party charged him with falsehoods, and made sport of him; he was indeed rather corpulent, and was short in stature, but he had, so to speak, an honest countenance. After having unjustly loaded him with reproaches, they prejudged him, as in the case of Susannah, and sentenced him and all his substance to be at the king's mercy. After this judgment, being compelled to surrender all that he possessed, he gave up what he had in hand, and owned where his effects were, and who were his debtors. Being however pressed to give up and discover more, he replied in the English tongue: *Wat min Laert Godel Mihtin that ic sege soth*, which means 'My Lord God Almighty knows that I speak the truth.' He often repeated this, but said nothing else. Having delivered up all that he had, the holy relics were brought into court, but when he was called upon to swear, he said to his wife: 'My sister, I adjure you by the love there is between us, not to suffer me to commit perjury; for I have more fear of perilling my soul than of suffering bodily torments. If therefore there is any reservation which affects your conscience, do not hesitate to make it known. Our spiritual enemy covets more keenly the damnation of our souls, than the torture of our bodies.' To this she replied: 'Sir, besides what you have declared, I have only sixteen pence and two rings weighing four drachms.' These being exhibited, the woman added: 'Dearest husband, you may now take the oath in safety, and I will afterwards confirm, on the testimony of my conscience, the truth you have sworn by the ordeal of carrying hot iron in my naked hand, in the presence of all who desire to witness it, if you so command.' In short, Briestan was sworn, he was then bound and carried in custody to London, where he was thrown into a gloomy dungeon. There, heavily ironed with chains of unusual weight, in a most cruel and outrageous manner, he suffered for some time the horrors of cold and hunger. In this extremity

¹ Reginald, abbot of Ramsay (in Huntingdonshire), from 1114—May 20, 1133.

of distress, he implored divine assistance according to the best of his ability, inspired by his urgent necessity. But as he felt that his own merits were but very small, or to speak the truth, of no account whatever, having no confidence in them he incessantly invoked, with sorrowful heart and such words as he could command, St. Benedict, to whose rule, as we have seen before, he had unfeignedly proposed to devote himself, and the holy virgin St. Etheldrida in whose monastery he intended to make his profession. In this dark dungeon, loaded with chains, tortured with cold, and wasted with hunger, he wore out five wretched months, and would rather, in my opinion, have chosen to die at once than live thus miserably. But still, seeing no hopes of human help, he continued to call on SS. Benedict and Etheldrida with sighs and groans and tears, and with heart and mouth. To proceed; one night when the bells in the city were ringing for lauds, and Bricstan, in his dungeon, besides his other sufferings, had received no food for three days, so that he was quite exhausted and entirely despaired of his recovery, he repeated the names of the saints with a sorrowful voice. Then at last, the clement and merciful God, the never-failing fountain of all goodness, who never despises those that are in adversity, and chooses none for their wealth or power, at last vouchsafed to show his loving-kindness to the suppliant. It had been long indeed implored, but it was deferred, that the earnestness of his supplications might be more intense and the mercy shown be more ardently loved. For now St. Benedict and St. Etheldrida, with her sister Sexburga,¹ stood before the sorrowful prisoner. The light which preceded their appearance was so extraordinary that he screened his eyes with his hands; and when the saints were seen surrounded by it, Etheldrida spoke first: 'Bricstan,' she said, 'why do you so often pour out your griefs before us. What do you implore us, with such earnest prayers, to grant?' But he, spent with fasting, and being now thrown into a sort of trance by excessive joy and the supernatural visitation, could say nothing in reply. Then the holy virgin

¹ Sexburga, eldest sister of St. Etheldrida, was married to Ercombert, king of Kent. She founded a monastery in the isle of Sheppy, and afterwards succeeded her sister as abbess of Ely. See *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* p. 205, of Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

said: 'I am Etheldrida, whom you have so often invoked, and this is St. Benedict under whose rule you devoted yourself to the service of God, and whose aid you have continually implored. Do you wish to be set free?' On hearing this his spirit revived, and waking, as it were, from a dream, he said: 'My lady, if life can by any means be granted me, I should wish to escape from this horrible dungeon, but I find myself so worn out by sufferings of every description, that my bodily powers are exhausted and I have no longer any hope of obtaining my liberty.' Then the holy virgin turning to St. Benedict, said: 'Holy Benedict, why do you hesitate to do what the Lord has commanded you.' At this, the venerable Benedict laid his hand on the fetters, and they fell in pieces, so that the prisoner's feet were released without his being sensible of any act, the saint appearing to have shattered his chains by his word alone. Having detached them, he threw them indignantly against the beam which supported the floor of the prison, making a great opening, and waking the guards, who lay in the gallery, in great alarm at the crash which took place. They supposed that the prisoners had made their escape, and lighting torches hastened to the dungeon, and finding the doors fast closed, they opened them with the keys and went in. Upon seeing the prisoner they had left in fetters freed from his chains, their astonishment increased, and upon their demanding an account of the noise they had heard, and who had caused it, and how his fetters were struck off, Bricstan said nothing, but a fellow prisoner replied: 'Some persons, I know not who, entered the prison with a great light, and talked with this man my companion, but what they said or did I know not; ask him who knows best.' Then the guards turning to Bricstan, said: 'Tell us what you saw and heard.' He replied: 'St. Benedict, with St. Etheldrida and her sister Sexburga appeared to me and struck the fetters off my feet: if you will not believe me, at least believe your own eyes.' As they did not doubt the miracle they saw, the gaolers sent in the morning to queen Matilda,¹ who happened to be in the city at the time, to tell her of it.

¹ Matilda, a princess of great piety and excellence, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, was married to Henry I. in December, 1100, and died May, 1, 1118.

The queen sent Ralph Basset to the prison, the same who had before doomed Bricstan, who said that magical art was now employed. Ralph entering the dungeon addressed the prisoners derisively, as he had done on the former occasion: 'What has happened Bricstan? Has God spoken to you by his angels? Has he visited you in your prison? Tell me what witchcraft you have been practising.' But Bricstan made no more reply than if he had been dead.

"Then Ralph Basset, perceiving that his fetters were broken, and hearing from his fellow prisoners of the three persons who entered the dungeon surrounded by light, the words they had spoken, and the crash they had made, and perceiving the hand of God in these events, began to weep bitterly; and, turning to Bricstan, he said: 'My brother, I am a servant of St. Benedict and the holy virgin Etheldrida; for the love of them speak to me.' He replied: 'If you are a servant of those saints, you are welcome. Be assured that what you see and hear about me is the truth, and not the effect of magic.' Ralph, then, taking charge of the prisoner, conducted him with tears of joy into the presence of the queen, where many nobles were present. Meanwhile the report flew swifter than a bird throughout London, and coming to the ears of almost all the citizens, they raised shouts to heaven, and people of both sexes and every age praised together the name of the Lord, and flocked to the court where it was reported Bricstan was taken; some shedding tears of joy, and others wondering at what they saw and heard. The queen, rejoicing in so great a miracle (for she was a good Christian), ordered the bells to be rung in all the monasteries throughout the city, and thanksgivings to be offered by the convents belonging to every ecclesiastical order. Bricstan went to many of the churches to return thanks to God in the fulness of his joy for his liberation, great crowds preceding and following him through the suburbs, and every one being anxious to see him, as if he were some new man. When he reached the church of St. Peter, called in English Westminster, Gilbert,¹ the abbot of that place, a man of great eminence

¹ Gilbert Crespin, abbot of Westminster, son of William Crespin, governor of Neaufle, one of the greatest benefactors to the abbey of Bec. Gilbert was one of the most able and voluminous writers of the age. It

in sacred and profane literature, came forth to meet him outside the abbey in a procession formed of the whole body of monks, with all the pomp of the church; for he said: 'If the relics of a dead man are to be received with ceremony in a church, we have much more reason for giving an honourable reception to living relics, namely such a man as this: for as to the dead, we who are still in this mortal life are uncertain where their spirits are, but for this man, we cannot be ignorant that he has been visited and delivered by God before our eyes, because he has not acted unjustly.'

"When thanksgivings had been offered to God, to the best of their ability, according to what in their estimation was due for Bricstan's deliverance, the queen sent him with great honour to the abbey of St. Etheldrida in the isle of Ely. I went myself, attended by the whole convent of monks, to meet him, with candles and crosses, chanting *Te Deum laudamus*. Having conducted him into the church with befitting ceremony, and offered thanksgivings to God, we delivered to him, in honour of the blessed Benedict his liberator, the monastic habit he had so long desired. We also hung up in the church, in view of the people, the fetters with which he was bound, that they might be a memorial of this great miracle, to the honour of St. Benedict, who broke them, and of St. Etheldrida, who was his colleague and assistant; and they long continued to be suspended there to keep alive the remembrance of these events.

"I have been desirous of making known to the sons of holy church these acts of the venerable father Benedict, not because he had not performed greater wonders, but because they are more recent, and such miracles appear in our days to be infrequent in England. Nor, as regards our blessed father Benedict, let any one be surprised that he wrought great and inconceivable wonders; for, according to Pope Gregory, he may be equalled to Moses for having brought water out of the rock; to Elijah for receiving the ministry of a raven; to Elisha for raising iron from the bottom of a pit and to Peter for having caused a disciple to walk on the water

appears that he was still living in 1123. For his life and writings, see the *Histoire Littéraire de France*, t. x. p. 192—201.

at his command.¹ St. Benedict likewise, as is well known, showed himself to be a prophet by predicting events to come, and an apostle by the miracles he wrought; and to sum up all in few words, he was full of the spirit of all the just. Since, therefore, we know with certainty that he obtains from the Lord all that he desires, let us continue joyfully in his service, knowing that through his intercession we shall not lose our reward: and if St. Benedict did not refuse his aid to one who had engaged to become a monk, what must be the protection he will afford to those who are actually bound by their voluntary engagements to the rules of his discipline? It is clearly manifested by many evident tokens that our kind patron, who is now glorified by God in heaven, unceasingly intercedes for his suppliant disciples, and daily renders them effective aid in their necessities. We then, who have submitted to the light yoke of Christ, and labouring in his vineyard, bear the burden of the day with constancy and perseverance, may, through the divine goodness, be assured that Almighty God will save and protect us for the merits and prayers of our wonder-working master. Let us, therefore, earnestly supplicate the Creator of the universe that he will bring us out of Babylon and the land of the Chaldeans, and conduct us to Jerusalem by the observance of his laws, and that He who is the Almighty and merciful God will give us a place in the company of the citizens above, to praise him who liveth and reigneth for all ages. Amen."

Having thus far discoursed on various subjects, I am weary of my task of writing, and bring to an end this sixth book of the Ecclesiastical History. In another volume,² by

¹ The four special miracles of St. Benedict here alluded to are described in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th chapters of his history by St. Gregory.

² That this is the volume which was saved by M. Du Bois from the wreck of the library of the abbey of St. Evroult, and deposited at Alençon, as related in the introduction to this work, p. xiii. appears from its exact coincidence with the description here given by our author. The two volumes of the Colbert library, mentioned in the introduction comprising the first six books, are evidently of the same age, and written by the same hands, for the author dictated to scribes and in the commencement of the ninth book complains of the want of them. They are, therefore, considered to have formed part of the MS. of St. Evroult, and there is little doubt that we thus possess the original manuscript dictated by, and in some places the autograph of, the learned and pious author.

God's help, I have already completed seven books, in which I have, in addition, given accounts of the death of King William, of his three sons, of the crusade to Jerusalem, and of various events which have occurred in my own times. The Omnipotent Creator, as he did from the beginning, still wonderfully directs the course of time, and instructs the docile minds of the inhabitants of the earth, calling them off from the dangerous pursuit of worthless objects, and rousing them to better desires, by the display of memorable deeds. For mankind receives continual lessons from the fall of the proud and the exaltation of the humble, the damnation of the reprobate and the salvation of the just, that it may not lapse into impiety by an execrable warfare against God, but may constantly fear his judgments and love his commands, avoiding the fault of disobedience and offering perpetually faithful service to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, One God, the King of ages, and Lord of the universe, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

Guide us, O Virgin Mother, gate of heaven,
Whose gentle aid in every storm is given!¹

Monks, knights, priests, nobles, crowd the busy stage,
Vitalis notes them in his lively page;
Courts, abbeys, camps, in varying shades he blends,
And here the fourth book of his story ends.²

¹ Although these verses appear in the manuscript of St. Evroult, they are evidently a subsequent addition, and it appears plain that they are not the author's composition.

² Instead of these verses, the MS. of St. Evroult has the following words in a hand of the thirteenth century: *Explicit quarta pars Vitalis*, "here ends the fourth part of Vitalis." Although now the *sixth*, it was the fourth book in the author's first arrangement.

BOOK VII.¹

CH. I. *Annals of the Carlovingian kings of the Franks—and of the succeeding kings of France from Hugh Capet to Philip I.*

IN the year of our Lord's incarnation 688, Pepin the Austrasian, mayor of the royal palace, assumed the government of the Franks.²

In the year of our Lord 711, Childebert king of the Franks departed this life.³

In the year of our Lord 712, Pepin the elder died, and his son, who was called Charles Martel, usurped the throne.⁴

In the year of our Lord 715, on the 14th of the calends of February [19th January] died Dagobert the younger, after having reigned in France five years.⁵ In the second year after his death, the prince Charles Martel fought his first battle with Radbod, near Cologne, under the reign of Theodoric, son of the before-named Dagobert the younger.⁶ At this time the heathen nation of the Vandals began to ravage France, when churches were destroyed, monasteries ruined, cities taken, habitations made desolate, castles demolished, innumerable numbers slaughtered, and there was a vast effusion of human blood in every quarter. During this period the furious tempest of the Vandal invasion raged

¹ In Duchesne's edition of Ordericus, which divides the History into three parts, *the third*, commencing with this seventh book, and including the remaining six, has this notice of the contents prefixed: . . . "In which many things are related concerning the death of King William and his three sons, as well as the expedition to Jerusalem, and other contemporary events."

² This date is correct. It was in 687 or 688 that, after a struggle from the year 680, the power of Pepin d'Heristal was firmly established throughout the whole of France.

³ Childebert III. died April 14, 711, and was buried in the church of St. Stephen, at Choisi-sur-Aisne.

⁴ Pepin died Dec. 16, 714, but it was not till the following year that Charles Martel escaped from the prison in which his mother-in-law Plectrude had immured him, and seized the reins of power in Austrasia.

⁵ Dagobert III. died June 24, 715, after a reign of four years.

⁶ This battle was fought in 715. Our author might have added that Charles Martel sustained a defeat.

through the whole of France, which was laid waste with fire and sword. Sitting down before the city of Sens they assaulted the place with all the force of projectiles and engines of war. Perceiving which, the bishop, whose name was Eboba,¹ made a sally at the head of the citizens, trusting in divine aid, and repulsed the besiegers, pursuing the fugitives until they were driven out of their territories.

In the year of our Lord 741, the prince Charles Martel died, and was buried in the church of St. Denys at Paris.² The exigencies of continual wars caused him to make over the possessions of the churches to laics. At his death, his sons Carloman and Pepin succeeded to the government.

In the year of our Lord 750, Pepin was elected king, and Childeric, the last representative of the royal race of Clovis, received the tonsure.³ With him the line of that king became extinct.

In the year of our Lord 768, King Pepin died,⁴ and his sons Charles, the emperor, surnamed the Great, and Carloman, were elected kings.

In the year of our Lord 771, Carloman died.⁵

In the year of our Lord 809, died Alcuin the philosopher who was abbot of St. Martin at Tours.⁶

In the year of our Lord 814, the emperor Charles the Great died,⁷ and his son Lewis, surnamed the Pious, became king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans. In his time the

¹ For Eboba read Ebbo, and for Vandals in this paragraph, substitute *Saracens*. Their siege of the city of Sens appears to have been laid in the year 732.

² Charles Martel died at Quierzi-sur-Oise, October 22, 741, and was interred at St. Denys, as our author states.

³ Pepin was proclaimed king in the general assembly of the nation at Soissons in March, 752, and crowned a few days afterwards by St. Boniface, archbishop of Mayence. Childeric was sent into confinement at St. Bertin, and his son Theodoric to Fontenelles, now called St. Wandrille. See note, p. 297.

⁴ Pepin died of dropsy at St. Denys, Sept. 24, 768.

⁵ Carloman died at at Samouci, near Laon, Dec. 4, 771.

⁶ Alcuin, abbot of Tours in 796, died May 19, 804.

⁷ Charlemagne died, as every one knows, at Aix-la-Chapelle, Jan. 28, 814. It will also be understood, that by Pagans the author means the *Northmen*; but their ravages in Ponthieu were much later. They endeavoured, indeed, to land on the coast of Flanders, but were vigorously repulsed. The invasion of the valley of the Somme did not take place until after that of the valleys of the Seine and the Loire.

pagans overran the province called Ponthieu. In the twentieth year of the reign of the emperor Lewis the Pious, his son Lothaire rebelled against him and wrested from him the kingdom of the Franks; but the same year his father Lewis collecting a great army recovered his kingdom which his son had deprived him of.¹

In the year of our Lord 840, the twelfth of the calends of July [20th June], the emperor Lewis the Pious died.² The same year there was an eclipse of the sun on the fourth day before the feast of our Lord's Ascension, being the second of the nones [5th] of May, at the ninth hour of the day. The year following, on Ascension-day, a battle was fought at Fontenai³ in Burgundy, between the four sons of Lewis the Pious, namely, Charles Lothaire, Lewis, and Pepin, in which there was a great effusion of human blood. Of these, Charles, surnamed the Bald, was acknowledged king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans:⁴ Lothaire obtained that part of France which to the present day is called from him the kingdom of Lorraine; and Lewis secured Burgundy, and was anointed king.⁵

¹ The first deposition and restoration of Lewis le Debonnaire (or Pius, as the Italians called him), belongs to the year 830. The second deposition took place in the *Champ Rouge*, or *Champ du Mensonge*, near Colmar, in the beginning of July, 833. It was confirmed in the month of October at Compiègne, and Lewis recovered his authority the spring following. It is of the first of these depositions our author speaks.

² Lewis le Debonnaire died June 20, 840. The eclipse here mentioned occurred on Wednesday, May 5, the eve of Ascension day. Our author is mistaken in fixing it at nine o'clock instead of mid-day.

³ Near Auxerre. This battle of Fontenai was fought on Saturday, June 25, 840. Its issue, with the partition treaty of Verdun made shortly afterwards, completed the dismemberment of the empire of Charlemagne. Pepin was not the son, but grandson, of Lewis le Debonnaire.

⁴ Charles the Bald was not elected emperor till Dec. 25, 875, many years after his accession to the throne of the Franks, which took place June 20, 840.

⁵ Lorraine formed but a small part of the states of Lothaire, and it took its name, not from the emperor Lothaire, but from his second son of the same name, who reigned from Sept. 22, 853—Aug. 8, 867. By the treaty of Verdun, the Carolingian empire was thus divided: Lothaire, the emperor, had Italy and all the country comprised within the Alps, the Rhine, and the Scheld, together with the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, comprising the territories from the source of the Saone to its confluence with the Rhone, and along the left bank of the Rhone to the sea. To Lewis, of Bavaria, was allotted all Germany beyond the Rhine, with

In the year of our Lord 867, Charles the emperor, surnamed the Bald, son of the most pious emperor Lewis, as he was on a journey to Rome for the second time, died on the road on the third of the calends of October, at the city of Vercelli, and was buried in the church of St. Eusebius the martyr.¹ After resting there seven years, the body was brought to France in compliance with a vision, and honourably interred in the church of St. Denys the Martyr at Paris.² His son Lewis succeeded him in the kingdom of the Franks. The year following, John, the pope of Rome, came into France with Formosus bishop of Porto, bringing with him very precious relics, and disembarking at Arles, passed through Lyons and other cities till he reached Troyes, where he had a conference with King Lewis, son of Charles the

the three cities of Worms, Spire, and Mayence, on its left bank. Charles the Bald retained the countries situated between the Scheld, the Meuse, the Rhone, the Ebro, and the two seas.

¹ Charles the Bald died in a poor cottage on this side of the Mont-Cenis, on the 6th of October, 877, in returning from Rome, and not on his journey there. The contemporary chronicles call the place where the violence of his disorder compelled him to stop, *Brios*. It is certain that it must have been between the summit of the pass, which he had just crossed, and the town of St. Jean-de-Maurienne, where the Empress Richilde, at his instance, came to attend him. The principal places on the route are St. Michel, Modane, and Lanslebourg, but these are considerable bourgs, and would have afforded better accommodation to the dying emperor than the "miserable cottage" spoken of by the chronicles. Besides, the road did not then run by Modane. Every one who has crossed the Mont-Cenis must have observed the succession of secluded villages in the beautiful valley leading down to St. Jean-Maurienne, on the right bank of the Arc, which the road followed till the year 1688. One of these is named *Avrieux*, which appears to be the Brieux or Brios mentioned in the chronicles. It is about eighteen English miles from St. Jean-Maurienne. Ordericus deserves commendation for having rejected the imputations cast by the ecclesiastical historians on Sedecias, the Jewish physician of Charles the Bald, of having ended his days by administering poison; the more improbable, as although his health was already undermined, he survived his seizure eleven days.

² It was proposed to carry the corpse of Charles to St. Denys at once, but it so infected the air, that they were compelled to deposit it at the abbey of Nantua, where, under the care of Helmodeus, the eighth abbot, it was interred near the high altar; and an epitaph, which has been preserved in the obituary of the abbey, engraved on the wall. Seven years afterwards the remains were removed to the royal resting place of the Frank kings at St. Denys.

Bald, and then returned to Italy.¹ After this, Lewis king of the Franks, the son of Charles the Bald, died, leaving a son of tender years named Charles the Simple, whom he entrusted with his kingdom to the guardianship of the Prince Eudes.²

At that time the pagan Northmen overran all France, venting their fury in rapine, slaughter, and every kind of barbarity. Thereupon the chiefs of the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Aquitani, assembling together, unanimously elected Eudes king.³ But he dying on the calends [1st] of January, Charles the Simple, the son of Lewis, recovered his throne.⁴ At this same time the Normans advanced into Burgundy as far as St. Florentin, but Richard duke of Burgundy met them with his army at Tonnerre, and attacking them on the nones [8th] of June; numbers of them fell by the edge of the sword, and the rest were put to flight.⁵ The same year there was an earthquake near the monastery of St. Columb the Virgin, on the fifth of the ides [9th] of January.⁶ About the same period the pagans besieged the city of Chartres, whereupon Richard, duke of Burgundy, and the prince Robert, collecting an army, attacked them on Saturday the thirteenth of the calends of August [20th July], put to the sword six thousand eight hundred, and took hostages of the few that were left, the Divine mercy assisting through the intercession of St. Mary, mother of God. After this, in the middle of the month of March, a star appeared in the north-west for nearly fourteen days emitting very luminous rays.¹

¹ Pope John VIII. arrived at Arles the 11th of May, 878. There must have been more than a single conference at Troyes between the king and the pope, for the pope crowned Lewis on Sunday, the 7th of September of that year.

² Lewis-le-Begue died at Compiègne on Holy Thursday, April 10, 879. The Norman chronicles are wrong in stating that this prince left Charles the Simple under the guardianship of Eudes, the count of Paris.

³ Eudes was not elected king until after the death of Lewis III. and Carloman.

⁴ The 3rd of January, 898. Charles had been crowned on the 28th of January, 893, in opposition to Eudes.

⁵ The battle was fought at Argenteuil, three leagues and a half from Tonnerre, in 848.

⁶ The monastery of St. Columb was an abbey of Benedictines in the suburbs of Sens.

⁷ A.D. 912. The comet was named at Constantinople *Xippias*, because it presented somewhat the appearance of a sword.

The year following, there was a great famine throughout France. About five years afterwards, on the calends [1st] of February, fiery armies were seen in the heavens of various colours pursuing each other in a wonderful manner. The same year there was a sharp quarrel between the king and his barons, which caused much slaughter of Christian people, but through the mercy of God that controversy was brought to an end.

In the third year after this calamity, Rodolph, duke of Burgandy, died on the day before the calends [1st] of September, and was buried in the church of St. Columb in the oratory of St. Symphorian¹ the martyr. The second year after his death, Robert the prince revolted against Charles the Simple, and received the royal unction on the third of the calends of July [29th June]. Before a year was expired, Charles the Simple gave battle to Robert at the city of Soissons, in which battle Robert the pretender to the throne of the Franks was slain.² While, however, Charles was retiring victorious from the carnage of the battle,³ Herbert, the most abandoned of traitors, met him and, under cover of pretended amity, induced him to accept his proffered hospitality in the castle of Peronne, where having thus deceitfully inveigled him, he detained him prisoner: for Robert had married Herbert's sister,⁴ from which union sprung Hugh the Great. In this strait Charles, with the advice and consent of Hugh the Great, son of the said Robert, and his nobles of France, raised to the throne Rodolph, the illustrious son of Richard, duke of Burgundy, whom he had held at the baptismal font.⁵ Charles the

¹ It was not Rodolph, but his father Richard, who died at the end of August, 921, and was buried the 1st of September, in the church of St. Columb.

² Robert was crowned the 20th of June, 922. The battle of Soissons was fought the 15th of June, 923.

³ Charles did not assume an air of triumph after the battle: "He retired to Belgium without any spoils." It was on his return from thence, and not from Soissons, that Herbert seized his person, and conducted him as a prisoner to Soissons.

⁴ Beatrix, second daughter of Herbert, count de Vermandois.

⁵ Charles took no part in the election of Rodolph, and it does not elsewhere appear that he was his godfather. Charles died in prison at Peronne, the 7th of October, 929. Rodolph was crowned at Soissons, with his wife Emma, on the 13th of July, 923.

Simple himself, after undergoing the sufferings of a long captivity, died in confinement, and was buried in the church of St. Fursey the confessor, within the castle of Peronne. Rodolph was consecrated king in the city of Soissons on the fourth of the ides [13th] of July.

At this time the pagans again devastated Burgundy, and there was a battle between them and the Christians at Mont Chalaux¹ on the eighth of the ides [6th] of December, in which many thousands of the Christians were slain by the pagans.

King Rodolph dying on the eighteenth of the calends of February² [15th January], he was buried in the church of St. Columb the Virgin. On his death, Hugh the Great with the Franks applied to Duke William, surnamed Longsword,³ to undertake a mission to Ogive, wife of Charles the Simple, and bring back his son Lewis, who had taken refuge with his uncle the king of England for fear of Herbert and Hugh. William, therefore, proceeding to England, and having given hostages, under the sanction of an oath, to the mother of the young prince, returned with him to France.

Thereupon, Lewis, son of Charles the Simple, was anointed king at Laon on the eighteenth of the calends of July [19th June].⁴ Two years afterwards, on the sixteenth of the calends of March [14th February], at the time of cock-crowing till the dawn of day, there was the appearance of armies dyed in blood over all the face of the heavens. The month following, on the ninth of the calends of April [25th March], the Huns, who were still pagans, began to ravage France, Burgandy, and Aquitain with fire and sword. After this, the Frank nobles, and especially Hugh the Great, revolted against King Lewis.⁵ The same year a

¹ Near Clameci, in the Nièvre.

² Rodolph died at Auxerre of the *morbus pedicularis*, on the 15th of January, 936, and was buried in the abbey at Sens.

³ Ordericus, following the error or misrepresentation of his predecessor, Dudon, substitutes here Duke William Long-sword for William, archbishop of Sens.

⁴ First at Laon, as here stated, by William, archbishop of Sens, who brought him back from England, and a second time at Rheims, by archbishop Arnold.

⁵ This league, formed in 938, seized Rheims in 940, and compelled Lewis d'Outre-Mer to take refuge with Charles Constantine, prince of

severe famine prevailed throughout all the kingdom of the Franks, so that a muid of wheat was sold for twenty-four pence. Not long afterwards King Lewis, son of Charles the Simple, was, by contrivance of Hugh the Great, treacherously made a prisoner by the Normans in the city of Bayeux, where many of the Franks were massacred by the people. After this, on Tuesday in the month of May,¹ it rained blood upon the labourers at work in the fields. The same year, in the month of September, King Lewis having spent his whole life in straits and mortifications, came to his end and was buried at Rheims, in the cathedral of St. Remi.²

The month following, the second of the ides [12th] of November, his son Lothaire, then a boy, was crowned at Rheims, and Hugh the Great was made duke of France.³ Two years afterwards, in the month of August, Hugh the Great laid siege to the city of Poitiers, but without success; for while he was engaged in the siege, on a certain day the thunder of the Lord crashed terribly, and the duke's tent was rent by a whirlwind from top to bottom, so that both he and his army were struck with horror, and being in fear for their lives, took to flight, and abandoned the siege. The Almighty did this through the intercession of St. Hilary, the constant guardian and protector of the city of Poitiers.⁴

The same year died Gilbert, duke of Burgundy, leaving the Duchy to Otho, son of Hugh the Great, who had married Gilbert's daughter:⁵ two years afterwards Hugh himself, duke of France, died on the sixteenth of the calends of July [June 16], at Dourdan, and was buried in the

Vienne. He returned by Aquitain, and reached Poitiers the 5th of January, 942.

¹ A.D. 954.

² Lewis d'Outre-Mer terminated his miserable existence at Rheims the 10th of September, 954, from the effects of a fall from his horse.

³ Hugh the Great had been confirmed as long before as 943 in the dignity of duke of France. If there was a fresh confirmation after the coronation of Lothaire, it was a mere form. He died at Dourdan the 16th of June, 956, and his son, Hugh Capet, was invested in 960 with the duchy of France, the counties of Paris and Orleans, and the abbeys held by his father.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 139.

⁵ Gilbert died on the 8th of April, 956, and his son-in-law Otho, son of Hugh the Great, the 23rd of February, in 965, according to Frodoard.

church of St. Denys the martyr, at Paris. He was succeeded by his sons, Hugh, Otho, and Henry, born of the daughter of Otho, king of the Saxons. Hugh became duke of the Franks, and Otho of the Burgundians, and on Otho's death, his brother Henry succeeded him as duke of Burgundy.¹

About the same time there was a quarrel between Ansegise, bishop of Troyes, and Count Robert. Whereupon bishop Ansegise, being expelled from his see by the count, went into Saxony to the Emperor Otho, and returning with an army of Saxons, sat down before the city of Troyes in the month of October, and besieged it for a long time. The Saxons having made an attack on Sens, with the intention of pillaging the city, Archembold the archbishop, and the aged Count Rainard, encountered them with a large body of troops at a place called Villiers,² and the men of Sens were victorious in the battle, the Saxons, with Helpo their general, being put to the sword. Helpo had threatened to burn the churches and villages on the river Vanne,³ as far as the city of Sens, and to drive his spear into the gate of St. Leo. But he was slain, as we have said, with his followers, by the men of Sens, and his corpse was carried back by his servants to his own country in the Ardennes, as pursuant to the commands of his mother Warnar. Count Rainard and Archbishop Archembold deplored his death in deep affliction, for he was their kinsman. His fellow leader, Bruno, who conducted the siege of Troyes, on the loss of Helpo and his troops, returned home.⁴

Not many days afterwards King Lothaire, assembling a large force, recovered possession of the kingdom of Lorraine, and obtaining an entrance, without resistance just at

¹ The dates of the succession of Hugh Capet and Otho are already given. Hudwige, or Hadwige, their mother, second wife of Hugh the Great, was sister, not daughter, of the Emperor Otho I., and consequently daughter of Henry I. of Saxony, surnamed the Fowler, king of Germany. Henry, duke of Burgundy, called the Great, succeeded his brother Otho in 965, and died about 1002.

² Villiers-Louis, about eight leagues east of Sens.

³ The Vanne takes its rise in the department of the Aube, passes a league and a half to the south of Villiers, and joins the Yonne near, and to the south, of the city of Sens.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 139.

the hour of dining, into the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Emperor Otho and his wife were residing, Lothaire and his followers feasted on what was provided for the emperor's table, who, with his wife and attendants, made their escape from the palace. It was pillaged by King Lothaire, as well as the whole province, and he then returned into France without molestation, no one opposing him.¹

After that the Emperor Otho, having assembled his army, marched on Paris, where his nephew Otho and many others were slain before the city gate, having set fire to the suburb, and insolently boasted that he would fix his lance in the gate. King Lothaire summoned Hugh duke of France, and Henry duke of Burgundy, to his aid, and joined by their forces attacked the Lorrainers, whom they defeated and pursued as far as the city of Sens. Retreating across the river Aisne they missed the ford, and numbers perished. More indeed were drowned than fell by the sword, and the channel was choked with the corpses of the dead, the river being then in flood. King Lothaire pursued the survivors for three days and three nights, until they reached a river, which takes its course near the Ardennes or Argonne, putting multitudes of the enemy to the sword.² He then drew off his troops and returned into France in great triumph, while the Emperor Otho, with the remnant of his army, retired into his own states. After this defeat neither the Emperor Otho nor his army again invaded France. The same year King Lothaire concluded a peace with Otho at Rheims, contrary to the wishes of his brothers Hugh and Henry and of his own army. King Lothaire ceded to Otho the kingdom of Lorraine, to be held as a fief of his own crown, and this cession caused great dissatisfaction in the minds of the principal Frank nobles.³

In the year of our Lord 976 King Lothaire departed this life, far advanced in years;⁴ he was buried in the church of

¹ This surprise, which our author has also before related (vol. i. p. 140), took place towards the end of June, 977.

² This invasion was made in the month of October, 977.

³ The treaty by which Lothaire ceded Lorraine to Otho II., reserving that suzerainty, was made at Rheims in 980.

⁴ The second figure in the text is incorrect in all the editions; this prince died the 2nd of March, 986, at the age of only forty-five years.

St. Remi at Rheims, and his son Lewis, then a youth, succeeded to the throne of France.

In the year of our Lord 977, the young King Lewis died, having reigned over the Franks six years.¹ He was interred in the church of St. Cornelius at Compiègne. He was succeeded by his brother Charles, son of King Lothaire. The same year Hugh, duke of France, revolted against him, because he had married the daughter of Herbert count of Troyes. Hugh assembled a very large army and laid siege to Laon, where Charles had taken up his residence with his queen. The king marched out of the city, and routing Hugh and his army, burnt the huts in which they had been quartered. Duke Hugh, finding that he could not conquer Charles by open force made a league with Ascelin, an old traitor, who had intruded himself into the bishopric of Laon, and was counsellor of King Charles. In consequence, Ascelin betrayed the city to Hugh, duke of the Franks, in the night-time, while the citizens were asleep, and Charles and his wife were thrown into chains and conducted to Orleans. He had not yet been anointed as king by reason of Duke Hugh's opposition. While he was detained prisoner in the Tower at Orleans, his wife bore him two sons, Lewis and Charles. The same year Duke Hugh was crowned at Rheims as king of the Franks, and in the course of the same year his son Robert was also consecrated king. Thus ended the dynasty of Charlemagne.²

At that time Arnulph, a mild and excellent prelate, who was brother of King Lothaire by a concubine of his father, held the archbishopric of Rheims. He was hated by King Hugh, who wished to exterminate the family of King Lothaire. He therefore assembled a synod at Rheims, to which he invited Sewin, archbishop of Sens, with his suffragans. In this council he caused the Lord Arnulph, the archbishop of Rheims, to be degraded to the annoyance of his nephew,³ whom he detained in prison, declaring that the

¹ Louis V. died the 21st of May, 987, at the age of about twenty years. He suffered more from misfortune and treason than from indolence or incapacity. His reign lasted less than two years after the death of his father, and seven years after his coronation.

² On these events, see vol. i. p. 141.

³ Charles was not the nephew, but just the contrary—the uncle of Arnulph.

son of a concubine was unfit to be a bishop. In his place he procured the consecration of the Lord Gerbert, the monk and philosopher, who had been the tutor of his son King Robert and of Leotheric, the archbishop who succeeded the venerable Sewin. Arnulph was committed to prison in the city of Orleans. But the worthy archbishop Sewin was no party to the degradation of Arnulph and the consecration of Gerbert. Some other bishops, with great reluctance, were induced, by the king's threats, to degrade the one and consecrate the other; but Sewin, fearing God more than an earthly sovereign, refused his consent to the iniquitous transaction, and, not only so, but he opposed to the utmost of his power the royal wish, in consequence of which the king's wrath was inflamed against him. The king having caused Arnulph to be shamefully expelled from the church of St. Mary, mother of God, at Rheims, thrust him bound into prison, and then removed him in chains to a dungeon at Orleans, where his nephew was a prisoner; and he was confined there three years. These transactions were reported to the pope of Rome, who, in great indignation, suspended all the bishops who had degraded Arnulph and consecrated Gerbert. He also sent the abbot Leo as legate of the apostolic see to the Lord Sewin, archbishop of Sens, with instructions to summon a synod at Rheims as the pope's vicar, and commanding him, without delay, to recall Arnulph from his confinement and degrade Gerbert. The synod therefore being assembled, Arnulph was released from his imprisonment by the apostolical command, and restored with great honour to his own see. Gerbert being sensible that he had illegally usurped the archiepiscopal authority submitted to penance. The instructive controversy between him and the abbot Leo may be found at length in the archives of the archbishop of Rheims. After this the Lord Gerbert was elected bishop of Ravenna by the Emperor Otho and the people of that city, and having held the see many years, was, on the death of the pope of Rome, called by acclamation of the whole Roman people to succeed him. He was therefore removed from Ravenna and consecrated pope in the city of Rome.¹

¹ See the account of these transactions and the notes, vol. i. pp. 144, 145.

In the year of our Lord 918, the king Hugh departed this life,¹ and was interred in the church of St. Denys at Paris. He was succeeded by his son Robert, the most pious and temperate of kings.

In the year of our Lord 999, the venerable Archbishop Sewin began to restore the abbey of St. Peter at Melun from the foundations, and establishing there a fraternity of monks, appointed Walter their abbot. The same year, the knight Walter and his wife betrayed the castle of Melun to Count Eudes. Upon this, King Robert assembled a strong force with Count Bouchard, and calling in the Normans under their Duke Richard, laid siege to Melun. The castle being taken, Walter and his wife were hung on a gallows, and Melun was restored to Count Bouchard its former lord.²

Now, Rainard, the old count of Sens, came to his end after many evil practices, and was buried in the church of St. Columb the virgin. He was succeeded by his son Fromond who had married the daughter of Reynold, count of Rheims.

In the year of our Lord 1000, the thirteenth indiction, on the sixteenth of the calends of November [17th October], the venerable Sewin, metropolitan bishop, departed in Christ. After his death the church of Sens was deprived of the episcopal benediction for a whole year. All the people demanded with acclamation that the Lord Leotheric, of a noble family, who was then archdeacon and eminent for his virtues, should be ordained. But opposition was made by some of the clergy who aspired themselves to the archiepiscopal throne. More especially Count Fromond, son of the old Rainard, and thus sprung from a bad stock, forbade the appointment, because he had a son named Bruno in holy orders, and he desired to make him bishop. However, by God's providence, the suffragan bishops of the diocese of Sens, having the authority and consent of the apostolical see and regardless of the fear of man, solemnly consecrated the lord Leotheric, and installed him in the episcopal throne to govern the diocese of Sens.³

¹ October 24, 996.

² Bouchard, count of Vendôme, eldest son of Fulk the Good, count of Anjou, received from Hugh Capet the county and castle of Melun, with the hand of Elizabeth, wife of Aimon, count of Corbeil.

³ Sewin died October 27, 999. Bruno his competitor with Leotheric,

In the year of our Lord 1001, Henry duke of Burgundy died without issue, and the Burgundians rebelled against King Robert, whom they refused to acknowledge as their sovereign. In consequence, Landri, Comte de Nevers, occupied the city of Auxerre.¹

In the year of our Lord 1003, King Robert having called in the Normans with their Duke Richard, and assembled a very large army, ravaged Burgundy and besieged Auxerre for a long time. The Burgundians, being by no means disposed to submit to him, were unanimous in their resistance; but he besieged the castle of Avalon for nearly three months, and at length it was compelled by famine to surrender to King Robert, who then returned to France.²

On the death of Fromont, count of Sens, he was succeeded by his son Rainard, a most worthless infidel. His persecution of the churches of Christ and his faithful servants was such as has not been heard of from heathen times to the present day. Archbishop Leotheric was consequently plunged into such difficulties that he knew not which way to turn. Committing himself, however, entirely to the Lord, he implored Christ in prayers and vigils that of his heavenly mercy he would vouchsafe to afford relief.

Thereupon, in the year of our Lord 1016, the thirteenth indiction, on the tenth of the calends of May [22nd April], the city of Sens was taken possession of by Leotheric, by the advice of Reynold bishop of Paris, and was given up to King Robert. Rainard was forced to betake himself to flight and escaped naked. His brother Fromond and some other knights took refuge in a tower which stood within the city. The king, however, reduced it, after an assault of

was second son of Fromond II., count of Sens. It required two journeys by Leotheric to Rome and an express order of Silvester II. (Gerbert), his former tutor, to determine them to consecrate him in opposition to the count. The ceremony was performed, in 1001, in the church of St. Fare.

¹ Henry the Great died in 1002.—*Mabillon*. Otho-William, his son-in-law, and also his adopted heir, took possession of the duchy. King Robert seized the province in 1003, with the aid of thirty thousand Normans, commanded by their duke, Richard II.; but he was compelled to retire without taking Auxerre, which was defended by Landri, count de Nevers, and son-in-law of Otho-William.

² The siege and taking of Avalon belong to the campaign of 1005, in the course of which the king also took Sens, and besieged Dijon in vain. It was defended by Otho-William in person, and his most gallant knights.

many days' duration, and taking Fromond captive, sent him to Orleans, where he died in prison.¹

Robert, king of the Franks, reigned thirty-seven years.² He married Constance, a princess celebrated for her wisdom and virtue. She bore him a noble offspring, Henry, Robert, and Adele. King Robert died in the year of our Lord 1031, the fourteenth indiction, and Henry his son reigned nearly thirty years. Robert had the duchy of Burgundy, and was the father of three sons, Henry, Robert, and Simon. Henry, the eldest, had two sons, Hugh and Eudes, but he died before his father. Hugh therefore succeeded his grandfather in the duchy, which he governed for three years with distinguished merit. He then abdicated in favour of his brother Eudes, and inflamed by divine love, became a monk of Cluni, where he piously served God fifteen years. Adele, the daughter of King Robert, was given in marriage to Baldwin count of Flanders, to whom she bore a numerous offspring, Robert the Frisian, Arnulph, and Baldwin, counts; Eudes, archbishop of Treves, and Henry, a clerk; also Matilda queen of England, and Judith the wife of Earl Tostig.

During this period, while Robert and Henry were kings of

¹ The archbishop made the engagement to deliver the city to the king on April 22, 1015; but it required a regular siege to triumph over the resistance of Rainard and his eldest brother Fromond, whom he had called to his aid. Fromont finished his days in prison in the castle of Orleans, but Rainard, having taken refuge with Eudes II., count de Champagne, built with his assistance the castle of Montreuil-sur-Seine, which he afterwards ceded to him, and, forcibly re-establishing himself in Sens, lived afterwards in peace with the king and the archbishop until the death of Leotheric (June 26, 1031).

² October 24, 996—July 20, 1031. Robert and Constance had four sons, Hugh, Henry, Robert, and Hugh, and two daughters, Adelaide, or Havise, and Adele. Henry I. died August 29, 1060, after a reign of twenty-nine years. Robert I., duke of Burgundy, called the Elder, received that province of his brother Henry in full sovereignty in the year 1032. This prince had four sons and two daughters. Hugh I., who succeeded in 1075, was son of Henry his second son. He resigned the duchy in 1078 to his brother Eudes Borel, in order to retire to Cluni, where he died in 1093, after having been ordained priest. Adele de France, first married to Richard III., duke of Normandy, and afterwards to Baldwin, count of Flanders, died in 1071. The archbishop of Trèves must be excluded from this genealogy. His parentage is otherwise given elsewhere.

France, ten popes filled successively the apostolic see ; that is, Gerbert the Philosopher, who assumed the name of Silvester, John, Benedict, and John his brother, Benedict their nephew, Clemens, Damasus, eminent for his nobility and love of justice, Leo, Victor, Stephen and Nicholas.¹ Henry, king of the Franks, married Bertrade, daughter of Julius Claudius king of Russia,² by whom he had Philip, and Hugh the Great, Count de Crépi. Philip reigned after his father's death forty-seven years, and espoused Bertha, daughter of Florence duke of Frisia, who bore him Lewis-Theobald and Constance.³

CH. II. *Short notices of the battle of Val-des-Dunes—Of King William's marriage and children—Of the invasion of Normandy by King Henry of France—And the battle of Mortemer.*

IN the year of our Lord 1047, the fifteenth indiction, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, invited King Henry into Neustria,⁴ and with his assistance fought a battle against his kinsfolk at Val-des-Dunes, in which he defeated Guy of Burgundy and other rebels, forcing some to submit, and putting others to flight. After this, his power being established, he married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin marquis of Flanders, who bore him four sons and five daughters ;⁵ Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, Agatha,

¹ Silvester II.; John XVII. (John XVIII.; Sergius IV.); Benedict VIII.; John XIX.; Benedict IX. (Gregory VI.); Clement XI.; Damasus II.; Leo IX.; Victor II.; Stephen IX.; and Nicholas II.

² Henry I. married in 1061 Anne, daughter of Jaroslaw, duke of Russia, by whom he had two sons, king Philip, and Hugh, count of Vermandois in 1102.

³ Philip I. reigned nearly forty-eight years (August 29, 1060—August 3, 1108). It was in 1071 that he married Bertha, daughter of Florence, count of Holland, by whom he had Lewis-le-Gros, and Constance, married first to Hugh, count de Champagne, and afterwards to Bohemond, prince of Antioch.

⁴ William threw himself at the feet of King Henry at Poissi to implore succour against the league, at the head of which was Guy of Burgundy, his uncle according to the customs of Brittany (son of Reynold, count of Burgundy, and Adeliza, daughter of Duke Richard II). Guy was defeated in 1047 at the battle of Val-des-Dunes, three leagues to the south-east of Caen. See the dying discourse of King William in the fifteenth chapter of this book.

⁵ The marriage of William and Matilda probably soon followed the

Adeliza, Constance, Adele, and Cecilia. A variety of fortunes was the lot of this illustrious progeny, and each in their day was subject to mischance, as my pen has elsewhere sufficiently noted. In course of time seditions burst forth, and the seeds of dissension were sown among these princes, which gave rise to great wars between the French and Normans, wherein much blood was shed.

At length, in the year of our Lord 1054, King Henry invaded the territory of Evreux, and made great devastations, both by pillage and fire; at the same time causing his brother Eudes to cross the Seine with many thousand troops by the Beauvaisis. Meanwhile Duke William hung with his force on the flank of King Henry's army watching for a favourable opportunity of bringing him to an engagement. Moreover, he ordered Roger de Mortemer and the Cauchois to throw themselves on the royal troops [commanded by Eudes]. Obeying his orders without delay, they encountered the French at Mortemer, and having gained the victory, took prisoner Guy count of Ponthieu, and put to flight Eudes and Ralph count de Mont-Didier, many of their followers falling by the sword.¹ Then Pope Leo died in the sixth year of his pontificate,² in the second year of which the abbey of St. Evroult was restored, and Theodoric, the first abbot, was consecrated on the nones [the 7th] of October. Eight years afterwards he went on a pilgrimage, and died in the island of Cyprus, on the calends [the 1st] of August, many miracles being wrought on his tomb.³

CH. III. *A fragment, containing part of the genealogy of Edward the Confessor.*

EDWARD, king of England, after a reign of twenty-three

successful issue of this contest, which established the young duke's power. For the children who were the issue of this marriage, see before, pp. 22, 23.

¹ More full details of this double invasion of Normandy by King Henry are given in the discourse supposed to have been made by William I. on his death-bed, for which see the fourth chapter of the present book.

² Leo IX. Feb. 1049—April 19, 1054.

³ The abbey of St. Evroult was restored and the blessed Theodoric consecrated abbot Oct. 5, 1050; he went in pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the beginning of September, 1057, and died in the church of St. Nicholas, in the island of Cyprus, August 1, 1058, as already related. See b. iii. iv. vol. i. pp. 402—422.

years¹ departed this life in the sixth year of Philip king of France. His genealogy from Shem, the son of Noah, may be thus traced. Shem begat Arphaxad and Beadung; Beadung begat Wala; Wala begat Hatra; Hatra begat Itermod; Itermod begat Heremod; Heremod begat Sceldunea; Sceldunea begat Beaw; Beaw begat Cetuna; Cetuna begat Geata; whom the heathen long since worshipped as a god. Geata begat Findggoldwulf, the father of Fidhulput; of whom came Fealap, the father of Frithowald. From him sprung Woden, from whom the English call the sixth day, Woden's day.² He was highly exalted among his people and attained great power.

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CH. IV. *The Emperor Henry IV. supports the Anti-pope Guibert (Clement III.)—besieges and takes Rome—Gregory VIII. (Hildebrand) retires into Apulia.*

IN the year of our Lord 1084, Henry king of the Germans, having assembled a great multitude of Saxons, Germans, Lorrainers, and other people, made a violent inroad into Italy which he overran and besieged and assaulted Rome. The Romans surrendering, being tempted by the rewards pro-

¹ Edward the Confessor succeeded to the throne of England June 8, 1042, but was not crowned till Easter in the following year. For this reason our author counts only twenty-three years in his reign, which ended Jan. 5, 1066. The genealogy here ascribed to this king is found in most of the English chronicles.

² It was not the sixth but the *fourth* day which was consecrated to Odin in the primitive religion of our Saxon ancestors, and which still bears his name.

³ The conclusion of this chapter appears to be lost. *Duchesne* appends the following note to the fragment preserved: "Some things are wanting here which seem to have been a recapitulation of those events which the author had related more at large in former books, viz., from the expedition of Duke William to England until the year of Christ, 1083." *M. Le Prévost* observes, that it cannot escape the reader's observation that the preceding chapter (the third) consists of detached paragraphs strung together without order. Some persons, he says, have supposed that it belonged originally to b. iii., others to b. iv. He applies to chap. iii. what *Duchesne* says of the recapitulation, which consists of events already related in books iv. and v. *M. Le Prévost*, while acknowledging the evident existence of a chasm in the history, is unable to offer any conjecture on its extent, its contents, or the place it filled in the author's original plan.

mised them, he took possession of the city. Having expelled Gregory VII. from the apostolic see, he shamefully intruded in his place Guibert metropolitan of Ravenna. Thereupon Gregory retired to Beneventum, and a great schism was created throughout the world, which caused much evil to the sons of the church, and long continued to the injury of many persons.¹ Pope Gregory, whose name in baptism was Hildebrand, had been a monk from his childhood, and his whole life was a pattern of wisdom and religion, maintaining a perpetual conflict against sin. He rose through the several degrees of the ecclesiastical orders to the popedom the summit of all, in which for sixteen years he applied himself diligently to the observance of the divine law. Inflamed with zeal for truth and justice he denounced every kind of wickedness, sparing no offenders, either through fear or favour. He therefore suffered persecution and exile from the stubborn and insubordinate, who refused to submit to the Lord's yoke; yet no device of theirs prevailed against him to the hour of his death.

Pope Gregory repeatedly admonished and corrected, and at length excommunicated Henry, king of the Germans, as an incorrigible transgressor of the divine law. For that prince deserted his wife, the daughter of the illustrious count Eustace de Bouillon, and like a swine wallowing in the mire abandoned himself to foul and adulterous pleasures, disregarding the commandments of God and the admonitions of good men. However, Godfrey duke of Lorraine, incensed at the shameful repudiation of his sister, declared war against Henry, and, collecting together a force of several thousand troops, gave him battle, and forcing him to quit the field in a shameful flight, thus revenged his sister's wrongs.²

¹ The emperor Henry IV., called by our author king of the Germans, and the anti-pope Guibert, made their solemn entry into Rome on Tuesday, March 21, 1084, by the Lateran gate; and on Palm Sunday, the 24th of the same month, Guibert was consecrated at St. Peter's under the name of Clement III. After Henry's departure, and the raising of the siege of the castle of St. Angelo, to which Gregory VII. had retired, and the sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard, the pope retired to Monte Cassino and Salernum.

² All this paragraph is incorrect. The emperor did not marry the sister of Godfrey de Bouillon, and so far from their being at war, Godfrey

Henry often treacherously invited to his court the nobles whose wives or daughters or estates he coveted, and, causing them to be privately way-laid by his emissaries, had them despatched on the road when they expected no evil. This abandoned king disgraced himself by these and many such enormities, dragging with him the numerous accomplices of his crimes to a common ruin. Pope Gregory, receiving complaints of these iniquities, frequently implored Henry to amend his life, but he wickedly laughed to scorn his physician and doctor, and disregarded his remonstrances. Gregory therefore held frequent councils with a great number of prelates, consulting on the means of affording relief to the Christian empire which Henry so foully and infamously polluted. At last, finding that notwithstanding his frequent admonitions Henry obstinately persisted in his crimes, the pope excommunicated him according to the sentence of a synod, deprived the obdurate prince of the imperial power which he had damnably usurped, and by his apostolical authority caused Count Conrad to be anointed king by the hands of an assembly of bishops. In consequence Henry, deprived of his sceptre, remained quiet a whole year in his own abode, shutting himself up in the county which was his own by right of inheritance. Meanwhile, he lavishly employed the treasures he had amassed to secure himself allies. Having thus collected a force of many thousand accomplices, this public enemy, in contempt of the decree of excommunication, broke into rebellion, engaged in battle with King Conrad, and overthrew and killed him, routing his army with losses of all kinds.¹

Elated with this victory, Henry re-assumed his imperial received from the emperor's hands the investiture of the duchy of the Lower-Lorraine in 1093.

¹ This paragraph is not more correct than the preceding one. It was not till 1093, and, consequently, eight years after the death of Gregory VII., that Conrad, son of Henry IV., revolted against his father at the instigation of the Countess Matilda, his aunt, and caused himself to be crowned king of the Normans. Our author has confounded Conrad with Rodolph, duke of Swabia, elected king of Germany in the place of his brother-in-law Henry, in March, 1077, by the influence of Gregory VII. It was Rodolph who was slain fighting with Henry at the battle of Marsbourg (Oct. 15, 1080). We are informed that he received his mortal wound from the lance of Godfrey de Bouillon, who is represented by our author as the determined enemy of the emperor.

authority, coerced his rebellious subjects, and, having strongly reinforced his army, laid siege to Rome, directing all his efforts against Pope Gregory.¹ It had, I consider, entirely escaped his memory how Absalom, having gathered a large force against his father David, had by the advice of Ahithophel the Gilonite levied arms against him, attacking his own father and his followers as they were departing from Jerusalem, and caused at length the death of many thousand warriors, but miserably perished when he had accomplished his impious project to the loss of many. Thus Henry took up arms against his father, and justly merited in return to be cruelly persecuted by his own offspring. When he was asked how he presumed to engage in such fearful enterprises against the head of the church, he replied, laughing, that the cause of this great quarrel between himself and the pope was that the physician had recourse to remedies too violent for an unruly patient.

The lawless monarch therefore vigorously urged the siege of Rome, alarmed the citizens with assaults and menaces, seduced them with bribes and promises, and by such means won over the people and got possession of the city. The Romans thus deserting his cause, Pope Gregory took refuge in Apulia, and, being received by the Normans with distinguished honours, dwelt there four years and, having given rules of life to the sons of the church, ended his labours.² Thereupon the emperor Henry uncanonically intruded into the Lord's fold, Guibert, metropolitan of Ravenna, whom they called Clement; on account of which a long and grievous

¹ The emperor arrived under the walls of Rome with the anti-pope Guibert, a few days before Whitsuntide, 1081. The siege was not interrupted from that period until the city was taken in 1084.

² The pope retired from Rome in 1084, and died at Salernum, May 25, 1085, long before the four years of which Ordericus speaks. The anti-pope Guibert continued the struggle long after the death of Gregory VII., maintaining his position at Rome. There is a well known epigraph in which he rallied his rival, Urban II., on the unsuitableness of the name he assumed to his condition as an exile from the city.

*Diceris Urbanus, cum sis projectus ab urbe ;
Vel muta nomen ; vel regrediaris ad urbem.*

How can you call yourself *Urban* when you are banished from the city (*ab urbe*)? You would do well to change your name if you cannot return to Rome (*ad urbem*).

schism throughout the Christian world caused the ruin of numbers of persons by a twofold death. The people of Milan and Mayence, and many others who espoused the party of Guibert, not only excommunicated the friends of Gregory but cruelly rose in arms against them. On the other hand Gregory and his supporters invited the erring partisans of Guibert to return to the unity of the church, and upon their refusing to obey the summons excommunicated them according to ecclesiastical right.

Eudes, count of Sutri, who was nephew of the intruder Guibert, used every exertion, by violent measures and entreaties, to bring over all he could, whether foreigners or natives, to his criminal faction, either tormenting or putting to death those who opposed him, and refused to submit to the unfounded claims of a heretic.¹ The Catholic church, involved in these dark clouds, and full of grief, sent up her prayers to the Lord, the source of true light and of justice, beseeching him to humble and remove out of the way the fomentors of discord, and to restore peace and truth on earth among the men of good-will.

CH. V. *The Emperor Alexius Comnenus ascends the throne of Constantinople—Expedition of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond to the coast of Greece—Durazzo besieged and taken—Robert Guiscard recalled by the affairs of Italy.*

AT this time, Greece, the mother of eloquence, was shaken by the storms of war; and, afflicted with grievous calamities, was overwhelmed with grief and alarm. For the Greek Bitinacius, impelled by his overweening ambition and arrogant temper, usurped the government, expelling Michael, the emperor of Constantinople; and, putting out the eyes of his son who ought to have succeeded him on the throne, threw him into a dungeon, imprisoning also the two daughters of Robert Guiscard, one of whom was betrothed

¹ Sutri is an episcopal city belonging to the patrimony of St. Peter. Although its lord joined the party opposed to the pope, and persevered in his hostility to the pontificate of Urban II. as we shall find in the succeeding book, its bishop acted quite differently. That prelate, who was eminent for his piety and learning, was taken prisoner by the emperor in the campaign of 1083.

to the young prince. The discomfited Michael sought refuge in Italy, humbly imploring the aid of the Normans on behalf of himself and his family. The illustrious Duke Guiscard received the imperial exile with due honours, soothed his misfortunes by attentions and good offices, and readily promised him his powerful aid. Nor did he delay in taking determined measures for accomplishing the revenge he had promised.¹ But such not being the will of God, all his vast preparations ended in vain threats, and it was not permitted him to carry out the designs which he anxiously entertained.

Alexius, the general of the army, had by Michael's order gone into Paphlagonia at the head of the Greek troops to oppose the Turks, who claimed Nice, a city of Bithynia, as a pledge of peace. Having received intelligence of the expulsion of the lawful emperor, and the mad tyranny of the traitorous usurper, he harangued his troops, and demanded of them what was to be done. Alexius was prudent and virtuous, brave, liberal, and a general favourite. He was therefore received with universal acclamations, and the whole army declared itself ready to obey his commands. He therefore exhorted the troops to join unanimously in besieging Byzantium, and manfully wrest it from the reckless usurper of the imperial throne. Constantinople was consequently closely invested for some days; but it was opened to the besiegers by Raimond of Flanders, in concert with the citizens, he being the chief warder of the gates, and having the custody of the place entrusted to him. Alexius took possession of the imperial palace, hurled Bitinacius² from the throne, and, causing his long beard to

¹ Nicephorus Botaniates, after having dethroned Michael Parapinaces, made his solemn entry into Constantinople, March 25, 1078. All that Ordericus here says on the cruelties inflicted on prince Constantine, and of the emperor Michael having taken refuge with Robert Guiscard is controverted. It is certain, however, that the marriage of Constantine with his daughter was broken off in consequence of the revolution which had just taken place.

² *Botaniates*. "The life of the emperor Alexius Commenus has been delineated with laudable though partial zeal by his learned daughter Anna Commena." Ordericus, in describing him as engaged in the siege of Nice, has confounded the movement which placed him on the throne with that of Nicephoras Melissens, which, in point of fact, was simultaneous with it, or with that of Botaniates himself which occurred three years before.

be shaved, threw him into a dungeon, without further injury. Assuming the imperial sceptre and diadem, amidst general rejoicings, he reigned thirty years with firmness and dignity, both in prosperous and adverse circumstances. He was a prince of great sagacity, compassionate to the poor, a brave and magnanimous soldier, affable to his army, to which he made liberal largesses, and a devout observer of the Divine law. At the beginning of his reign, he released from prison the son of Michael, who, as before mentioned, had been deprived of sight, and placed him under the care of the abbot of St. Cyrus. The young prince, whose worldly career was ended, became a monk in that monastery, and spent the rest of his life with the servants of God. Alexius affectionately regarded and kindly treated the daughters of Guiscard, as if they had been his own, and nurtured them for almost twenty years with the utmost indulgence. Their office was, every morning, when the emperor had risen from his bed and was washing his hands, to present him with a towel, and holding an ivory comb, to dress the emperor's beard. Such was the light and easy service assigned to these noble females by a generous prince; and in the course of years they were sent back to Roger, count of Sicily, by the kind offices of their imperial friend.¹

The changes of the reeling world afford
Proof of the wisdom of the Sacred Word.

“With the same measure that ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.”² Thus, as Michael had driven his

¹ M. Le Prévost considers the office assigned to these ladies about the person of the emperor as indelicate and improbable. But such light services about the person of the sovereign, partaking of the nature of *grand-serjeanty*, were considered honourable, and are characteristic of the age. Every one must remember that of loosing the royal sandals after battle, assigned by our great novelist to the baron of Bradwardine, and which he has so humorously travestied. Our author says nothing about the isolation of these ladies at the court of Alexius, as M. Le Prévost appears to intimate. Not only their cousin Constantine Humbertopoule, son of Humbert de Hauteville, who assisted in the emperor's elevation, was to be found there, but the crusade drew to Constantinople all the flower of the Norman chivalry. It is questioned whether more than one of the daughters of Robert Guiscard was sent there—the eldest, called by the Greeks Helena, who, after Robert's death, was sent back to his brother Roger.

² Luke vi. 38.

father-in-law from the imperial throne, he himself was hurled from it by Bitinacius, who, in his turn, was dethroned by Alexius.

In concert with the patriarch of the royal city, and the wise men and senators of the Greek state, Alexius resolved that the holy empire should not be restored to Michael, who had sought refuge with the public enemy,¹ and had entrusted himself and his fortunes to the faithless Normans, whose practice it was not to replace their allies in their dominions, but to usurp their states, and to subject to their own rule, and strip of their honours, by a refinement of cruelty, those whom it should have been their duty to liberate, and to aid in the recovery of their lawful authority. Alexius therefore formed a close connection with the English, who, with their chiefs, quitted England after the death of King Harold, and, flying from the face of King William, embarked on the Black Sea, and landed in Thrace. He committed to their custody his principal palace, and the royal treasures, and even made them the guards of his own person and household.² From the four quarters of the globe bands of warriors assembled for the prize, which their efforts to deprive him of his life and his throne might secure. But all their efforts were fruitless; for under God's protection he escaped the many plots of his enemies, and living to a good old age associated with himself his son John in the imperial title.³ Thus it is evident to all judicious observers, that no human power can overthrow and ruin those who have God for their supporter and protector.

¹ Michael, "whose character," as described by Gibbon, "was degraded rather than ennobled by the virtue of a monk and the learning of a sophist," does not appear to have made any further pretensions to the throne; but having been decorated with the title of archbishop of Ephesus, found so much charm in a monastic life and manual labour that he returned to his convent to devote himself to them without interruption.

² M. Le Prévost considers that our author has exaggerated the services of the English Varangian guards; we may, however, be permitted to remark, with great respect, that no facts are better authenticated. See the note in vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

³ John Commenus took possession of the throne on August 15, 1118, rather with the tacit consent of the dying emperor, than by any formal act of association. The opposition of the empress Irene, up to the last moment, to this transmission of the imperial authority is well known.

While the storms of the revolution of which we have now spoken were raging in Illyricum, and Michael¹ was imploring the aid of the Italians with lamentations and tears, Robert Guiscard assembled a powerful force of Normans and Lombards from all parts of his duchies of Apulia and Calabria, and, having equipped a powerful fleet, entered the port of Otranto. He then sailed with a favourable wind for Durazzo,² the citizens of which offering a formidable resistance, towards the end of June he laid siege to the place. His army did not consist of more than ten thousand troops, but he relied more on the valour than on the numbers of his soldiers to strike the enemy with terror, in his invasion of Greece renowned for its warlike character since the times of Adrastus and Agamemnon. Robert Giffard and William de Grantmesnil,³ with other gallant young soldiers, who had recently arrived from Normandy, took part in this expedition. Mark Bohemond, the son of Guiscard by a Norman lady, seconded his father in his absence, led a division of the army with great prudence, and, exhibiting much discretion in the conduct of affairs, gave promise of his future worth. His brother Robert, surnamed Bursa, remained in Apulia by his father's orders, and took charge of the duchy, the succession of which belonged to him in right of his mother.

The emperor Alexius, roused by the complaints of the

¹ The false Michael, who was only a monk named Rector, the puppet of Robert Guiscard, was paraded by that prince through the whole of Southern Italy. Gregory VII seems to have been really the dupe of this imposture, and recommended the pretended Michael with all his influence to the support of the friends of the church.

² On the opposite shore of the Adriatic, near Jannina, the modern capital of Albania. Robert Guiscard sailed from the port of Brundisium about the end of June, 1081, and while he was engaged in the conquest of Corfu detached his brother Bohemond to the continent with fifteen vessels. Both arrived together before Durazzo on July 14, the fleet of Bohemond having been dispersed by a violent storm. The Norman army was reduced to 15,000, not 10,000 men.

³ Robert Giffard belonged to the family of Giffard of Longueville, being probably brother of Walter Giffard, the second of that name, who was earl of Buckingham, and not a younger son of the family of Tillières, or Fougères, according to an erroneous statement of the continuator of William de Jumièges, to be found in Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.* p. 312. Of William, second son of Hugh de Grantmesnil, there will be many opportunities to speak in the sequel.

inhabitants of Durazzo, assembled a powerful army, and prepared to defeat the besiegers of his city in engagements both by sea and land. While, however, the imperial messengers were despatched in every direction, and bands of soldiers were being collected from the islands and adjacent provinces, it happened that one day Mark Bohemond going out to forage at the head of fifty men-at-arms, found himself unexpectedly in face of five hundred light-armed troops, who were in advance of the enemy's army, to carry succours to the besieged. As soon as they perceived each other a sharp encounter ensued, in which the Greeks, not being able to sustain the charge of the Normans gave way and abandoned a considerable booty. In this engagement they left the brazen cross which the emperor Constantine, when he was about to give battle to Maxentius, made in imitation of the cross he had seen in the sky. The Normans, returning from the conflict, spread the greatest joy and hope of victory among their comrades; while the Greeks were in the greatest tribulation and despair at the loss of our Lord's cross, which they strove hard to redeem for a very large sum of gold.¹ But Guiscard disdained any such barter, esteeming for Christ's merits the brazen cross more precious than all the gold in the world. He therefore carried it with him through many dangers, and since his death the convent of the Holy Trinity at Venosa reverently preserves it to this day, honouring it with many other relics of the saints.

In the month of October the emperor Alexius approached Durazzo at the head of his legions, composed of different nations. Battle was joined, with great effusion of blood and vast loss on both sides in the severe encounter. At length, however, the Almighty had regard to the small, but faithful and resolute, band of the pilgrims from the West, and giving them the victory, terrified and scattered

¹ Alexius began his march for the relief of Durazzo at the end of August, after two successful naval engagements with Bohemond, one by the Venetians, the other by the Greeks, which had not discouraged Robert Guiscard. The emperor did not arrive before the besieged city until October 15, when the skirmish between Bohemond and his advanced guard here related occurred. The *Labarum* was not lost on this occasion, but at the battle of Durazzo.

with disgrace the forces of the East, who trusted in their own might. Then Duke Robert, encouraged by so signal a triumph, departed from Durazzo, and, after a long march, wintered his army in Bulgaria; for the country about Durazzo had been so devastated during the three months' siege, that no subsistence was left there either for men or horses.¹

At this time Duke Robert received envoys from Rome, who were the bearers of apostolical letters, and humbly saluting him, said, "Most valiant duke, Pope Gregory earnestly and suppliantly entreats you, as a father his son, to come to the aid of the apostolical see with your invincible courage, and not to suffer, for the love of God, any excuse whatever to interfere with this succour: for Henry, king of Germany, has laid siege to Rome, and closely invested the pope and the clergy who adhere to him in the castle of Crescens.² Shut up in that fortress, with a crowd of the faithful people, he is apprehensive of being betrayed by the defection of the Roman populace, who are greedy and versatile, and of being shamefully delivered into the hands of his enemies. He has therefore sent us to you to demand your speedy assistance in his urgent need. By God's favour your might is established over all your foes, nor can mortal power resist it while you are in arms for the cause of God and are obedient to the vicar of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles."

On receiving this message the mighty lord was deeply troubled, for he had a great desire to hasten to the succour of the venerable pope, worried by fierce lions like Peter in Herod's prison; while he strongly hesitated at leaving his army, which he reckoned to be weak in numbers, among hosts of crafty and cruel enemies, in a foreign land, without a leader, like sheep among wolves. At length, having men-

¹ The battle was fought on October 18, three days after the arrival of Alexius. Robert distributed his troops in winter quarters in the territory of the besieged city, particularly at Glabinniza and Jannina. Durazzo surrendered on February 18.

² Originally the tomb of Adrian, converted into a fortress in the middle ages, and now called the Castle of St. Angelo. The pope did not shut himself up in it until 1083. The emperor broke up his army from their winter quarters at Ravenna in the spring of 1082, and again sat down before Rome with a powerful force; but the siege made little progress.

tally raised his eyes to the Lord, from whom all good proceeds, he assembled his troops with his son Bohemond and thus addressed them: "It is our duty to obey God who speaks to us by the common pastor of the catholic church.¹ By his help I shall comply with the pope's injunctions, endeavouring to return to you as quickly as I can. Meanwhile remain quiet in this province, and be very circumspect, surrounded as you are by enemies on every side. If any one should venture to give you battle, in God's name make a stout resistance. Take care however not to commence hostilities, nor to give the enemy an opportunity of fighting, nor provoke the natives until I shall return. I will undertake the service enjoined me by the Lord, and if life is spared will soon be with you. I swear by the soul of Tancred my father, and give you my solemn oath, that until I return to you I will neither use the bath, nor have my beard shaved, or my hair cut."

After this speech the brave warrior set sail with a small number of companions in arms, and by God's guidance landed in Apulia, from whence, having assembled troops, he marched to Rome. Meanwhile the Emperor Henry, having received a true report of the victory which Duke Robert had gained over the emperor of Constantinople, and learning that he was unexpectedly hurrying, with the speed of lightning, to the pope's assistance, and taking these various circumstances into mature consideration, he became greatly alarmed, and having concluded a peace with certain of the Roman nobles, and obtained possession of some part of the city, he withdrew to the western provinces of his empire. For he chose rather to take his departure freely in honour and safety, than to wait for the arrival of his furious adversary, and involve himself in a whirlwind of war for which he was unprepared.

¹ Notwithstanding all the fine words which our author has put into the mouth of Robert Guiscard, his ardent zeal for the defence of the church and its head, did not prevent his directing his first efforts exclusively to the safety of his own states, which were threatened by local revolts and the hostile demonstrations of the emperor. It was not until 1084, after Rome was taken by the emperor, and the close investment of the castle of St. Angelo that he determined, at the earnest entreaty of the pope, to march to his aid.

CH. VI. *Death of Robert de Grantmesnil, at first abbot of St. Evroult, and afterwards of St. Euphemia.*

WHILE the world was agitated by these severe commotions, and wars were raging in every quarter, so that the kingdoms of the world reeled like a ship tossed by the waves, the venerable Robert, abbot of St. Euphemia, after his return from the battle at Durazzo, fell sick, it is said of poison taken in his food, on the eleventh of the calends of December [21st November.]¹ It appears that a certain Saracen was employed as a baker in the convent at Brescia. This man had married the sister of the prior William, son of Ingram, and for some unknown and trifling cause, nurtured a secret hatred of the abbot. In consequence, at the instigation of the devil, he mixed poison with his food, following the example of his father Ishmael, who, by a criminal artifice, endeavoured to delude the unsuspecting Isaac. The man of God languished for thirteen days, surrounded by the weeping monks, and having made his confession and received the holy communion, expired on the second of the ides [12th] of December. He was interred in the church of St. Mary, Mother of God, which he himself had built from the foundations, and the anniversary of his death was appointed to be reverently kept every year to his memory. This is willingly done by the monks whom he carefully brought up in the house of God, as a father does his children. It is also the custom to distribute liberal alms to the poor on that day, on behalf of their deceased pastor.

CH. VII. *Restoration of Gregory VII. and the sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard—Battle of Durazzo—Death of Bohemond—And of Robert Guiscard.*

AT the approach of Guiscard, the proud Romans gathered in great indignation that the capital of the world should be exposed to the attack of foreign assailants. Encouraging themselves therefore with mutual exhortations, they flew to arms, and marched out to meet the enemy. But they were

¹ Robert de Grantmesnil was at first abbot of St. Evroult, and afterwards of St. Euphemia. See vol. i. pp. 422, 438. Our author continues in this paragraph his former error of placing the latter in the neighbourhood of Brescia. Robert died on November 21, probably in the year 1082.

instantly repulsed by a charge of the veteran and disciplined Norman troops, who entered the city mingled with the retreating citizens, and by order of their furious duke, set flames to the houses.¹ Guiscard thus forced an entrance into Rome by fire and sword; nor did any of the citizens afterwards venture to mutter a word against him. As he drew near to the castle of Crescens, the pope with his clergy came out to meet him, and returned him thanks for the toil he had undergone in coming to his aid, absolved him from his sins as a reward for his obedience, and implored for him the eternal benediction of Almighty God.

After a conference had taken place between these illustrious men, and the pope had given an account of his vexations, the incensed duke gave vent to his anger in threatening language to this effect: "The citizens of Rome are worthless traitors; they are, and always will be, ungrateful to God and his saints for the innumerable benefits conferred upon them. Rome, which was formerly called the capital of the world, and the fountain of health for sinful souls, is now become the habitation of dragons and the foul pit of all iniquity. I shall therefore destroy this den of thieves with the sword or with fire, and root out its vile and impious inhabitants. The persecution of their bishops, of which the Jews set them the example, the Romans have obstinately persisted in accomplishing. As the Jews crucified Christ, have not the Romans crucified his members? Did they not martyr Peter and Paul? Need I speak of Linus and Cletus, Clemens and Alexander, Sextus and Telesphorus, Calixtus and Urban, Cornelius and Fabian? All these laboured, as bishops, for the cure of the diseased souls of their flock, and were cruelly butchered by their

¹ Robert Guiscard disgraced his entry into the capital of the Christian world by the most fearful devastations of a city which had preserved till that time the greatest part of the monuments of its ancient splendour. The Romans did not march out to encounter him, but contented themselves with manning the walls. Towards evening he forced an entry by the Flaminian gate. His occupation of the city only lasted three days, during which it was abandoned to pillage, fire, and rape. To excuse the Normans, the main barbarities are attributed to the Saracens, of whom, it is said, there were great numbers in the army. The pope, restored to the palace of the Lateran, had great difficulty in preventing the destruction of some of the churches.

fellow citizens whom they strove to save. Shall I mention Sebastian, pierced by them with arrows in a sewer and hung in chains?¹ What shall I say of Lawrence, who was placed on a gridiron over burning coals and broiled like a fish? What of Hippolytus, bound to wild horses and torn asunder? What of Hermes, Tiburtius, Zeno, Valentine, and other saints whose numbers are beyond the power of memory to recount? It is commonly reported, and affirmed by the assertions of many persons, that entire Rome reeks with the precious blood of martyrs, and unnumbered bodies of the saints lie concealed in the Roman catacombs. The same ferocity which formerly actuated the pagans, now animates the fury of pseudo-Christians, who inflamed with covetousness ally themselves with the excommunicated, and lend their aid to senseless heretics against the catholic church. They merit not that any pity should be extended to them. I will punish the impious with the avenging sword; I will give the bloody city to the flames; and, by God's help, I will restore it to a better condition, and fill it with inhabitants from the Transalpine nations."

Then the pope threw himself at the duke's feet,² and bathed in tears, exclaimed, "Far be it from me that Rome should be destroyed on my account! I was not elected its pastor for the destruction of the city, but for the salvation of the people. I would rather follow the steps of our Lord Jesus Christ to death than cruelly avenge my injuries by the punishment of sinners. They are the enemies of our Creator who despise his statutes, maliciously trouble the order of the church, and scatter the Lord's flock like ravening wolves. The injury and the vengeance are alike his, the service and the reward. He knows his faithful servants, and abhors his furious enemies. I therefore commit myself and my concerns to his Almighty disposal, and implore him with a full heart to cut off with the sword of discipline all that is opposed to his holy law, and to guide me according to his good pleasure."

¹ *Gumfo*, which signifies a chain, is a word used in the Acts of St. Sebastian.

² Pope Hildebrand was not in the habit of throwing himself at the feet of any man. Robert himself did so the first time he met the pope, at Aquino, in the month of June, 1080.

In this manner the pope calmed the incensed duke, and, having prevailed with him to accept his counsel, came forth from the tower of Crescens, and, followed by his clergy, and attended by the duke and a strong band of troops, repaired to Albano.¹ That city was founded by Ascanius Julius, the son of Æneas, and was given by the emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester; thereupon, the duke having received the apostolical benediction, marched in haste to the coast, and crossing the sea without delay, rejoined his army as he had sworn.

Meanwhile, the crafty Greek emperor, when he learnt that Robert was gone to Italy, thought that it would be in his power to reduce the power of the Normans while their leader was absent: he therefore, collecting a large body of troops, marched against them, and compelled them to fight a battle which they would have willingly avoided. In the beginning of the conflict, the Normans betrayed some weakness, and at the first onset being under alarm on many accounts were nearly worsted; for disheartened by their inferiority of numbers, and the absence of their successful leader, they had scarcely commenced the battle, when they began to think of flight. While, however, Bohemond and his troops were in this state of hesitation and dismay, and in his anxiety he fervently called upon God, he suddenly experienced the divine aid, and a voice from heaven sounded in his ears: "Bohemond, why do you shrink from the conflict? Fight it out bravely; for he who was your father's support will be yours also, if you trust in him and faithfully maintain his cause." The courage of the Normans was restored by these words, and pressing onwards they charged the Greeks with energy, so that they were repulsed by this sudden attack, and taking to flight, left an immense booty to the foreigners, who were in great need of supplies.²

¹ The duke did not conduct the pope to Albano, having left him at the palace of the Lateran. He did not depart himself for Illyria till the month of September. Gregory VII. did indeed sojourn at Albano, but it was in the year 1074, when he was on his way to Monte Cassino and Capua. He arrived at Monte Cassino in the month of August, and did not leave Capua on his return to Rome till the middle of November.

² Several statements in this paragraph are contrary to the facts. Bohemond, who was victorious at Jannina, and afterwards at Arta, ended by

On his return from Tuscany, Guiscard found his troops highly rejoicing at their success, and he also exulting at so signal a triumph returned thanks to God. Bohemond, who had been wounded in the battle, was sent for his cure to the surgeons of Salerno, whose reputation for skill in medicine was established throughout the world.¹

Meanwhile, the citizens of Durazzo, taking into account that the Normans had penetrated far into Bulgaria, and had detached by force of arms several provinces from the Byzantine empire, as well as that they were entirely cut off from receiving succours from the Thracians, Macedonians, and all their neighbours, began to lose their confidence, and consulted among themselves how they might best escape from their difficult position. At length, the most resolute among them determined on their course; they secretly despatched a messenger to the duke, asking for peace, and faithfully promising to deliver up the defence of the city to his troops. The duke granted their demands, and detached three hundred soldiers to take possession of the place. The Normans arriving before it at night, were admitted within the walls, and having established themselves securely, peace was made between them and the citizens.²

Sichelgade, wife of Robert Guiscard, was daughter of Gaimard duke of Salerno,³ and sister of Gisulf who was deprived of his duchy by the ambitious usurpation of his brother-in-law.⁴ This princess conceived a violent hatred of Bohemond her step-son, apprehending that as he was much braver and superior in sense and worth, her son Roger would forfeit in his favour the duchy of Apulia and Calabria to which he was heir. In consequence, she prepared a deadly potion and sent it to the physicians of Salerno, among whom she had been brought up and by whom she had been

being nearly beaten at the battle of Larissa, and was obliged to cross into Italy in consequence of the mutiny of his troops.

¹ It was towards the close of the year 1084, after a naval victory over the Greeks and Venetians, that Bohemond was compelled to seek medical assistance in Italy.

² Durazzo capitulated as early as February 18, 1082.

³ Gaimard IV., prince of Salerno, 1027—1052.

⁴ Gisulf II., youngest son of Gaimard IV., 1052—1077. This prince appears to have retained the sovereignty of Amalfi as long as the year 1088, and not to have died till 1092.

instructed in the use of poisons. The physicians lent themselves to the wishes of their lady and scholar, and gave the deadly poison to Bohemond whom it was their duty to heal. Having taken it, he was reduced to death's door, and instantly despatched a messenger to his father informing him of his danger. The shrewd duke became immediately aware of his wife's treachery, and calling her to him in great distress thus interrogated her. "Is my lord Bohemond still alive?" To which she replied: "I know not, my lord." Upon which he said: "Bring me a copy of the holy gospels and a sword." On their being brought, he took the sword and swore as follows upon the sacred writings: "Listen to me, Sichelgade, I swear by this holy gospel that if my son Bohemond dies of the malady under which he labours, I will plunge this sword into your bosom." Alarmed at this menace, she prepared a sure antidote and forthwith sent a messenger with it to the physicians at Salerno who had been her instruments for poisoning Bohemond, urging them with prayers and promises to extricate her from the peril to which she was exposed. The physicians learning that the treachery was detected and the embarrassment of their lady, prayed that the duke's terrible threats might not be put in execution, and used every effort which their skill in the art of medicine suggested to restore the young prince to health. Through God's blessing, who designed him for the scourge of the Turks and Saracens, the enemies of the faith, Bohemond recovered; but such had been the virulence of the poison that his countenance was pallid all the rest of his life.

Meanwhile, the treacherous and wily woman reflected within herself, in a state of great alarm, that if her messenger should meet with any delay in crossing the sea, and the sick prince should die before he arrived, there would be no escaping the death which her husband had sworn to inflict on her. She therefore devised another murderous and execrable scheme. Sad to say, she gave poison to her husband. And as soon as he began to sicken, having no doubt of the inevitable result, she assembled her attendants and the rest of the Lombards in the middle of the night, and hurrying to the sea shore embarked with her partisans in the swiftest ships, burning the rest that she might not be

pursued by the Normans. Having reached the coast of Apulia, one of the knights who attended her landed privately and hastening to Salerno by night suddenly appeared before Bohemond, saying: "Rise quickly and fly and save yourself." On his inquiring the reason, the bearer of the tidings replied: "Your father has perished, and your mother has landed in Apulia. She is hurrying here to seek your death." Bohemond, on hearing this alarming intelligence, was greatly agitated, and mounting an ass, clandestinely withdrew from the city and fled to Jordan, prince of Capua, his cousin,¹ by whom he was kindly received, and thus escaped from the machinations and threats of his stepmother. She was much mortified on arriving at Salerno, that she had been outwitted by the object of her persecutions. Her son Roger, surnamed Crumena, secured the succession to the rich duchy of his ancestors lying on this side of the sea.²

The Normans, who found themselves in a foreign country with their great and brave leader in the utmost peril from a woman's wiles were overwhelmed with anxieties. They felt also that the strength of their army was diminished by the defection of the Lombards who had secretly departed in attendance on their mistress, and that they could not return to Italy without great difficulty and delay, as their ships were burnt. The noble duke therefore summoned to his side Robert count de Loritello,³ and Geoffrey de Conversana, his nephews, Hugh Le Borgne of Clermont,⁴ and William de Grantmesnil, with Hugh the good marquis,⁵ his brother-in-law, and others his kinsmen and chief counsellors, and inquired of them what they proposed to do. But as they all whispered together and were unable to propose any certain plan, he thus addressed them: "The divine vengeance

¹ Jordan, prince of Capua, April 5, 1078—December 19 or 20, 1091; he was cousin-german of Bohemond by his mother Fredeline, sister of Robert Guiscard.

² The only truth in this paragraph is the death of Robert Guiscard, which took place July 17, 1085, in the island of Cephalonia (where Bohemond and Sichelgade went to receive his last breath), and the favouritism shown to Roger in the division of his territories.

³ See vol. i. p. 453.

⁴ Hugh, the first of that name, count de Clermont in the Beauvoisis, was then living, but does not appear to be the person here spoken of.

⁵ Odo, the good marquis, was father of the celebrated Tancred.

scourges us for our sins, and punishes us for our ambition. The Lord justly chastises his servants and plainly teaches us that worldly glory is not to be coveted. Let us give him thanks for all the favours which he has vouchsafed to confer upon us, and implore him with our whole hearts that he will always show mercy to us. We were sprung from poor and obscure parents, and leaving the barren fields of the Cotentin and homes ill supplied with the means of existence, we set out for Rome, and it was not without great difficulty and much alarm that we passed beyond that place. Afterwards, by God's aid, we got possession of many great cities. But we ought to attribute our success not to our own valour or merits, but to divine Providence. Now at length, for the sins of the natives, we have wrested from the empire of Constantinople as much country as it has taken us fifteen days to penetrate. You know well, that I was invited to undertake the protection of the emperor Michael who was unjustly driven from his throne by his subjects, my daughter having been lawfully betrothed to his son. I had determined, if it pleased God, that Constantinople, which is in possession of an unwarlike people abandoned to pleasure and lasciviousness, should be subjugated to Catholic warriors, who would deliver Jerusalem, God's holy city, from the Turks, and expelling the infidels by their victorious arms enlarge the bounds of Christendom. It was for this purpose that I undertook so vast an enterprise, so perilous a conflict. The mysterious will of Almighty God has otherwise ordered. David formed the design of building the temple at Jerusalem to God's honour, but God decreed that this should be accomplished with great triumph by his son Solomon. So I conceive that my enterprise will be completed in future years, and the fruit of my labours will one day appear, and they will be profitably cited to posterity as an incitement to the like virtues. Receive then, brave men, prudent counsel, and do not lose your former courage which I have often proved in difficulties and dangers. I am but a single warrior, and mortal, as others; but ye are many, and by the goodness of God in the possession of many advantages. You have performed great actions which are published far and near; ancient history affords no examples of greater achievements wrought by a small number of obscure men, than those

which, by God's help, you have accomplished. Choose among yourselves the bravest and wisest of your number, and appoint him your leader. Do not evacuate this rich country which you have made your own by such exertions and in so short a time. My son Bohemond, if life and health are spared him, will soon fly to your succour."

The duke having said this and more to the same purpose, Peter, a Frenchman, and others his friends, after keenly canvassing the duke's proposals, thus replied; "There is much danger and great difficulty in the injunctions you lay on us. Our enemies are countless, while we are few in number, and we have opposed to us a powerful and sagacious emperor, to whom at your instance we have often given grave offence. We are unable to resist his prowess and wide-spread power, for his rule extends over many kingdoms and nations. Would to God we could return in peace and safety to the homes from which we departed."

The duke groaned deeply on hearing these sentiments, and began calling upon God, with tears, and lamenting his son with bitter grief: "Alas! what sorrows surround me in my misfortunes! In times past I have done much injury, and many of my actions have been unjust; now the punishments which I deserved long since have accumulated upon me. Most High God, spare me! merciful God, have pity upon me a sinner! Almighty God, succour thy people whom I have led hither! O my son Bohemond, the equal of Epaminondas the Theban in valour and wisdom, where shall I find thee? Bohemond, thou noble warrior, who may be compared in arms to the Thessalian Achilles or Roland the Frank, do you yet live, or are you detained for your destruction? What has happened to thee? What has become of your proved courage? If you were in health as I left you when I parted for Italy, you would quickly be here and take possession of this rich region of Bulgaria conquered by our arms. For I feel assured that, if you live, such is your resolution that if divine providence allowed you to be present at my death, you would by God's help never cede the rights I have gained by arms. Courage, my valiant comrades! consider carefully among yourselves, and weigh well that you are far away from your own homes. Recollect what great deeds the Normans have wrought, and how often our fathers have

resisted the French, the Bretons, and the people of Maine, and bravely conquered them. Recall to your minds the great exploits you have performed, with me for your leader, in Italy and Sicily, when you reduced Salerno and Bari, Brundisium and Tarento, Bismano¹ and Reggio, Syracuse and Palermo, Cosenza and Castro-Giovanni, and many other cities and towns. By God's assistance, you subdued under my command Gisulf duke of Salerno, Waszo, count of Naples,² and many other powerful princes. Strive therefore not to lower your position by the loss of your former magnanimity. Choose one of yourselves, as I said before, by mutual agreement, and retain with honour the fertile provinces which you have now gained."

Of all those who were present at this council, no one dared to assume the command, all preferring to provide for their safety by flight. At length, in the year of our Lord 1085, Robert Guiscard, the illustrious duke of Apulia, a man whose equal can scarcely be found in our times, having confessed and been absolved from his sins, and fortified by receiving the holy communion, as the hour of death approached, was taken from the world, not struck down by a warrior's arm, but infected by a woman's crime as at first Adam was driven out of paradise, not the victim of war but of poison. As soon as he was dead, the Normans preserved his body in salt, and demanded permission to depart in peace to their own country. Though the emperor rejoiced at being freed from his formidable enemy, yet he wept with much feeling over the deceased duke who had never turned back in battle.³

¹ *Bismanus*, *Bismantus*, Bismantum, Bismantoa, a village and mountain in the Modenese, in the neighbourhood of Reggio, which our author transposes into Calabria, misled, probably, by both having a town with the common name of Reggio. Bismano is now called Pietra Bismantova, and is a mountain which bounds on the north-west the valley of the Secchia, between that river and the village of Castelnovo ne' Monte, to the south-west of Carpineti, about eighteen miles from Reggio, and twenty-two from Modena.

² It is not known with certainty of whom our author speaks. Sergius VI. was prince of Naples when Richard, prince of Capua, made a fruitless siege of it in 1077—1078; but it does not appear that Robert Guiscard, who was then engaged in the siege of Beneventum, took any active part in that of Naples.

³ The tears of Alexius Comnenus, on hearing of the death of his most formidable enemy, do him honour. Durazzo was speedily restored to his

He therefore gave his willing consent to those who desired it, that all his household might return to Italy with the corpse of their prince, while he offered high pay to others who were willing to remain and enter his service. Thus those who had vigorously attacked the Byzantine monarch afterwards faithfully served him. The rest, returning to Apulia, carried the body of Guiscard to Venosa,¹ and there buried it with great lamentations in the monastery of the Holy Trinity. That convent was presided over by the venerable abbot Berenger, the son of Arnold, the son of Helgo; he had been brought up by the pious abbot Theodoric at St. Evroult, and abbot Robert had brought him in his company from thence to Calabria.² Pope Alexander³ consecrated him abbot of the monastery of Venosa, and some years afterwards, for his virtuous life and sound doctrine he was promoted by pope Urban to the bishopric of that city.

CH. VIII. *Odo, bishop of Bayeux, takes measures for succeeding Hildebrand in the papacy—He is arrested by King William for abusing his authority, and imprisoned at Rouen.*

WHILE the storms which we have just described were agitating the world, certain sorcerers at Rome applied their art to discover who would succeed Hildebrand in the papacy,⁴ and found that after the death of Gregory,⁵ a prelate dominion, either re-taken by the Venetians or by Bodin, king of Servia. A remnant of the Normans in the isle of Cephalonia entered his service, among whom was Peter d'Aulps, the founder of the powerful Byzantine house of the Petraliphes, and who is supposed to be one of the ancestors of the family of Blacas, of which there will be occasion to speak in the next book.

¹ Some disasters were experienced in fulfilling Robert Guiscard's directions that his body should be interred at Venosa. The ship which was freighted with the corpse encountered a violent storm off Otranto, and the coffin was washed overboard. It was, indeed, recovered, but notwithstanding the rude embalment mentioned by our author, the body was in such a state of decomposition that it was necessary to deposit the heart and entrails at Otranto. *William of Malmesbury* has preserved Robert Guiscard's epitaph. See his account of this celebrated Norman chief, b. iii. p. 294—296.—*Bohn's Antiq. Lib.*

² See vol. i. p. 439.

³ Alexander II., Sept. 30, 1061—April 21, 1073.

⁴ Urban II., March 12, 1088—July 29, 1099.

⁵ Gregory VII., April 22, 1073—May 25, 1085. The last words of

of the name of Odo would be pope of Rome. When Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who, under his brother King William, had the chief rule over the Normans and English, heard this, he made light of the authority and wealth which the government of a western kingdom conferred, and aspired to the papal power which would give him wider sway and raise him above all earthly princes. He therefore despatched his emissaries to Rome, where he purchased a palace, and conciliating the senators by magnificent gifts, he ornamented his residence with lavish expense and costly superfluities. Attaching to his person Hugh, earl of Chester, and a goodly company of distinguished knights, he engaged them to attend him to Italy, by prodigal promises added to his entreaties. The Normans are ever given to change and desirous of visiting foreign lands, and they therefore readily joined themselves to the aspiring prelate whose ambition was not satisfied by the dominion of England and Normandy. In consequence they resolved on abandoning the vast estates which they possessed in the west of Europe, and pledged themselves to attend the bishop beyond the Po.¹

this pope, pronounced at the point of death, are well known: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." But the magnificent reply of one of the prelates who attended him is not so commonly known: "You, my lord, cannot die in exile, for as the vicar of Christ and his apostles, you have received the nations for your inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for your possession."

¹ M. Le Prévost remarks that, notwithstanding the vanity and ambition of Odo were equal to his avarice, there is difficulty in believing that the bishop ever seriously contemplated obtaining the papacy, or even fixing his residence near a pontiff of such rigid morals and resolute character as Gregory VII., in the midst also of all the difficulties and dangers which arose out of the contest between the chief of the church and the emperor, seconded by the anti-pope Guibert, which was then at its highest pitch of violence. Our brother editor conjectures that Odo, ill-informed of the obstacles which these two personages raised to free communication with the legitimate pope, only proposed to exhibit his pomp at the council convoked for the autumn of the following year. It is, however, scarcely to be supposed that the bishop of Bayeux would have taken the steps related by our author for a merely temporary purpose. History is not without an example of English wealth spent for a more chimerical purpose in the case of Richard's (earl of Cornwall) ambition for the empty title of king of the Romans. Wolsey, too, whose character in many respects was singularly identical with that of Odo, made pretensions to the papacy. On the whole we are led to conclude that the bishop's real intentions had transpired, and that our historian's statements are at least founded on

The wise king William speedily heard of these preparations, but the scheme did not meet his approbation, for he considered that it was fraught with injury to his own kingdom as well as to others. He therefore lost no time in crossing the sea, and at the isle of Wight presented himself unexpectedly to bishop Odo, when he was on the point of sailing for Normandy with a pompous retinue. Having assembled the great nobles of the realm in his royal court, the king thus addressed them:—

“Illustrious lords, listen attentively to what I shall say, and give me, I pray you, salutary counsel. Before I went over to Normandy, I entrusted the government of England to my brother the bishop of Bayeux. There were in Normandy many who revolted against my authority, and, if I may so say, both friends and foes set themselves against me. Even my own son Robert, and the young nobles whom I had brought up and invested with the ensigns of knighthood rebelled against me, while some traitorous vassals and my border foes eagerly joined the ranks of the malcontents. But by God’s help, whose servant I am, they failed of success, and got nothing from me but the sword which pierced them with wounds. By the terror of my arms I restrained the people of Anjou, who were leagued for war against me, and I also curbed the rebellious inhabitants of Maine. Thus occupied, I found myself embarrassed by affairs beyond sea, and was long detained labouring earnestly for the public good. Meanwhile, my brother grievously oppressed the English, robbing the churches of their lands and revenues, and stripping them of the ornaments with which our forefathers enriched them; while he seduced my knights, whose duty it was to defend England against the Danes and Irish, and other enemies who threatened hostilities, and has made preparations, in contempt of me, for transporting them into foreign regions beyond the Alps. My heart is overwhelmed with grief, especially on account of the injury he has done to the churches of God. The Christian kings who reigned before me were devoted to the church, on which they heaped

what he thought credible authority. The accurate Malmesbury says that Odo, “by stuffing the scrips of the pilgrims with letters and money, had nearly purchased the Roman papacy from the citizens.”—B. iii. p. 307, *Bohn’s Antiq. Lib.*

honours and gifts of every kind, and hence, as we believe, they now repose in the seats of bliss, rejoicing in their glorious rewards. Ethelbert, Edwin and St. Oswald, Ethelwulfa and Alfred, Edward the elder and Edgar, with Edward my cousin and most dear lord, richly endowed our holy church, which is the spouse of Christ. And now, my brother, to whom I entrusted the care of my entire kingdom, has laid violent hands on her substance, has cruelly oppressed the poor, has seduced my knights on frivolous pretences, and has spread disorder through the whole of England by his unjust exactions. Consider then prudently what is to be done, and let me know, I pray you, what you advise."

All the council, however, being restrained by fear of the powerful prelate, and hesitating to make a decision against him, the stout-hearted king said: "A dangerous ambition must always be curbed, and an individual must not be spared, for favour or affection, to the public detriment. Let this man therefore who disturbs the state be arrested, and closely confined, that he may not do further mischief." No one however daring to lay hands on a bishop, the king was the first to seize him, upon which Odo cried out, "I am a clerk, and the Lord's minister; it is not lawful to condemn a bishop without the judgment of the pope." To which the prudent king replied: "I do not condemn a clerk or a bishop, but I arrest an earl I have myself created,¹ and to whom, as my vicegerent, I entrusted the government of my realm, it being my will that he should render an account of the stewardship I have committed to him."

In this manner the royal authority was exerted to arrest the bishop, who was conducted to Normandy, and being imprisoned in the castle of Rouen, was kept there in close custody four years, that is, as long as the king lived.² The chief disturber of the peace being thus laid low, the knights returned to their duty, and, by the king's wisdom, his throne was fortified against all attacks from within or without.

In this prelate we see clearly exemplified what Fulgentius

¹ William had created his brother earl of Kent.

² The Saxon Chronicle, followed by Roger de Hoveden and others, places the arrest of Bishop Odo in the year 1082 (in the autumn), consequently his captivity must have continued for five, or nearly five, years. —

says, in his book on Mythology:¹ "The man who makes pretensions to which he is not entitled, will sink lower than he is." The bishopric of Bayeux, and the rich earldom of Kent, and the exercise of royal power in common with his own through England and Normandy, was not enough for one clerk, who aspired to the government of the whole world, moved neither by Divine inspiration nor a canonical election, but by the impulses of his own insatiable ambition. He lost therefore what he already possessed, was left to pine in captivity, and has left a warning to posterity not to be too eager in the pursuit of honours.

CH. IX. *Death of Queen Matilda—Her epitaph—She is buried in the abbey of the Holy Trinity, at Caen—Succession of the abbesses.*

AT this time, the seventh indiction, Matilda, queen of England, fell sick, and, her illness being prolonged and becoming serious, she confessed her sins with bitter tears, and having duly performed all the offices which the Christian profession requires, and been fortified by the life-giving sacrament, she died on the third of the nones [the 3rd] of November.² Her body was carried to the convent of the Holy Trinity, which she had founded at Caen for nuns, and interred with great respect by many bishops and abbots, between the choir and the altar. The monks and clergy celebrated her obsequies with a great concourse of the poor, to whom she had been a generous benefactress, in the name of Christ. A tomb was erected to her memory, admirably ornamented with gold and jewels, and the following epitaph was elegantly engraved on it in letters of gold:—

This stately monument Matilda's name
In gold and marble gives to endless fame.
High was her birth, sprung from a royal race,
To which her virtues lent a nobler grace.
Her fair Adele to Flemish Baldwin bore,
The crown of France whose sire and brother wore.

¹ Planciates Fulgentius, supposed to have been bishop of Carthage in the sixth century. His work on mythology in three books, addressed to a priest named Catus, has been printed at Augsburg in 1507, at Bâle in 1543, and at Geneva in 1599.

² Queen Matilda died on Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1083.

When conquering William made her England's queen,
 'Twas here her noblest, holiest work was seen,
 This fane, this house, where cloistered sisters dwell,
 And with their notes of praise the anthem swell,
 Endowed and beautified, her earnest care.
 Nor others failed her liberal alms to share;
 The sick, the indigent partook her store,
 She laid up wealth by giving to the poor.
 To heaven by pious deeds she won the way,
 Departing on November's second day.¹

The Abbess Matilda carefully governed the convent at Caen, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, for forty-seven years, ably educating and instructing in the service of God, according to the monastic rule, Cecilia, the king's daughter, and many other noble ladies.² On her death, she was succeeded by the illustrious Cecilia, who filled the office of mother of the nuns for several years, in the time of her brother, King Henry. After her, the daughter of Count William, who was son of Stephen of Blois, undertook the government of the convent, but she held it only for a short time, being cut off by a premature death.

CH. X. *Disturbances in Maine—Protracted siege by King William's troops of the castle of Sainte Suzanne.*

AFTER the death of the glorious Queen Matilda, King William, who survived her almost four years, was deeply involved in severe troubles, which closed around him like stormy clouds. First, some of his subjects in Maine, a people of naturally unsettled temper, and ever ready to

¹ The slab of black marble on which this epitaph was engraved is still in existence. After the tomb was first demolished by the protestants in 1562, and a second time by the revolutionists in 1793, when it was placed in a lateral chapel of the church of St. Stephen, it was brought back to the choir of the convent of nuns, and a third tomb was erected for the royal foundress by the care of M. le Comte de Montlivault in 1819. The original epitaph which it bears, presents very few changes in orthography from the copy our author gives of it.

² The administration of the Abbess Matilda appears, by an authentic document, to have lasted fifty-four years, and not forty-seven only, as our author states. She died July 6, 1120, and the princess Cecilia, who succeeded her, July 13, 1127. Isabelle, or Elizabeth, whose government lasted only one year, was the eldest daughter of Stephen, count de Blois, and consequently great niece of Cecilia.

disturb the peace of others, and disquiet themselves by their love of change, flew to arms against the king, and occasioned great expenditure and damage in their own state, as well as to many others. Hubert, the viscount, son-in-law of William, Comte de Nevers,¹ gave umbrage to the king at first on some trivial occasions, but his delinquencies afterwards increasing, he retired from his castles of Beaumont and Fresnai,² and established himself, as a public enemy, with his wife and all his followers, at the castle of St^e. Suzanne.³ The fortress in which he took refuge stands on a high rock above the river Erve, on the borders of Maine and Anjou. He assembled there a band of soldiers, and lost no time in inflicting loss on the Normans, who were employed in guarding the country of Maine, and keeping them in constant alarm. The viscount was a man of illustrious lineage, distinguished for his talent and conduct, and full of courage and enterprising boldness, qualities which established his reputation far and wide. The garrisons of the city of Mans, and the neighbouring castles, were kept in constant alarm by Hubert's incursions, in consequence of which they laid their complaints before King William, and implored his aid.

Upon this the king assembled troops in Normandy without delay, and, summoning such of the people of Maine as were friendly to him, entered the enemy's country with a powerful force. He did not however venture to lay siege to the castle of St^e. Suzanne, it being rendered impregnable by its position on rocks, and the dense thickets of vineyards which surrounded it, nor could he closely confine the enemy within the fortress as he desired, as he was strong enough to command supplies, and was master of the communications. The king therefore constructed a fortified camp in the valley of Bonjen,⁴ and placed in it a strong body of troops to

¹ Hubert de St. Suzanne, viscount of Maine, married, Dec. 6, 1067, Ermengarde, daughter of William I., count de Nevers.

² Beaumonte-le-Vicomte, and Fresnai-sur-Sarte.

³ St. Suzanne, on the river Erve, in the arrondissement of Laval. This place consisted of a castle with a detached keep, and a walled town about 1000 feet in circumference.

⁴ The remains of this fortification may still be traced. It was divided into two enclosures separated by a ditch, each being about eighty feet long

check the enemy's incursions, being obliged to return into Normandy himself on weighty affairs. The royal troops, under the command of Alan-the-Red, count of Brittany,¹ made a brilliant display of wealth, feasting, and military array, but the garrison of the castle was superior in valour and numbers. For knights of established fame hastened to Hubert's standard from Aquitain, Burgundy, and other provinces of France, anxious for an opportunity of rendering him earnest aid and displaying their own intrepidity. Hence it happened that the castle of S^{te}. Suzanne was supplied at the expense of those who were encamped at Bonjen, and their means of resistance were continually increased. Many wealthy nobles of Normandy and England were taken prisoners, and their ransoms honourably enriched the viscount, and Robert of Burgundy, whose niece he had married, with his other comrades. In this manner Hubert resisted the Normans for three years, and, growing rich by his enemies' wealth, foiled all their assaults. In this war, Robert de Vieux-Pont, Robert d'Ussi, and other gallant Norman knights were slain. On the fourteenth of the calends of December [18th November], while the Norman troops were on the march to attack the enemy, a beardless youth, concealed in the bushes by the road-side, shot an arrow, which mortally wounded Richer de Laigle, son of Engenulf,² piercing his eye. His followers rode up, burning with rage, and, seizing the youth, would have avenged the noble Richer by putting him to death on the spot, but the dying baron saved his life. For when they were on the point of cutting the youth's throat, the wounded man with a violent effort cried out: "Spare him, for the love of God; it is for my sins that I am called thus to die." His assassin being dismissed, the lamented lord confessed his sins to his companions in arms, and expired before they could convey him to the city. The corpse was borne to the convent of monks which his father

by forty wide. The walls appear to have been about six feet high, and the trenches four feet broad.

¹ Alan the Red, earl of Richmond in England, was fourth son of Eudes, count de Panthièvre.

² Richer de Laigle, second son of Engenulf, who was killed at the battle of Hastings.

Richer had founded on his domains in honour of St. Sulpitius, bishop of Bourges;¹ and he was buried there, with great lamentations of his kinsfolk and connexions, by Gilbert, the venerable bishop of Evreux.

This lord was deservedly regretted by his acquaintance for the many virtues with which he was endowed. In person he was strong, handsome, and active; a faithful observer of the divine law, courteous and humble with men of religion, prudent and eloquent in worldly affairs, and gentle and liberal in all his conduct. He married Judith, daughter of Richard of Avranches,² surnamed Goz, and sister of Hugh, earl of Chester, by whom he had Gilbert de Laigle, Engenulf, Matilda, and several other sons and daughters. They all died except Gilbert, who became the heir to his father's virtues, estates, and honours. He married Juliana, daughter of Geoffrey, the brave count de Mortagne, who bore him Richer, Engenulf, Geoffrey, and Albert; the second and third of whom perished by shipwreck with William the Etheling,³ King Henry's son, and many other nobles, on the eighth of the calends [25th] of November.⁴ His sister Matilda,⁵ married Robert de Mowbray, the powerful earl of Northumberland,⁶ who rebelled the same year against William Rufus, king of England. But, being taken prisoner shortly afterwards, he was detained in captivity for nearly thirty-four years by that king and his brother Henry, living to an advanced age without having any children. I now return to the events from which I have somewhat digressed.

In the month of January, William de Warrene, Baudri de Guitri, son of Nicholas, and Gilbert de Laigle, who sought to avenge the death of his brother Richer, made a desperate assault on the garrison of S^{te}. Suzanne, with a strong band of Normans, but they gained nothing but the steel in their wounds. In this attack William, count

¹ St. Sulpice-sur-Risle, near Laigle.

² On this family of Avranches, see before, p. 47.

³ Our author gives King Henry's son the title generally appropriated to the heir apparent to the crown in the Anglo-Saxon times.

⁴ In the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef*.

⁵ Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, was nephew of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances.

⁶ Richer's younger brother.

d'Evreux,¹ was made prisoner, and Matthew de Vitot,² son of Godfrey the Little, mortally wounded. Being carried to his quarters by his sorrowing squires and comrades, a priest was sent forth, and having confessed his sins and received the comfort of the holy viaticum, he was then prepared for the approach of death.

The Normans who held the entrenched camp in the valley of Bonjen, having suffered serious losses, and had their numbers thinned by the swords of the bravest knights, were apprehensive of still greater discomfiture. Finding that they were no match for Hubert, either by their valour or good fortune, they changed their plan, and tried to bring him to an agreement with the king. The viscount, although in the present contest he had greatly advanced his power and wealth, was so sensible of the value of peace and security, that he prudently fell in with the plans of the mediators. No time was lost in despatching envoys to the king, who was now in England; and William, finding that Hervey the Breton, whom he had appointed to the command of the troops,³ with Richer and other brave knights, had fallen in battle, and that his adversary, in the enjoyment of his good fortune, found his position become daily stronger, was careful not to make matters worse by an obstinate persistence in hostilities. He, therefore, prudently pardoned the viscount for all his past offences, and having granted him a safe conduct, Hubert crossed the sea, and, coming to court on terms of amity, was honourably restored to all his father's rights. The people of Normandy and Maine, who had deeply suffered for four years⁴ in the prolonged conflict, made great rejoicings.

¹ William, count d'Evreux, Dec. 13, 1067—April 18, 1118.

² Matthew de Vitot, near Neubourg. For this person and his uncle, see vol. i. pp. 449, 450.

³ He must have been second in command, under Alan the Red, earl of Brittany and Richmond.

⁴ It is thought that Ordericus has greatly exaggerated the duration of the siege of the castle of S^{te}. Suzanne. While it is agreed on all hands that it commenced in the year 1083, it is considered impossible that it could have been prolonged beyond 1085, a period when the alarm of a Danish invasion induced the king to return to England with all the troops he could muster, even including the volunteers and stipendiaries he levied on the continent, as afterwards appears. The Saxon Chronicle, however, tells us that William disbanded part of these forces in the course of the

Hubert continued faithful to the king during the remainder of William's life, rejoicing in his independence, and happy in the possession of his domains, which at his death he bequeathed to his sons Ralph and Hubert.

CH. XI. *Threatened invasion of England by Canute, king of Denmark—The armament dispersed—Canute (St.) is murdered in a church at Odensee.*

AT this period King William caused a record to be made of all the knights' fees in his realm of England, which were found to amount to sixty thousand;¹ and he commanded all who were subject to him by military tenure to be prepared for service in case of need; for at this time Canute the younger, king of Denmark,² was fitting out a powerful fleet, and making preparations for the invasion of England, to assert his claims in right of his ancestors Sweyn and Canute, who had formerly subjugated it. This king was distinguished for his piety to God, his great worldly power, and his many virtues. By his threats and preparations he occasioned much alarm to the Normans who were in possession of England, but he was prevented by various circumstances from carrying them into effect during the life of the Bastard king. In the reign, however, of William the younger,³ a large fleet was fitted out, and being moored

same year. As to his having returned to England, our author tells us that it was there the viscount came to terms with him.

¹ This is a reference to Domesday-book, the survey for which was commenced in 1080, and the record presented to William at Winchester, where it was deposited, at Easter, 1086. It is mentioned in nearly the same terms in b. iv. c. 7. See before, p. 51.

² Canute (St.) IV., king of Denmark in 1080, assassinated, Friday, July 10, 1086, canonized in 1101. The project of the invasion of England seems to have been suggested to this prince by Robert the Frisian, earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, and brother-in-law of William. Our author is mistaken in representing that the census taken of the tenants of the crown subject to military service had reference to this threatened invasion. As just observed, the survey was commenced long before; and the precaution which William took consisted in drawing forces from the continent, who were quartered on the the convents and barons. When the alarm of invasion had blown over, part of these mercenary troops were dismissed, and the rest followed the king to Gloucester where he spent Christmas (1085).

³ These occurrences did not take place in the reign of William Rufus

to the shore, the crews were employed in embarking the troops destined for the invasion of England, for which the wind was then favourable. Meanwhile King Canute, desirous of learning the will of God, entered a church, and humbly kneeling before the altar, besought him with tears to direct his course according to his goodwill. His brother, coming to the church at this moment, and seeing the king unattended and prostrate before the altar, the thought struck him what vast difficulties and serious perils impended over thousands on account of one man, and what a sudden and decided change would be made if he were removed out of the way. Without reflection he drew his sword, and cutting off the head of the prostrate king, forthwith fled into exile. On receiving the melancholy intelligence, the army quickly dispersed, each one returning to his own affairs.¹ The elders of the nation raised to the throne Calomanoth, the king's brother, the assassin being banished. The body of King Canute was honourably interred in the church, where many miracles were performed at his tomb. A great convent for monks was afterwards built, and the monastic discipline there established, after the same order as that of Evesham in England.² For from thence it was

as our author supposes, but more than a year before the Conqueror's death.

¹ Oericus has given an entirely erroneous account of the circumstances connected with the tragic end of the Danish king. After the assemblage of the armament intended for the invasion of England in the gulf of Lymfjord, in Finland, some delays occurred which created impatience among the troops, and they deputed the prince Olaf to remonstrate with the king his brother. Canute, however, was greatly irritated at this insubordination, and suspecting Olaf of having fomented it, sent him prisoner under arrest to the earl of Flanders. The armament then dispersed, and Canute treated the malcontents with excessive rigour, and imposed a tax in the shape of tithes most odious to the Scandinavian nations. At last the people broke into open rebellion, and the king took refuge in Zealand. There a traitor named Black invited him to Odensee, representing that his presence would appease the people; but he had scarcely entered the church of St. Alban, accompanied by his two brothers, Benedict and Eric, when Black introduced the conspirators. Canute was slain after a short resistance in which Benedict and some of the officers of his suite fell. Olaf, whom he had shortly before invested with the duchy of Sleswig, and who was still in Flanders, succeeded him, and reigned till 1095.

² The monastery at Odensee was at first a priory attached to the abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire. It was dedicated to St. Alban the proto-

that the first monks sent missionaries among the Danes, and carefully instructed them in conventual rule to the admiration of the barbarous natives. This King Canute was held in deserved honour by the monks and others devoted to a religious life. For he was the first to correct the manners of his people, who were new converts and lived disorderly. He also founded metropolitan and episcopal sees according to the canons, and introduced monks, who were before unknown to and disliked by the Danes, liberally providing them with fitting sites for their establishment in his kingdom.¹

CH. XII. *Legend of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas, bishop and confessor, from Myra, in Asia Minor, to Bari, in Italy.*

IN the year of our Lord 1087, the tenth indiction, on the nones [9th] of May, the body of St. Nicholas, archbishop and confessor, was translated from Myra to Bari. John, archdeacon of Bari, has eloquently related in what manner and by whom this translation was effected.² I propose to make some extracts from his narrative, and insert in my present work a short notice of this remarkable event, for

martyr of England, whose relics by some unaccountable means are said to have found their way to Denmark, and have been deposited in this church. One account says that they were carried off from the abbey at St. Albans in 914, at a time when the invaders were still (for the most part at least) heathens; another that they were purloined from Canterbury, and translated to Odensee in 1085, the monk Elnoth, the biographer of Canute, accompanying them, and the transaction escaping the cognizance of King William. They were deposited in a wooden church at first dedicated to the Virgin, but which speedily assumed the name of its new patron.

¹ The relics of St. Canute, which had been inclosed in a magnificent shrine after his canonization, were ejected from it at the era of the Reformation, but were visited in the years 1582 and 1696, and again discovered, Jan. 24, 1833, in a cavity in the east wall of of the stone church which had been substituted for the wooden edifice just mentioned.

² It bears this title: "Translatio S. Nicolai episcopi ex Myra Lyciæ urbe ad Apuliæ oppidum Barium vel Barim, scripta ab Johanne archidiacono Barensi jubente Ursone Barensi et Canusino archiepiscopo, circa annum Domini 1088, apud Surium die nono Maii." There is another cotemporary account of this translation by Nicephorus, a monk of the convent of St. Benedict at Bari, published by Falconius in his *Acta primigenia S. Nicolai*, of which the substance is given by Father Beatillo of Bari, in his history of St. Nicholas.

the information of students who have not seen the arch-deacon's book, if they condescend to cast an eye on what I write.

In the time of the emperor Alexius, the Turks and other infidel nations vented their fury by making an irruption beyond their frontiers, and, by God's permission, devastated Lycia and other Christian countries, destroyed the churches for the sins of the faithful, profaned the crosses, and images, and sanctuaries of Christ, and gave to the flames a number of cities with their inhabitants. Their ravages continued for many years, and multitudes of Christians fell a sacrifice to their cruelty.

During this time Myra, the capital of Lycia,¹ fell into the hands of the Turks, being evacuated by its own citizens, for the punishment of their sins. Meanwhile, some people of Bari, who were on their way to Antioch, in three ships,² for the purpose of trade, approaching joyfully to the bays which some of the Myrians occupied, sent forward a certain pilgrim to the church of St. Nicholas, which stands in the town,³ to make observations. On his return he reported that a great number of Turks were assembled to perform the obsequies of the head man of the town, who then lay dead. On hearing this, the Barians forthwith set sail, and turning the prows of their vessels towards Antioch, having a favourable wind, they reached Myra⁴ in the course of a few

¹ This conquest of Lycia by Solyman must have occurred at the time when he overran Caramania, that is, in 1084 and 1085. It appears that Myra was not taken till 1086.

² Sixty persons were embarked in the three ships, viz. forty-seven inhabitants of Bari (among whom were two priests and a clerk, the others being merchants and armed mariners), a pilgrim, and twelve foreign passengers. The ships were on their voyage to Antioch with cargoes of wheat, for which they were to receive in return the products of the East for the merchants of Bari. On the voyage they fell in with eleven other vessels engaged in the same trade, whose crews, like their own, had resolved on carrying off the relics of St. Nicholas.

³ This church, which is now deserted and used only as a burying place, with the adjoining convent inhabited by a few caloyers, are all that remains of the town of the middle ages. Plans and drawings of them are given in the Atlas of M. Charles Texier's Travels. The caloyers pretend that they are in possession of the remains of their patron saint.

⁴ This reading should clearly be Antioch. Having found there the Venetian ship, the Barians, as soon as they discovered the intentions of the crew, hurried their own departure in order to reach Myra before them.

days. Finding there a ship from Venice, the crews began, as people are wont, to inquire of each other for news. It happened that among the men from Bari, there were some friends and acquaintances of the Venetians, and they began talking together about the body of the saint. The Venetians made no reserve in disclosing their intentions, acknowledging that they were furnished with iron crowbars and hammers; and they hastened to take their dinner in order that there might be no delay in carrying their purpose into execution. The Barians, on learning this, were the more resolved to engage in and complete the enterprise which they likewise had determined on, not so much for their own glory and honour, nor for the advantage of their country, as for the love they bore to so eminent a confessor. They therefore hastened to complete the business which had drawn them to Antioch, and then, under God's guidance, set sail on their return. But when they drew near the coast of Myra with a favourable wind, their zeal flagged and they would have sailed onward, had it not changed to the north and become contrary by God's providence.¹ The south wind failing, the mariners of Bari were forced to come to anchor. Learning from thence the Divine will, they immediately seized their arms, and leaving a small party to guard the ships in their absence, the rest,² being well armed, and using the same precautions as if they had to encounter an enemy, proceeded in a body to the church, which stood about three miles from the shore. At length they reached the enclosure surrounding the church, and, laying down their arms, entered the sacred building with deep humility, and began to address their prayers to the holy bishop. Having finished their devotions, they demanded of the sacristan where the body of St. Nicholas was deposited.³ Accordingly he pointed out the spot, and drawing out a portion of the

¹ The wind being, at first, favourable for their homeward voyage to Bari, they were unwilling to lose the opportunity of prosecuting it, but changing to the north, it drove them to the coast of Myra, and they were induced to resume their original design.

² To the number of forty-seven, it may be supposed all the crew who belonged to Bari.

³ It appears that the convent stood apart, but not far distant, from the houses; *un pezzetto*, as the Italian author says. There were four monks, not three, as Ordericus states.

holy liquor, gave it to them. Thereupon, Lupus, a priest of Bari, received the holy unguent in a glass bottle, and deposited it on a high shelf for its safe preservation; but it chanced that while they were conversing, the bottle fell on the marble pavement, but was not broken, remaining uninjured, to the wonder of all present. Meanwhile, the Barians began to confer with three monks who remained there to guard the relics, trying to seduce them from their duty: "We wish," they said, "to bear off this holy body, and transport it to our own country. We are come here in three ships, commissioned by the pope of Rome to effect this. If you will consent to our doing it, we will give you a hundred pieces of gold from each ship."

On hearing this the monks were struck with surprise and alarm, and replied: "How shall we dare to engage in an enterprise which no human being has yet attempted with impunity? Who is there so audacious as to venture to be either the buyer or seller in such a traffic? What is there so precious and so admirable as to be put in comparison with so vast a treasure?¹ If the rulers of the earth have never attempted such an enterprise rashly, however they may have urged it with prayer and supplications, how can you succeed? Relinquish the further prosecution of this impious design, for it is odious to the Divine Majesty. But you may make the trial; behold the place!" They said this, believing that it was impossible for the Barians to effect their purpose; for it was nearly two hundred Olympiads since the death of St. Nicholas,² who is said to have departed during the Nicene council held under Pope Silvester and the emperor Constantine, and hitherto no person had been able either to purloin by stealth, or obtain by open violence or by prayers to the Lord, any portion of his relics. The men of Bari now began to be alarmed, for they were in a strange place, they were few among many, the

¹ Our author's narrative abounds with accounts not only of the extreme value attached to the relics of saints in the middle ages, but of the unscrupulous means constantly resorted to for obtaining possession of things esteemed so holy.

² The exact date of the death of St. Nicholas cannot be ascertained. Since the council of Nice, there had now been one hundred and ninety Olympiads and a half, which, consisting each of four years, makes 762 years.

sun was near setting, and their return to the ships was attended with danger. But, divinely supported, they first seized the monks and kept them closely guarded, and also sent out videttes with great caution, to observe all who might approach the spot, while they stationed themselves in arms at regular distances to guard the avenues. Thus, forty-four¹ young men, full of courage, were ready to make a determined resistance without, while two priests, Lupus and Grimoald, with a few others, were doing what was necessary in the church, and began the prayers called litanies; but they were in such a state of alarm that their voices faltered in the service they had commenced.

Meanwhile Matthew, one of the mariners,² manfully seized an iron mallet, and striking violently the marble pavement, shattered it, and discovered masonry under it, which being broken up and thrown out, the face of a marble urn quickly appeared. This discovery filled them with joy and inspired them with ardour to dig still deeper, so that, having rent asunder and reduced to fragments the joints of the ancient masonry with a small pickaxe, they threw out the rubbish in great haste. When this had been cleared out and the urn³ was uncovered, one side of it being broken an exquisite odour exuded which intoxicated all who were present with its delicious fragrance. The young man then inserting his hand only at first, the urn, which was of considerable size, appeared to be full of liquor as far as the middle. He then thrust in his right arm, and, feeling the invaluable treasure which it was the object of his most ardent wishes to secure, began fearlessly to extract it without loss of time. At last in searching for the head, he plunged bodily into the full urn, and groping about with his hands and feet while endeavouring to find it, he came out with his whole person and his garments dripping with the sacred liquid.

¹ The whole number of the armed crew mustered only forty-seven, and from these must be deducted the two priests and the clerk, with the "few others" who entered the church with them, so that forty-four is too high a figure for the guard left without.

In the original legend this Matthew is described as a very young man, and is said to have drawn his sword and threatened to kill the monks if they did not comply with the demands of his comrades.

³ *Pila*. It is afterwards called an urn. It appears to have been a sarcophagus of white marble.

This took place on the twelfth of the calends of May [April 20th],¹ nearly eight hundred years after the death of St. Nicholas.

And now, as they were not prepared with any receptacle for the relics, so sudden and unexpected was their success, the Barians wrapped them as well as they could in the vestment of Lupus,² and followed him in procession as he carried the holy burden. Thus they hastened to the sea-side, giving thanks to God for the inestimable prize which they had snatched, not from an enemy's hands, but from the treasury of the Lord. Some of them also carried away the fragments of the broken urn, from which many altars and tables were consecrated by the bishops in several parts of Italy. When they reached the port, a contention arose among the sailors as to which of the ships should bear the precious freight, for all were desirous of securing the companionship of so powerful a patron. At last it was settled, with general concurrence, that Matthew's ship should carry the treasure, he first taking a solemn oath that he would faithfully keep company with the rest; which was the case.

Upon this, they embarked full of joy, and wrapping the relics in an additional covering of new white cloth, they enclosed them in a wooden vessel, such as sailors use for a wine-cask.³ It is needless to describe the grief of the people of Myra for the loss they had sustained, when they were informed of what had happened. As soon as the report reached their ears in the town, which stands on a hill not more than a mile from the church,⁴ they flocked together in

¹ April 20, 1087.

² The relics were wrapped in a white vestment belonging to Grimoald, not Lupus; probably his alb or surplice. According to the narrative of Nicephorus, the sailors attempted to carry off a picture of the saint which stood upon the altar, but were unable to detach it. The white vestment with which the relics were covered during the voyage was afterwards parted among several cathedral churches in Italy, as well as all the fragments of the lid of the sarcophagus on which the party could lay their hands.

³ Beatillo calls it "*una piccola botta a portar acqua*."

⁴ This does not agree with the previous statement, that the church was in the town or its suburbs; but in that case it would have been hardly possible that such an outrage could have been committed without the inhabitants being alarmed, and running to rescue the relics of their patron from the violence offered to them.

crowds, and hastened to the shore full of rage and grief, tearing their hair and beards, and, wailing for the loss of their pastor and patron, joined with one accord in a mournful chant :

Ah wretched day ! Ah foul disgrace !
Ah sad dishonour to our race !
The gift of God, the glorious prize,
Has vanished from our longing eyes.
Not lost upon the battle-field,
By thronging numbers forced to yield,
But ravished by a skulking crew,
(Alas ! the deed was done by few).
We wail our country's treasure gone,
Too easily by pirates won.
Where now our Lycia's proudest boast,
Her fame renowned o'er every coast,
The strength her sainted patron gave,
The glory shed around his grave ?
Mourn, Myrians, mourn, this day of gloom,
The offerings lost, the rifled tomb !
O FATHER NICHOLAS, hast thou left
Thy country and thy home bereft
Of the fond care and sheltering aid
Thou gav'st her, for her homage paid,
When raging foes around her prest,
And storms of trouble her distress.
For this, thy home, thy native soil,
Beheld thee through life's lengthened coil,
In youth, in age, her fortunes share ;
She thy beloved, thy flock, thy care,
Hanging upon thy every word,
And thou her pastor, patron, lord.
Here pilgrims flocked from every shore
Thy intercession to implore ;
Before thy tomb their offerings laid,
And sought in faith thy healing aid.
But when the sad report is spread,
Of rifled shrine and spirit fled,
Who then our hallowed courts will throng,
With votive gifts, and prayer, and song ?
The wonders wrought, the ancient glory,
Will only fill the page of story.
And now, O shepherd, who shall keep
From ravening wolves thy faithful sheep ?
Deprived of thee, our guardian, guide,
Our hope, our comfort, and our pride,
Where shall we turn to find relief
From shame and suffering, fear and grief ?

Woe to the base marauding band,
 Who dared with sacrilegious hand
 To violate the sacred soil,
 And bear away the holy spoil !
 Alas ! alas ! a glorious prize
 Rewarded their bold enterprise ;
 But we, forlorn and desolate,
 Are left to mourn our hapless fate.¹

While the Myrians, unable to avenge their grief, were giving utterance to it in loud lamentations, the exulting Barians quickly unmoored, and setting sail reached the island of Cacabus² the same night, from whence they continued their course to the Magestran islands.³ Here the crew took to their oars in urgent haste, and reaching the shores of Makry,⁴ were detained there three days by contrary north winds. This caused them great uneasiness, and they began to doubt their really having on board the relics of St. Nicholas, or whether it was the saint's pleasure to be transported further by them. Then one of them, whose name was Eustace,⁵ had his doubts removed by a dream, but was terrified by seeing in the vision his tongue bloody with the bites of leeches.

In consequence all the crews, with general consent, brought into the common stock the minute fragments of the

¹ The pains bestowed in illustration of our author's account of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas may appear misspent. But it must be recollected how characteristic it is of the feelings and habits of the middle ages; and that, considering it only as a religious romance, the popular literature of those times was, as M. Guizot remarks in his *Histoire de la Civilisation*, principally composed of such legends. The present narrative, however, has an intrinsic value from the vividness with which the details of a bold enterprise are presented to the reader.

² The isle of Kakava, the Dolichistos of the ancients, not far from Myra, to the south-west.

³ Probably the island of Megista, to the west of Kakava, with the numerous islets surrounding it. This island, which was also named Cisthenes, is now called *Castelorizo* or *Castelrosso*. The ships of Bari sought anchorage there, the island of Kakava not offering it. From thence they made Patara, the country of St. Nicholas. "come se avesse voluto egli," says Father Beatillo, "prima di Venire in Italia, visitar la sua patria, e prenderne, come si dice, grata licenza." Patara is near the mouth of the Xanthus, to the W.N.W. of Castelorizo.

⁴ The Gulf of Makry (the *Glaucus Sinus* of the ancients), to the N.N.W., is very near Patara. Makry is the *Telmissus* of the ancients.

⁵ Stafio (Eustace) Stannaria. of a distinguished family in Bari.

relics they had individually purloined, making solemn asseverations that they retained no portion of what they had thus appropriated. Romoald produced two teeth and some small bones which he had concealed, and in like manner all the rest surrendered the various particles they had secretly taken, that they might be re-united with the other parts of the saint's remains. After this, the adventurers were favoured with a fair wind, and while their keels were ploughing the wide sea, St. Nicholas appeared in a dream to one of the sailors, Disigio by name, and gave him the encouraging promise that they should enter the port of Bari on the twentieth day after that on which they had borne off his relics. The report of this vision to his ship-mates filled them with entire confidence.

A little bird also was suddenly seen by the sailors flitting about the ship, and inspired them with hope by its repeated visits.¹ They were also frequently sensible of a most fragrant odour, and encouraged by other delightful indications of the saint's presence, so that as they drew near to the shores of their own country their spirits were raised to a high pitch of joy and exultation.

At length piloted by the providence of God, the mariners moored their vessels in the port of St. George, distant some five miles from the walls of Bari.² Announcing their arrival to the clergy and people of the place, the unexpected news threw the whole city into a tumult of delight, and the entire population of every age and both sexes flocked to the port. Meanwhile the mariners had entrusted the coffer³

¹ The sailors considered this bird an apparition of St. Nicholas.

² The port of St. George, about four miles to the E.S.E. of Bari, affords now only anchorage to vessels of small burden. It is the nearest place of anchorage, after Bari, in this direction. We need not be surprised at finding a place which is now only a roadstead, described as a port in the middle ages. It is the natural consequence of the deposits made by the sea, and the gradual increase of the land, on all this part of the coast. *Porto San Giorgio* must not be mistaken for another anchorage, called *Torre di San Giorgio*, on the same coast, two miles east of Monopoli. The three ships arrived in the port of St. George on the evening of Saturday, the 8th of May.

³ During the voyage the relics were transferred from the cask which had served at first to hold them, into a wooden chest made expressly for that purpose, and the remains of which were preserved with great care to the close of the seventeenth century,—probably to the present day.

containing the relics to Elias, the devout abbot of the monastery of St. Benedict which stands near the harbour, and receiving with respect the sacred deposit, he and his monks placed it in their church on the ninth of the month of May and there carefully guarded it three days.¹

At that time Urso, archbishop of Bari,² a pious prelate, acceptable to God, and the intimate acquaintance and friend of the Italian princes, was absent from his see. A ship had been equipped and was ready for sea at Trani,³ and the archbishop had determined to embark on the morrow with the intention of undertaking a voyage to offer his devotions at Jerusalem. He was, however, met at Trani by a messenger with letters from the citizens of Bari informing him of the intelligence which had filled them with joy. In consequence Urso deferred his pilgrimage without hesitation, and lost no time in returning to Bari, highly rejoicing. The body was then transported by the townsmen to that city, the solemnity of the translation being fixed for the seventh of the ides [the 9th] of May. It was carried at first to the palace of the Catapan,⁴ and there deposited, with great reverence, at the request of the mariners and all the citizens in the church of St. Stephen the proto-martyr, which had been erected by the archbishop three years before.⁵

¹ Here our author's narrative is very incomplete. The ships were moored in the port of Bari in the morning of Sunday, the 9th of May, which was in the octave of the Ascension. Violent disputes then arose as to the disposal of the relics, which were terminated, for the present, by the offer of abbot Elias to take charge of them provisionally, and they were accordingly deposited in the church of St. Benedict, before the close of the same day, and rested there till the Thursday following.

² Urso, archbishop of Bari and Canosa, June, 1078—Feb. 14, 1089.

³ Trani, an archiepiscopal city in the kingdom of Naples, on the Adriatic, nine leagues to the north-west of Bari.

⁴ "Curia Catapana." Beatillo calls this residence *Curia del Capitano*, the palace of the Catapan, as the governor, who resided at Bari, in the last days of the Greek empire in Italy, was called. It stood on the sea-shore.

⁵ The archbishop, who arrived from Trani on the Sunday evening, was zealous in his endeavours to have the relics of St. Nicholas deposited in his cathedral; but the mariners and their friends, after a struggle which cost the lives of two youths, carried off their precious deposit about ten o'clock on Thursday morning by a private door, and lodged it in the palace of the Catapan. The oxen which drew the carriage, frightened by the tumult, turned out of the road, and made towards the sea. The spot on the shore

The foundations of a church dedicated expressly to St. Nicholas were immediately laid, and the holy relics, with the offerings of the faithful, and the carrying on of the work were entrusted to the venerable abbot Elias, who was appointed overseer of the whole undertaking by general consent, with the approbation of the archbishop. Multitudes speedily flocked to the spot from all parts of Italy, and innumerable signs and miracles were daily wrought by the power of God. The very first day, while the holy relics were deposited, as it has been just related, in the church of St. Benedict, more than thirty sick persons of both sexes and every age were freed from various infirmities, and having recovered perfect health returned with hearts full of joy and uttering thanksgivings, to their own homes. As for the succeeding times, we shall not attempt to give a particular account, or to reckon the numbers, of the demoniacs, the deaf, lame, dumb, and blind, with others suffering from a variety of disorders, who were effectually relieved and cured. In short, as we have before clearly intimated, the number is infinite and beyond our knowledge.¹

John, archdeacon of Bari, of whom I have already spoken

where they stopped was afterwards selected as the site of the high altar in the new church, and to commemorate this circumstance two oxen and a car of white marble were sculptured over the door. From this place the coffer was borne on the shoulders of priests to the palace, and placed in a church built three years before, and dedicated to St. Stephen. Here they were again entrusted to the care of abbot Elias, as well as the rich offerings which devotion and gratitude soon poured in from all quarters.

¹ The superintendence of the building a new church was also confided to abbot Elias, and he pushed forward the work with such activity, that as early as the 30th of September, 1089, Pope Urban II. was able to come and consecrate the lower church and altar, where the relics of St. Nicholas were deposited. Two days afterwards he ordained the pious abbot, who had been his fellow scholar in the monastery of La Cava, as archbishop of Bari. It was in this church that the same pope opened, on the 1st of October, 1099, the celebrated council in which were discussed the controverted points between the Latin and Greek churches, and especially the procession of the Holy Ghost. The distinguished part which Anselm, the Norman archbishop of Canterbury, took in these weighty theological discussions, is well known. It appears that the zeal with which the building the upper church had been carried on was afterwards relaxed, for it was not until the 22nd of June, 1199, a century afterwards, that by delegation of Pope Pascal II., it was consecrated by Conrad, bishop of Hildesheim and chancellor of the Aulic Council of the emperor Henry IV.

and from whose book I have made this brief extract, enumerates distinctly twelve signal miracles. But it was not in his power, or that of any other writer, to hand down to posterity all the cures and other benefits which Almighty God has conferred in his mercy on his servants faithfully imploring it for the merits of the most holy bishop St. Nicholas from that time to the present. Afterwards, by God's permission, several churches obtained portions of the sacred relics of St. Nicholas, and not only Italians and Greeks, but other nations also give thanks to God for the precious deposit. One Christopher, a knight, who had assisted at the translation of the illustrious Nicholas, concealed one of the ribs in his sleeve, and not long afterwards falling sick retired to the monastery of Venosa, imploring the abbot Berenger to admit him as a monk. Having obtained his request, he presented the rib of St. Nicholas which he had in his possession to the abbey of the Holy Trinity, and was cured of his malady.

CH. XIII. *Some relics of St. Nicholas carried from Bari to Venosa—Also, by William Pantoul, a Norman knight, to Noron.*

ABOUT the same time, Stephen, the chanter of the monastery which the elder Count Fulk erected to the honour of St. Nicholas in the city of Angers,¹ went to Apulia, and by express permission of the lord Natalis, his abbot, divested himself of the monastic habit and lived as a clerk at Bari, where he established familiarity, and afterwards influence, with the sacristans of the church dedicated to the holy bishop. At length, watching his opportunity, he secretly purloined an arm of St. Nicholas, which, set in silver, was kept outside the shrine, for the purpose of giving the benediction to the people.² He then attempted to withdraw into France, that he might enrich his own monas-

¹ This abbey had been founded by Fulk Nerra in 1020.

² The custom of removing an arm from the skeleton of a saint, to place it in a special reliquary, existed also in Normandy. The arm of St. Aubert at Mont St. Michael was not only used in giving the benediction, but also to sanction oaths taken upon it. The magnificent chartulary of this abbey contains many acts in which this formality is mentioned, and on some of its beautiful illuminations there are drawings of the reliquary so used.

tery with the precious treasure. The people of Bari, however, speedily discovering the loss they had sustained, despatched messengers to their neighbours, their friends and patrons, and had all the avenues on the road to France carefully guarded to prevent the thief's escape. Notwithstanding, Stephen reached Venosa safely, where he passed the winter in great alarm, trying to conceal himself; but while waiting for the spring to bring fair weather he fell sick, and his means of subsistence failing he was compelled to detach the silver from the holy relic and apply it for his support. Meanwhile the report that the arm of St. Nicholas was stolen by the French spread through the whole of Italy and Sicily, and the robbery becoming the subject of frequent conversation, and being much canvassed among the people, the silver covering was seen and recognized by some of the inhabitants of Venosa and servants of the convent. The tidings thus reached the ears of the monks, whereupon Erembert, an active brother, suddenly presented himself with the servants before the ex-monk, who was lying sick, and with great vehemence, demanded the arm of St. Nicholas as if it had been expressly committed to his charge. The sick man, perceiving that he was detected, and not knowing where to turn in his emergency, all pale and trembling, produced the precious relic to the resolute monk, who joyfully seizing it, carried it to the abbey of the Holy Trinity, the monks and citizens returning thanks to God. To this day, St. Nicholas there miraculously succours in their several necessities those who faithfully implore his aid in virtue of the sacred relic. This Erembert, a Norman by birth, was before his conversion a brave soldier, and afterwards becoming a monk was a zealous member of his order.

In these times a certain Norman knight, named William Pantoul,¹ betook himself to Apulia, and having a great respect for St. Nicholas, made diligent inquiries after his relics. By God's blessing on his endeavours he obtained from those who had translated the body one tooth and two fragments of the marble urn. William Pantoul was a gallant soldier, endowed with great talents, and well known

¹ A further account of William Pantoul, or Pantulf, will be found in book v. c. 16. It appears that he undertook this (his second) journey to Apulia after the death of King William. See before, pp. 208—211.

among the nobles of England and Italy as one of the wisest and richest among his neighbours. Having obtained the tooth of so great a man, he returned to Normandy, and on an appointed day called together a number of persons at his own domain called Noron to receive the relics in a worthy manner.

Accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1092, the tooth of the blessed confessor Nicholas, with other relics of the saints brought by William Pantulf from Apulia, was deposited with great reverence in the church of Noron erected in ancient times in honour of St. Peter. He invited Roger, abbot of St. Evroult and Ralph, who was at that time abbot of Séez but who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury,¹ to be present at the ceremony, and in the month of June they received the holy relics amid great devotion of the monks and rejoicings of the laity, carefully placing them in a silver coffer liberally provided by the before mentioned knight. The deposit so often spoken of became in frequent request by persons suffering from fevers and other maladies, whose devout prayers aided by the merits of the good bishop Nicholas obtained what they desired in the recovery of their health.

Soon afterwards, this knight laid the foundation of a new church, and having given twenty marks of silver for the work, completed a considerable part of the building. Unfortunately its progress was stopped by unfavourable events, and in consequence of the founder's death it was not finished. He died on the sixteenth of the calends of May [16th April], and his wife Lesceline on the eleventh of the calends of October [21st September]; both were interred in the monk's cloister. Their sons Philip, Robert, Ivo, and Arnulph have not hitherto made any efforts to carry into execution their parent's designs in matters of religion.²

Having thus introduced a faithful account of the transla-

¹ For an account of Ralph d'Ecures, archbishop of Canterbury, see before, p. 251.

² Nearly the same details are given in book v. c. 16. One of these personages, Robert Pantoul, figures among the robbers of the abbey of nuns at Caen after the death of King William, and the losses it sustained by his devastations are valued in the chartulary at six pounds of silver. From this conduct, it may be easily conceived that he was in no hurry to complete the religious establishments commenced by his parents.

tion of the relics of St. Nicholas in this my work I devoutly implore him who worked so many miracles, that mindful of those who have had him in remembrance, his pity may be bestowed upon us while he continually intercedes with God on our behalf. Let us now return to the course of our history, from which I have somewhat digressed.

CH. XIV. *Disturbances on the banks of the Eure in the Vexin—Account of the cession of that district by Henry I. of France to Robert, duke of Normandy—King William's expedition to recover it—He burns the town of Mantes—and falls mortally sick.*

[1087.] The old funds between the Normans and French being renewed, hostilities again burst forth, and the flames of war occasioned the most serious losses both to the clergy and laity. For Hugh, surnamed Stavel, and Ralph Malvoisin,¹ and other inhabitants of the fortified town of Mantes took up arms against King William, and collecting a large band of freebooters made frequent predatory excursions into Normandy. Crossing in the night, at the head of their troops, the river Eure which divides Normandy from France,² they threw themselves unexpectedly on the diocese of Evreux determined on committing the most cruel devastations. The brunt of the inroad fell on the domains of William de Breteuil in the neighbourhood of Paci, and those of Roger de Ivri,³ from which they drove off herds of cattle, and carried away many prisoners, so that deriding the Normans, they were beyond measure elated at their success. This induced the warlike King William, who was excessively enraged, to lay claim to the whole province of the Vexin, requiring Philip, king of France, to surrender Pontoise, Chaumont,⁴ and Mantes, and making terrible threats against his enemies if he was not

¹ See book v. c. 19.

² It is very probable that at a remote period the Eure, during a great part of its course, formed the boundary between Evreux and that portion of the territory of the Carnutes which is near to Mantes, but in the eleventh century, as in the eighteenth, such was not the case, except between St. Georges-sur-Eure and Garennes.

³ Paci, Ivri, both places on the left bank of the Eure. Roger d'Ivri was butler to William the Conqueror. See before, pp. 109, 213.

⁴ Chaumont in the Vexin.

restored to his lawful rights. The grounds of his claim were as follows.

King Henry, son of Robert king of France, after the death of his father, was heir to the crown as his eldest son, but he was opposed with a step-mother's hatred by Queen Constance who used every effort to elevate his brother, Robert duke of Burgundy, to the throne of France in his place. Henry therefore, by the advice of Amauri, lord of Montfort, son of William de Hainault, came with twelve attendants to Fécamp,¹ and humbly besought the assistance of Robert duke of Normandy, in the state of misery and exile to which his mother's perfidy had reduced him. The duke gave him an honourable reception befitting his lawful right as suzerain of the duchy, and liberally entertained him during the celebration of the feast of Easter. He then assembled the forces of Normandy from every quarter, and making a hasty irruption into France, assaulted Orleans with Norman impetuosity and set fire to and burnt the place. Having lowered the pride of the French by inflicting on them immense losses, Robert restored the young king to his throne. Thus reinstated, King Henry returned thanks to the duke, and for his service ceded to him the whole of the Vexin from the river Oise to the Epte. Dreux, the count of that province,² assented willingly to this arrangement, and doing homage to the duke served him faithfully as long as he lived.³ Both the duke and the count were distinguished for their merits, their regard was mutual, and each delighted to honour the other and advance his friend's interests.

Dreux, as I have before remarked, was descended from Charlemagne, king of the Franks.⁴ Duke Robert had given him in marriage his cousin Goda,⁵ sister of Edward, king of England, by whom he had the Counts Ralph and Walter, and the venerable Fulk, bishop of Amiens.⁶ The young princess

¹ This journey of Henry I. to Fécamp was undertaken in the month of March, 1032. Easter fell that year on the 2nd of April.

² Dreux, count of the Vexin, about 1027—1035.

³ 1032—June, 1035.

⁴ By his mother Alice, or Adele, daughter of Herbert, comte de Senlis.

⁵ Edith, or Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor.

⁶ Walter, only, was count after his father; there is no trace in history of Ralph, who must have been the second son. Our authr omits Amauri de Pontoise, called the Delicate.

had become an exile in Normandy with her brother, at the time when Canute, king of Denmark had taken forcible possession of England, having expelled the two heirs to the crown, Alfred and Edward, and cut off by the treason of Edric Prince Edmund, and Edwin, the presumptive heir.¹

After some years, on the death of Duke Robert at Nice, a city of Bithynia, the Norman barons revolted against William, who was then a boy; for when his father set out on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in company with Count Dreux, William was only eight years old,² and was entrusted to the guardianship of his cousin Alan, count of Brittany.³ Robert and Dreux dying on their journey, and Alan being carried off by poison treacherously administered by the Normans while he was besieging Montgomery, their heirs became iniquitously deprived of their natural protector, so that King Henry, by the advice of the French who are always at variance with the Normans, was able to take advantage of it, and re-annex the country of the Vexin, which he afterwards retained in his own power. William was at that time prevented from asserting his rights, on account of his youth; and afterwards being occupied with more important affairs in Maine and England, he suffered the matter to drop, and deferred taking up arms for the recovery of the Vexin against Philip, his liege-lord, or his son Philip.

At length, twenty-one years after he had ascended the throne of England, William addressed his claims to the county of the Vexin to Philip, king of France. That prince however adopted the frivolous subterfuges suggested by the insurgents, and treated with contempt, and altogether disregarded, the demands of the English king. Upon this, William made his appearance suddenly before Mantes, at the head of an army, in the last week of the month of July,⁴ and his troops entered the city mixed with the garrison. For the townsmen had stolen out of the place to observe the

¹ "Edwinum Clitonem." See vol. i. p. 147.

² He was between seven and eight years of age at his father's death, for William was not sixty when he died, the 9th of September, 1087. He was, therefore, born at the latter part of 1027, or the beginning of 1028.

³ Alan III., duke of Brittany, died of poison at Vimoutiers the 1st of October, 1040.

⁴ This week began on Sunday, the 25th of July.

devastations which Ascelin Goël¹ had made with the Norman troops the day before the king's arrival, by burning the standing corn, and rooting up the vines. The royal army thus rushing in pell-mell with the garrison, passed the gates, and in their fury set fire to the castle, which was burnt, with the churches and houses.² It was there that King William, who was very corpulent, fell sick from the excessive heat and his great fatigues,³ languishing six weeks with severe sufferings. There were some who rejoiced at this calamity, hoping to have free scope for pillage and robbing their neighbours' substance, others, who looked for security in peace, greatly feared the death of their lord, on whom it depended. The king, who during his whole life had followed the advice of wise counsellors, had feared God as became his faithful servant, and had been the unwearied protector of holy mother church, maintained his exalted reputation to the end. His death was worthy of his life. To the very last, through all his illness, his intellect was clear and his conversation lively; repenting of his sins he confessed them to the priests of God, and humbly strove to appease his wrath according to the rites of the Christian church. The bishops, abbots, and men of religion never left him, and were indefatigable in opening to the dying prince the salutary doctrines of eternal life. The noise of Rouen, which is a populous place, becoming insupportable to the sufferer, the king gave orders that he should be conveyed out of the city to the church of St. Gervase, standing on a hill to the west,⁴

¹ For Ascelin Goël, lord of Breval, see before, p. 237.

² The Conqueror was severely reproached for having set fire to this place, and even burnt the churches, and it appears to have weighed on his conscience in his last hours. But the circumstance which most roused the public indignation, was the cruel death of two nuns (Malmsbury says one only), "who did not think it justifiable to quit their cells even under such an emergency." We know how profound was the sympathy inspired by such recluses in the pious generations of the middle ages.

³ Ordericus speaks very vaguely of the accident which caused the death of William, but we know from other authorities that the king, who was very corpulent, was seriously injured in the bowels by the pommel of the saddle as his horse was leaping a ditch.

⁴ That is to say, in the priory attached to this church. St. Gervase was originally only an oratory raised by the piety of the faithful over the tombs of the first two bishops of Rouen, St. Mellon and St. Avicien, whose tombs are still shown under two low arches in the crypt. St.

which his grandfather, Duke Richard, had given to the monastery of Fécamp. There, Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux,¹ and Guntard, abbot of Jumièges,² with some others, well skilled in medicine, carefully watched over him, devoting themselves zealously to their master's welfare, both spiritual and temporal.

At length, his disorder continually increasing, and perceiving that inevitable death was becoming imminent, he became anxious about the future, which was veiled from his sight, reflecting on which with deep concern, he was frequently moved to sighs and groans. He summoned to his side his sons William Rufus and Henry, who were in attendance on him with some of his friends, and gave them many wise and prudent directions for the regulation of his states. Robert, his eldest son, had long since entered on a course of repeated quarrels with his father, and had recently taken umbrage in consequence of some new follies, and retired to the court of the king of France.

The wise king hastened to make provision for the future welfare of himself and others, ordering all his treasures to be distributed among the churches, the poor, and the ministers of God. He exactly specified the amount to be given to each, and gave directions to the notaries to reduce it to writing in his own presence. He also contritely sent large donations to the clergy of Mantes, to be applied to the restoration of the churches he had burnt. He gave admonitions to all who were present relative to the maintenance of justice and good faith, keeping the law of God and peace, the privileges of the churches, and observing the rules of the fathers. His eloquent discourse, worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance, and at times interrupted by tears, was to the following effect.

Victrix, it is believed, having obtained some relics of St. Gervase and St. Proteus (discovered by St. Ambrose in 386), placed this church under their invocation. It is at least certain that the crypt is the most ancient Christian monument in Normandy. Roman bricks are built into the wall. Duke Richard II. gave this church to the abbey of Fécamp. The priory erected by the monks, and in which King William breathed his last, stood to the south of the church.

¹ Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, 1077—August, 1101. See an excellent account of this prelate in book v. p. 117, &c., of the present volume.

² Goutard, abbot of Jumièges, 1078—November 26, 1095.

CH. XV. *Discourse of King William the Conqueror on his death-bed, in which he recapitulates the principal events of his life—His disposition of his treasure and states.*

"I tremble," he said, "my friends, when I reflect on the grievous sins which burden my conscience, and now about to be summoned before the awful tribunal of God, I know not what I ought to do. I was bred to arms from my childhood, and am stained with the rivers of blood I have shed. It is out of my power to enumerate all the injuries which I have caused during the sixty-four¹ years of my troublesome life, for which I am now called to render account without delay to the most righteous Judge. At the time my father went into voluntary exile, entrusting to me the duchy of Normandy, I was a mere youth of the age of eight years, and from that time to this I have always borne the weight of arms. I have now ruled this duchy fifty-six years,² amidst the difficulties of incessant wars. My own subjects have often conspired against me, and shamefully exposed me to serious losses and great injuries. They have perfidiously put to death Turketil my guardian,³ Osberne, son of Hirfast,⁴ steward of Normandy; Count Gilbert, the father of his country,⁵ and many others, who were the pillars of the state. In these trials I had proof of the fidelity of my people: often by night I was secretly taken from the chamber of my palace by my uncle Walter,⁶ through fear of my own

¹ This reckoning is inexact, as is shown in a former note, p. 400. Indeed, William just afterwards corrects it himself, saying that he was only eight years old in 1035.

² For 56 read 52.

³ Turketil du Neuf-Marché, son of Geoffry du Neuf-Marché. See before, vol. i. p. 455, and vol. ii. p. 135. For Hugh de Morimont, who was killed at the same time, see *ib.* p. 267.

⁴ Osberne de Crépon, surnamed the Pacific, son of Hirfast, and brother of the Duchess Gonnor, was assassinated at Vaudreuil when sleeping in the chamber of William, who was yet a child, by William de Montgomery, eldest son of Roger I. de Montgomery. Baron de Glos, Osberne's steward, avenged his lord's death by surrounding and setting on fire the house in which the assassin and his accomplices were.

⁵ William speaks too favourably of Count Gilbert, for notwithstanding the odious circumstances which attended his death, he received only the just punishment of his rapacity towards the orphans he had unjustly robbed of their inheritance. See vol. i. p. 391.

⁶ This person, of whom history furnishes no other notice, appears to have been a brother of Harlotta, William's mother.

relations, and conducted to the dwellings and retreats of the poor, that I might escape from discovery by the traitors who sought my death.

"The Normans, when under the rule of a kind but firm master, are a most valiant people, excelling all others in the invincible courage with which they meet difficulties, and strive to conquer every enemy. But under other circumstances they rend in pieces and ruin each other. They are eager for rebellion, ripe for tumults, and ready for every sort of crime. They must therefore be restrained by the strong hand of justice, and compelled to walk in the right way by the reins of discipline. But if they are allowed to take their own course without any yoke and like an untamed colt, they and their princes will be overwhelmed with poverty, shame, and confusion. I have learnt this by much experience. My nearest friends, my own kindred, who ought to have defended me at all hazards against the whole world, have formed conspiracies, and rebelling against me, nearly stripped me of the inheritance of my fathers.

"Guy, son of Reynold, duke of Burgundy,¹ by my aunt Adeliza, returned me evil for good. I had kindly received him on his arrival from a foreign country, and treated him with the regard due to an only brother, giving him Vernon, Brionne,² and an important part of my Norman territories. Notwithstanding this, he did all in his power to injure me, both by word and deed, calling me bastard, degenerate and unworthy to reign, and defaming me as if I had been his enemy. Need I add more? Breaking his fealty, he rebelled against me, seduced from my service Ranulf de Bayeux,³ Haymon-aux-Dents,⁴ Nigel du Cotentin,⁵ and many others, forcing them by his nefarious counsels to be partakers of his perjury. Regardless therefore of the homage and fealty which he had sworn to me, he strove to strip me of the whole of Normandy. Thus, while I was yet a beardless

¹ Guy, second son of Reynold, count (not duke) of Burgundy, 1027—September 3, 1057, and Adeliza, daughter of Richard II. See vol. i. p. 150.

² Vernon-sur-Seine, and Brionne.

³ Ranulf de Briquessart, viscount of Bayeux, father of Ranulf, earl of Chester.

⁴ Haimon-aux-Dents, lord of Torigni, Creuilli, &c.

⁵ Nigel, or Néel de St. Sauveur, vicomte du Cotentin.

youth, I found myself compelled to take up arms against him, and to fight on the plain of Val-des-Dunes¹ against my cousin and liege man. Then, by the help of God,² the righteous judge, I conquered my foes between Caen and Argences,³ and having by His permission utterly defeated them, I obtained entire possession of my paternal rights. I then laid siege to the fortress of Brionne, in which Guy, who fled wounded from the field of battle, had shut himself up, and I did not depart until I had driven the public enemy out of Normandy, and obtained possession of all his strong holds.⁴

"Shortly afterwards a still more grievous calamity befell me. My uncles, Mauger,⁵ archbishop of Rouen, and his brother William,⁶ to whom I had gratuitously given Arques and the county of Talou, treated me with contempt as a bastard, and induced King Henry and Engelran, count of Ponthieu, to take up arms against me. I received this in-

¹ The battle of Val-ès-Dunes, fought in 1047. This name, of which the most active researches have failed to discover any trace in the district, appears to mark a part of the elevated plateau on which stands the church of Bellengreville, in the neighbourhood of Caen. See also the note, vol. i. p. 151.

² William appears to have forgotten that he obtained this victory not only by God's help, but by the powerful assistance of Henry, king of France, which he implored on his knees at Poissy. Vol. i. p. 150.

³ Argences, not Argentan, is incontestibly the right reading. See, on the details of this battle, Wace (t. ii. pp. 27—43), who gives them with great care and knowledge of the localities. The king of France, who marched by way of Valmerai, made a circuit round the valley of the river Semillon, instead of traversing it as William did. The Val-ès-Dunes, surrounded by the river to the south and south-west, is situated in the parishes of Chichebovelle and Bellengreville.

⁴ We shall see presently that Guy was blockaded in his castle of Brionne three years before he capitulated. It was not, therefore, till 1050 that this rebellion was extinguished. The ruins of the keep of the strong castle of Brionne, surrounded by the Risle, are yet to be seen.

⁵ Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, 1037—May, 1055. He was son of Richard II. and Papia, and must have been very young when he succeeded his uncle Archbishop Robert. See before, p. 162.

⁶ William Comte de Talou. Arques, near Dieppe, was part of the appanage given him by his nephew, and was an important military post from the time of the arrival of the Normans. But this count must be considered as the founder of the castle, and he was the first who substituted the title of Arques for that of Talou. Engelran, count of Ponthieu, was his brother-in-law.

telligence in the Cotentin,¹ and lost no time in beginning my march contrary to the opinions of most of my advisers. Sending forward to Arques some light troops who were eager for the fray, I followed myself² with the main body, which was far from considerable, to lay siege to the castle. But before I reached the country between the two rivers, the Sie and the Garenne, the advanced guard fell in with Count Engelran pushing forward to occupy the fortress, and killed him, fighting bravely; for he was a valiant knight, and routed his squadrons. Pressing the siege closely, I compelled the perjured count to go into banishment, and did not permit him to return to the domains he lost during all the days of his life.³ I also, by virtue of a papal decree, deposed the insolent archbishop, who neither observed his fealty to me, nor his duty to God, and raised to the see the venerable monk Maurilius who was providentially sent from Florence, an Italian city.⁴

“ Henry, in all the plenitude of his royal power and the fervour of his chivalrous spirit, has been often seen at the instigation of my enemies, to trample me under his feet as a defenceless man, endeavouring to crush me and impose upon me unjust conditions. He has made frequent irruptions into my territories at the head of large armies, but he has never been able to triumph in the spoils and booty he has gained, or the captives he has made among my subjects. He has often crossed the frontiers with great military pomp, and terrible menaces, but he has never returned to his own kingdom without sorrow and shame. He has brought in his train numbers of most valiant men, who, alas! never saw their own country again, having fallen by my sword and the arms of my followers.

¹ The Cotentin was the name given to a district in the extreme north-west of Normandy, nearly surrounded by the sea, in which was situated Valognes, one of the residences most frequented by the duke in his early years.

² Wace has preserved the names of most of the places through which the duke passed. He rode so hard that six only of the men-at-arms who formed his escort when he left Valognes were with him when he arrived before Arques.

³ This revolt occurred in the year 1053. Further details will be found in the narratives of William of Jumièges and Wace.

⁴ For Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, see before p. 164, and his epitaph, p. 7.

“ On one occasion, King Henry, was so enraged against me, that he invaded my territories with a vast army in two divisions, in order to overwhelm them by a double attack.¹ He led one body of troops himself into the diocese of Evreux, and ravaged the whole country on this side the Seine, while he gave the command of the other division to his brother Eudes,² with Reynold de Clermont, and the two counts, Ralph de Montdidier,³ and Guy de Ponthieu,⁴ with orders to enter Normandy by the fords of the Epte,⁵ and, carrying fire and sword through Brai and the Talois, with the whole district of Rouen, to continue their devastations to the sea-

¹ This double invasion of Normandy by the French was made in the beginning of spring, 1054, before Lent (February 16). It appears to have been intended to revenge the ill-success of the former campaign before Arques.

² Eudes, fourth son of King Robert and Constance, who died without having been married, appears to have been a prince of slender abilities. *Odo namque nimis stultus erat*, is the blunt language of a cotemporary chronicler.

³ Ralph III., called the Great, comte de Valois and Amiens in 1030, in right of his father, Ralph II., re-united to it Pontoise, Mantes, and great part of the Vexin, after the death of his cousin Walter in 1063. See before, p. 79. He never bore the title of Comte de Montdidier given him by our author, and only possessed that place by depriving his cousin-german, Rothais daughter and heiress of Eudes, comte de Montdidier of it. Having married twice, he divorced his second wife to marry the queen, Anne of Russia, widow of Henry I. Faithful to his habits of violence and usurpation, towards the close of his life (about 1071 or 1072) he seized the castle of Péronne, of which exploit he was so proud that he afterwards used no other title but that of Ralph de Péronne. He died at Montdidier, Sept. 3, 1074, under excommunication for his divorce, and was buried in the priory of Notre-Dame in that town.

Simon de Crépi, his son and successor, led a life as pure and holy as that of Ralph had been violent and criminal. One of his first cares was to restore Montdidier to the right heirs, and to disinter his father's body, and have it conveyed to his own patrimony at Crépi. This exhumation was made on March 22, 1076. Simon, who was present, was so shocked at the appearance of his father's corpse, that it was a new motive for his quitting the world and devoting himself to a monastic life, which he shortly afterwards did, although his friends, to withdraw him from it, brought about his marriage with Judith, daughter of Robert Comte d'Auvergne. The new married pair made vows of chastity on the day of their union, and both embraced a religious life. Simon was one of the nearest relatives and most devoted friends of Queen Matilda.

⁴ Guy comte de Ponthieu, 1053—October 13, 1101.

⁵ It was probably not by the fords of the Epte, but by those of the Bresle, that the French army reached Mortemer.

coast. Receiving intelligence of these movements, I lost no time in preparing to meet them. Stationing myself with part of my troops along the bank of the Seine against the king's tents, I kept him in check, and was ready to fall upon the enemy at whatever point he attempted to ravage my territories. Meanwhile, I detached against Eudes and his division Robert, Count d'Eu, with Roger de Mortemer,¹ and other distinguished knights; who, encountering the French near the castle of Mortemer, the line of battle was formed by both armies, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the carnage was enormous, for the combatants on both sides were full of ardour and resolved not to yield but with their lives. On one side, the French made furious assaults, inspired by the hope of gaining the spoils of the victory; on the other, the Normans struck home, animated by their determination to repel the enemy and defend their lives and possessions. This battle was fought beyond the Seine in the winter season, before Lent, eight years after that of Val-des-Dunes.² Guy, count of Ponthieu, was taken prisoner and Eudes, Reynold, and others were put to flight, owing their escape to the speed with which they ran away. Count Ralph [de Valois] would also have been taken, if Roger, my commander-in-chief, had not favoured his escape on account of the fealty he had formerly sworn to him. In acting thus, in the hour of the count's utmost need, he paid him a noble and legitimate service; receiving him in his castle, where he entertained him three days, and afterwards conducting him in safety to his own territories. Notwithstanding, for this breach of his duty to me, I banished Robert from Normandy, but, being soon afterwards reconciled with him, restored him all his domains, except the castle of Mortemer, in which he had sheltered my enemy; which I think he justly forfeited, and I granted it to his cousin William de Warrene,³ one of my loyal young vassals. Guy, count of

¹ Roger de Mortemer, brother of William de Warrene, son of Walter (or Ralph), who married a niece of the Duchess Gonnor.

² As the battle of Val-des-dunes was fought in 1047, not more than seven years had elapsed in February, 1054.

³ Although Roger de Mortemer, Roger's son, fought bravely at the battle of Hastings, the castle of his ancestors was not restored to him. In the treaty of 1153, between King Stephen and Duke Henry, by which the domains of Earl Warrene were ceded to William, the king's son, the castles

Bayeux, was detained a captive during my pleasure; but two years afterwards I received his fealty on the terms of his being always my faithful subject and doing military service every year, wherever I should appoint, with a hundred men-at-arms. I then heaped favours upon him and dismissed him in peace thus honoured.

"As soon as I received certain intelligence of the issue of the battle of Mortemer, I despatched Ralph de Toni¹ to the

of Bellencombre and Mortemer appear in the first line. A charter of Reginald de Boulogne, in 1204, mentions the castle of Mortemer, *quod fuit comitis Garenniæ*.

¹ Ralph de Toni, or Toëni, and Conches (see vol. i. p. 462), was hereditary standard-bearer of Normandy. His youngest son Robert was the founder of the great family of Stafford in England.—*Erdeswick's Survey*, p. 118.

William, as we have just seen, had marched in person against the king of France, who had crossed the Seine. It was between their two camps, separated, probably, by only a small interval, that Ralph de Toni executed his commission. According to Robert Wace, he climbed up into a tree, but Ralph de Diceto says he stood on a hillock: "It was night when, standing on a neighbouring hill, he began to shout aloud, 'My name is Ralph de Toni, and I bring you melancholy news; hasten with your chariots and cars to Mortemer, to carry off the bodies of the slain. The French have chosen to encounter the Norman chivalry, and have found its assault more severe than they expected. Eudes, the king's brother, has fled, and Guy, count of Ponthieu, is a captive. All the rest are either prisoners or slain, or have saved their lives by the speed with which they have run away. The duke of Normandy sends this message to the king of France.'" A ballad of a later age is to the same purport:—

"Réveillez-vous et vous levez,
François, qui trop dormi avez;
Allez bientôt voir vos amis,
Que les Normands ont à mort mis
Entre Écouis et Mortemer:
Là vous convient les inhumer.

These verses may be thus paraphrased:—

Wake, Frenchmen, wake! you sleep too sound,
Your friends, upon the bloody ground
Sleep a sounder sleep afar,
Between Écouis and Mortemar.
Haste, Frenchmen, haste! if not to save,
At least to give an honoured grave
To gallant knights and comrades brave,
Who fell before the tide of war,
Between Écouis and Mortemar.

Mortimer (*mortuum-mare*) en-Lions, on the river Caulne, not Mortemer-

king of France with an account of what had occurred on the left bank of the Seine. On hearing the news, which reached him in the dead of the night, King Henry lost not a moment in putting his troops in motion, and, having made a precipitate retreat, from that hour he has never reposed for a single night on my territories.

"Thus, from my very infancy, I have been continually involved in numberless embarrassments, but, by God's mercy, I have freed myself from them all with the highest honour. I became in consequence an object of jealousy to all my neighbours, but by His aid in whom I always put my trust, none of them were able to prevail against me. The Bretons and Anjevins have found this; the French and Flemings are witnesses of it; the Manceaux have severely felt it.

"Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou,¹ Conan, duke of Brittany,² and Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders,³ engaged in perfidious enterprises against me; but as God was my protector, though they made great efforts and laid many snares for me, they were never able to accomplish their designs. I have placed on my brow a royal diadem, which none of my predecessors wore, having acquired it by the grace of God, not by hereditary right. It would be difficult for me to recount my labours beyond sea, and the perilous conflicts in which I have been engaged with the people of Exeter, Chester, and Northumbria, with the Scots and Welsh, Norwegians, Danes, and other adversaries who attempted to deprive me of the crown of England: in all which I obtained the victory. But much as human ambition is disposed to triumph in such successes, I am a prey to cruel fears and anxieties when I reflect with what barbari-

en-Brai, was the scene of this conflict; it was, therefore, a mistake of the later writer to place it near Écouis. The language of the former has all the air of his being a cotemporary perfectly acquainted with the localities.

¹ Called also Geoffrey of Mayenne. Malmesbury gives an account of this expedition, which probably took place in 1052, the year preceding the revolt of William d'Arques before mentioned. *Antiq. Lib.* p. 266.

² King William here refers to a transaction which was perhaps the most dishonourable of his whole career. See before, p. 449.

³ Allusion is made to the battle of Ravenchoven, near Cassel, February 22, 1071, in which William Fitz-Osborne fell (see before p. 59), and also to the preparations made for invading England in 1085 concerted between Robert the Frisian and St. Canute, king of Denmark.

ties they were attended. I therefore humbly entreat you, the priests and ministers of Christ, to commend me in your prayers to Almighty God for the forgiveness of the sins with which my conscience is burdened, and that through his inexhaustible mercy he will vouchsafe to grant me salvation among his elect. I direct my treasure to be given to the churches and the poor, that what was amassed in crime may be dispersed among the saints and applied to holy uses. For you ought to remember how dearly I have loved you, and how stoutly I have defended you against all your enemies.

"I have never injured the church of God, which is our mother, but have always paid her, as circumstances demanded, due honour. I never sold ecclesiastical dignities. I prohibited simony, which I always detested. In the election of prelates my choice was directed by meritorious conduct and wise doctrine, and as far as it has been in my power the government of the church has been committed to the most worthy. This may be truly proved by my selection of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury; of Anselm, abbot of Bec; Gerbert, abbot of Fontenelles; Durand, of Troarn; and many other doctors of my realm, whose praise, I think, is spread to the ends of the earth. Such were the associates with whom I conversed, and in whose society I learnt the maxims of wisdom and truth; so that I always delighted to receive their counsels.

"Nine abbeys of monks and one of nuns, founded in Normandy¹ by my predecessors, have, under God's blessing, been augmented by my care, nobly enriched with the splendid endowments of various kinds I have conferred upon them. Moreover, during the time I have governed the duchy, seventeen convents of monks and six of nuns have been erected,² in which the full service is regularly

¹ The nine abbeys of monks here referred to were probably St. Ouen, at Rouen, St. Wandrille, Jumièges, Mont St. Michel, Fécamp, Bernai, Mont St. Catherine, Cerisi, and Bec; the abbey of nuns, Montivilliers.

² Grestain, St. Pierre-de-Preaux, Notre-dame-de-St. Pierre-sur-Dive, Lire, St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, St. Evroult, St. Martin de Séez, Conches, Troarn, Lessai, Le Tréport, Corneilles, St. Stephen at Caen, St. Sever, St. Georges de Bocherville, St. Victor-en Caux and Bonne-Nouvelle (a priory). We can only discover five convents of nuns: St. Léger-de-Preaux, Almenèches, St. Désir de Lisieux, or Notre-Dame-du-Pré, St. Sauveur d'Evreux, La Trinité de Caen.

performed, and large alms are daily distributed for the love of the King Supreme. With such fortresses Normandy is well protected, and in them men are taught to combat the demons and the sins of the flesh. By God's inspiration all these abbeys have been either of my creation or foundation, and I became their zealous benefactor and kind promoter. Moreover, all the endowments, whether in lands or other revenues, which my barons have given to God and his saints, for the good of their souls, both in Normandy and England, I have graciously confirmed, and have gratuitously ratified by my princely authority the charters granting them, against all claims and pretensions.

"Such have been my cares from my earliest years, and these duties I leave to my successors to be observed in all time to come. In these, my sons, constantly follow my example, that you may be honoured for ever before God and men. I especially exhort you, who are my own flesh, to cultivate unceasingly the society of good and wise men, and to submit to their rule in all things, if you desire to possess durable glory. From the teaching of pious philosophers you will learn to discern good from evil, to adhere to justice on all occasions, and to spare no pains in avoiding iniquity; to be merciful protectors of the weak, the poor, and the pious, while you bridle and put down the proud and malicious: to refrain from injuring simple folk, to frequent with devotion the services of holy church, to love the worship of God above all riches, and to observe unweariedly the divine law by day and by night, in prosperity and in adversity.

"I granted the dukedom of Normandy to my son Robert, because he was the eldest,¹ before I fought against Harold on the heath² of Senlac. He has already received the homage of nearly all the barons of this land. The grant thus made and ratified I cannot annul. But I know for certain that the country which is subject to his dominion will be truly wretched. He is a proud and silly prodigal, and will have long to suffer severe misfortune.

¹ It has been already remarked that the nomination of Robert to the succession of the duchy was made at least as early as 1063. See before, p. 14.

² *Epitumo*, query *epithymum*? a word found only in our author's work, referring, probably, to the odoriferous plants which are found on heaths.

"I appoint no one my heir to the crown of England, but leave it to the disposal of the Eternal Creator, whose I am, and who ordereth all things. For I did not attain that high honour by hereditary right, but I wrested it from the perjured king Harold in a desperate battle, with much effusion of human blood, and it was by the slaughter and banishment of his adherents, that I subjugated England to my rule. I have persecuted its native inhabitants beyond all reason. Whether nobles or commons, I have cruelly oppressed them; many I unjustly disinherited; innumerable multitudes, especially in the county of York, perished through me by famine or the sword. Thus it happened:¹ the Deiri and other people beyond the Humber called in the troops of Sweyn, king of Denmark, as their auxiliaries against me, and put to the sword Robert Comyn and a thousand soldiers within the walls of Durham, as well as others, my barons and most esteemed knights, in various places.² These events inflamed me to the highest pitch of resentment, and I fell on the English of the northern counties like a raving lion. I commanded their houses and corn, with all their implements and furniture, to be burnt without distinction, and large herds of cattle and beasts of burden, to be butchered wherever they were found. It was thus that I took revenge on multitudes of both sexes by subjecting them to the calamity of a cruel famine; and by so doing, alas me! became the barbarous murderer of many thousands, both young and old, of that fine race of people. Having, therefore, made my way to the throne of that kingdom by so many crimes, I dare not leave it to any one but God alone, lest after my death worse should happen by my means. I trust that my son William, who from his earliest years has always attached himself to me, and been dutiful under all trials to the best of his power, may live long and prosperous in the influence of the Spirit of God, and should it be the

¹ A full account of William's campaign in the north of England, and of the frightful devastations which attended its progress, is given by Ordericus in the fifth chapter of his fourth book (see p. 21 of the present vol.), which for its clear and vivid details, the boldness of the Anglo-Norman monk's strictures on William's cruelties, and the style of composition, is, perhaps, the best specimen of his historical powers this work affords.

² In this passage the king inverts the order of events.

divine will that he succeed to the throne, his reign may be illustrious."

CH. XVI. *Odo, bishop of Bayeux, exempted from the general amnesty—The last hours and death of William the Conqueror—His funeral—and character.*

WHILE King William discoursed thus, with much more to the same effect, and the bystanders who cautiously scanned the dim prospects of the future, were lost in amazement, Henry, his youngest son, hearing that no provision was made for him out of the royal wealth, said sorrowfully to the king: "And what, my father, do you give me?" to which the king replied: "I bequeath to you five thousand pounds of silver from my treasury." Upon which Henry said: "What shall I do with this money, having no corner of earth which I can call my own?" To which the king answered: "My son, be contented with your lot, and trust in the Lord. Suffer patiently your elder brothers to precede you. Robert will have Normandy, and William England. But you, also, in your turn, will succeed to all the dominions which belong to me, and you will surpass your brothers in wealth and power." After he had said this, the king, fearing lest in such extended territories some sudden tumults might burst forth, addressed a letter to Lanfranc the archbishop, on the appointment of a successor to the throne, and affixing his seal, gave it to his son William Rufus, commanding him to embark for England without delay. He then kissed him, and, giving him his blessing, directed him to hasten his departure and cross the sea to secure the crown. The prince lost no time in riding to the port of Wissant,¹ and there he received intelligence of his father's death. Henry was equally prompt in securing the money allotted to him. He had it carefully weighed that there might be no deficiency, and, summoning his intimate friends in whom he could confide, sought a place of safety in which to deposit his treasure.

Meanwhile the physicians and royal attendants in charge

¹ Wissant, which was a celebrated port in the middle ages, is situated between Boulogne and Calais, about four leagues and a half from the former. In his tenth book our author makes William Rufus embark at the port of Touque.

of the dying prince, together with the nobles who had come to visit him, took an opportunity of speaking in favour of the captives who were detained in prison, humbly entreating him to have pity on them and grant their release. The king replied to them: "I have long kept in captivity Morcar, the noble English earl; in this I have been unjust, but my fear has been that if he were liberated he would raise disturbances in the kingdom of England.¹ I threw into prison Roger de Breteuil² who opposed me with bitter animosity, and stirred up against me his brother-in-law Ralph de Guader and many others, and I swore that he should not be set free as long as I lived. In like manner I confined many persons to punish them for their own offences, and others to prevent their causing future rebellions. Justice requires this, and the divine law, through Moses, commands the rulers of the world to restrain the guilty that the innocent may not perish.³ Being now, however, at the point of death, as I hope to be saved and, by God's mercy, absolved from my sins, I order that the prison doors shall be forthwith thrown open, and all the prisoners, except my brother, the bishop of Bayeux, be released and suffered to go free, for the love of God, that He also may have mercy on me. But they are not to be liberated, but on condition that they first take an oath to my ministers, for the security of the state, that they will use every means to preserve the peace both in Normandy and in England, and will stedfastly resist the enemies of tranquillity to the utmost of their power."

When Robert, earl of Morton, heard that by the king's decision his brother was condemned to perpetual imprisonment he was much distressed. Herluin de Conteville⁴ had married Harleve, the concubine of Duke Robert, by whom he had two sons. Odo and Robert. William, who was first duke and afterwards king, had heaped honours and possessions on his father-in-law both in Normandy and England, and had enriched with large domains his sons, Ralph, born

¹ See before, b. iv. c. 7, p. 45.

² See *ib.* p. 82.

³ We are not able to discover any passage of this kind in the Pentateuch.

⁴ Conteville-sur-mer, near the mouth of the Risle.

of another wife,¹ and Robert and Odo, his own uterine brothers. For having expelled from Normandy on slight pretences William, surnamed Werleng, count of Morton, son of Count Mauger,² he had conferred the county of Morton on Robert, son of Herluin, and thus his own brother. Moreover, on the death of Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, son of Count Mauger,³ he gave that bishopric to his brother Odo, whom he afterwards made earl of Kent in England. At length, King William arrested him in the Isle of Wight,⁴ on account of his overweening pride, as I have before fully related, and having detained him four years in prison, was unwilling, such was the insolence of Odo, to release him even when he was himself at the point of death. In consequence, the earl of Morton, of whom I have lately spoken, was sorely afflicted, and, by his own supplications and those of his friends on behalf of his brother, wearied the suffering prince.

The king was exhausted by the numerous solicitations from so many quarters for the release of the bishop of Bayeux; but at length he said: "I wonder that your penetration has not discovered the character of the man for whom you supplicate me. Are not you making petitions for a prelate who has long held religion in contempt, and who is the subtle promoter of fatal divisions? Have I not already incarcerated for four years this bishop, who when he ought to have proved himself exemplary in the just government of England, became a most cruel oppressor of the people, and destroyer of the convents of monks? In desiring the liberation of this seditious man, you are ill-advised, and are bringing on yourselves a serious calamity. It is clear that my brother Odo is a man not to be trusted, ambitious, given to fleshly desires, and of enormous cruelty; and that he will never be converted from his whoredoms and ruinous follies. I satisfied myself of this on several occasions, and therefore I imprisoned, not the bishop, but the tyrannical

¹ This is the only notice we have of this eldest son of Herluin de Conteville, and half-brother of the Conqueror.

² William de Jumièges (b. vii. c. 19) relates the circumstances under which William Werlenc forfeited the earldom of Morton.

³ Ralph comte d'Ivri. It was in 1040 that William gave his brother the bishopric of Bayeux, vacant by the death of William d'Ivri.

⁴ See before, c. viii. p. 372, *et seq.* for the details of this transaction.

earl. There is no doubt that if he is released, he will disturb the whole country and be the ruin of thousands. I say this not from hatred, as if I were his enemy, but as the father of my country, watching for the welfare of a Christian people. It would indeed give me inexpressible and heart-felt joy to think that he would conduct himself with chastity and moderation, as it always becomes a priest and minister of God."¹

All the friends of the bishop pledging themselves for his reformation, the king further said: "Whether I will or not, your petition shall be granted, but after my death there will immediately be a violent change in affairs. It is against my own judgment that I permit my brother to be liberated from confinement, for be assured that he will cause the death or the grievous injury of many persons. Further, as I have declared the forfeiture of all the lands of Baudri, son of Nicholas,² as a punishment for his folly in quitting my service and going to Spain without my licence, I now restore him his domains for the love of God. I do not think that a braver knight exists, but he is prodigal and inconstant, and loves to wander in foreign countries."

Thus King William, though tormented with excruciating pains in his intestines, preserved throughout the full possession of his clearness of intellect and power of expressing himself with his usual vivacity; and gave with readiness useful counsels to all who addressed themselves to him on the affairs of the state.

At length, on Tuesday, the fifth of the ides [the 9th] of September,³ the king waking just when the sun was beginning to shed his rays on the earth, heard the sound of the

¹ Whatever amplifications our author may have made in the speeches which he has put into the king's mouth (a practice we find him frequently pursuing in common with most ancient historians), it does appear that Odo was excepted from the general amnesty, and the sequel of the history will show how well his brother had penetrated the real character of this voluptuous and turbulent prelate.

² Baudri de Guitri. This offence must have been very recent, as we have seen Baudri, in 1085, fighting bravely in William's service in Maine. This lord held a fief at Bocquencé under the abbey of St. Evroult, and must have been personally known to our author, who makes frequent and honourable mention of him.

³ William died, as before stated, on September 9, 1087.

great bell of the cathedral of Rouen. On his inquiring what it meant, his attendants replied: "My Lord, the bell is tolling for primes in the church of St. Mary." Then the king, raised his eyes to heaven with deep devotion, and lifting up his hands said: "I commend myself to Mary, the holy mother of God, my heavenly mistress, that by her blessed intercession I may be reconciled to her well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ." Having said this he instantly expired. The physicians and others who were present, who had watched the king all night while he slept, his repose neither broken by cries or groans, seeing him now expire so suddenly and unexpectedly, were much astonished, and became as men who had lost their wits. Notwithstanding, the wealthiest of them mounted their horses and departed in haste to secure their property. But the inferior attendants, observing that their masters had disappeared, laid hands on the arms, the plate, the robes, the linen, and all the royal furniture, and leaving the corpse almost naked on the floor of the house hastened away.

Observe then, I pray you, my readers, how little trust can be placed in human fidelity. All these servants snatched up what they could of the royal effects, like so many kites, and took to their heels with their booty. Roguery thus came forth from its hiding place the moment the great justiciary was dead, and first exercised its rapacity round the corpse of him who had so long repressed it.

Intelligence of the king's death was quickly spread, and, far and near, the hearts of those who heard it were filled with joy or grief. In fact, King William's decease was known in Rome and in Calabria to some of the exiles he had disinherited, the same day he died at Rouen, as they afterwards solemnly asserted in Normandy. For the evil spirit was frantic with joy on finding his servants, who were bent on rapine and plunder, set free by the death of their judge.

O, worldly pomp, how despicable you are when one considers that you are empty and fleeting! You are justly compared to watery bubbles, since at one moment you are inflated and rise, and vanish the next. Behold this mighty prince, who was lately obsequiously obeyed by more than a hundred thousand men in arms, and at whose nod nations trembled, was now stripped by his own attendants, in a

house which was not his own; and left on the bare ground from the hour of primes to that of tierce.

Meanwhile, the citizens of Rouen having heard the death of their prince, were in the greatest state of alarm; almost all of them lost their reason, as if they had been intoxicated, and were thrown into as much confusion as if the city had been threatened with an assault by a powerful army. Each quitted the place where he received the news, and ran to confer with his wife, or the first friend or acquaintance he met, as to what was to be done. Every one removed, or prepared to remove, his valuables, concealing them with alarm, lest they should be discovered.

At length the religious, both clergy and monks, recovering their courage and the use of their senses, formed a procession; and, arrayed in their sacred vestments, with crosses and censers, went in due order to St. Gervase, where they commended the spirit of the departed king to God, according to the holy rites of the Christian faith. Then William, the archbishop, ordered the body to be conveyed to Caen, and interred there in the abbey of St. Stephen the protomartyr, which the king himself had founded. His brother and other relations had already quitted the place, and all his servants had deserted him, as if he had been a barbarian; so that not one of the king's attendants was found to take care of his corpse. However, Herluin, a country knight, was induced by his natural goodness to undertake the charge of the funeral, for the love of God and the honour of his country. He therefore procured at his own expense persons to embalm and carry the body; and, hiring a hearse, he caused it to be carried to the port on the Seine; and, embarking it on board a vessel, conducted it by water and land to Caen.

Then Gilbert, the lord abbot,¹ with the whole convent of monks, met the hearse in solemn procession, accompanied by a sorrowing multitude of clerks and laymen, offering prayers. But at this moment a sudden calamity filled the minds of all with alarm. For a fire broke out in one of the houses, and, shooting up prodigious volumes of flame, spread through great part of the town of Caen, doing great damage. The crowds, both of clergy and laity, hastened with one accord to

¹ Gilbert de Coutances, abbot of St. Stephen at Caen, 1079—1101.

extinguish the fire, so that the monks were left alone to finish the service they had begun, and they brought the royal corpse into the abbey church, chanting psalms.

Afterwards, all the bishops and abbots of Normandy assembled to perform the obsequies of the illustrious duke, who was the father of his country. I will insert in this work a short list of some of the number, for the information of posterity. William, archbishop of Rouen; Odo, bishop of Bayeux; Gilbert, bishop of Evreux; Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux; Michael, bishop of Avranches; Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances; and Gerard, bishop of Séez. Among the abbots were the following: Anselm, of Bec; William de Roos, of Fécamp; Gerbert, of Fontenelles; Guntard, of Jumièges; Mainier, of St. Evroult; Fulk, of Dive; Durand, of Troarn; Robert, of Séez; Osbern, of Bernai; Roger, of St. Michael-in-peril-of-the-sea; the two abbots of Rouen, Nicholas, of St. Ouen, and Walter, of Mont-de-la-Sainte-Trinité; with many more, whom it would be tedious to enumerate. All these assembled at the funeral of the illustrious Baron, and buried him in the sanctuary, between the choir and the altar.

The mass ended, when the coffin was already lowered into the grave, but the corpse was still on the bier, the great Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, ascended the pulpit, and pronounced a long and eloquent discourse on the distinguished character of the deceased prince. He expatiated on William's having extended by his valour the bounds of the Norman dominion, and raised his people to a pitch of greatness surpassing the times of any of his predecessors; and on his having maintained peace and justice in all his states, wisely chastising thieves and robbers with the scourge of the law, while he firmly defended the clergy and monks, and defenceless people, with his meritorious sword. When he had concluded his discourse he addressed himself to the congregation, who were shedding affectionate tears and attested his assertions, and added this supplication: "As in this present life no man can live without sin, I beseech you, for the love of Christ, that you earnestly intercede with Almighty God on behalf of our deceased prince, and that you kindly forgive him, if in aught he has offended against you."

Then Ascelin, son of Arthur, came forward from the crowd, and preferred the following complaint with a loud voice, in the hearing of all: "The land," he said, "on which you stand was the yard belonging to my father's house, which that man for whom you pray, when he was yet only duke of Normandy,¹ took forcible possession of, and in the teeth of all justice, by an exercise of tyrannical power, here founded this abbey. I therefore lay claim to this land, and openly demand its restitution, and in God's name I forbid the body of the spoiler being covered with earth which is my property, and buried in my inheritance." The bishops and other great men, on hearing this, and finding from inquiries among his neighbours that he spoke the truth, drew the man aside, and, instead of offering him any violence, appeased his resentment with gentle words and came to terms with him. For the small space in which the grave was made, they paid him on the spot sixty shillings, and promised him a proportionable price for the rest of the land which he claimed. This agreement they soon afterwards fulfilled, for the good of the soul of the master they dearly loved.²

¹ That is, before the conquest of England, when the abbey was built; at which time William was only duke of Normandy.

² The narrative of Wace entirely agrees with that of our author. According to William of Malmesbury, his son Henry, afterwards king of England, was present at the funeral, and paid to Ascelin, whom he calls a "knight and a brawler, a hundred pounds of silver to quiet his audacious claim."—B. iii. p. 311 of the edition in *Bohn's Antiq. Lib.*

Two cotemporary facts may serve for a fitting conclusion to our author's account of the last hours of William the Conqueror. The first is supplied by William of Malmesbury, *ib.* p. 307. Honouring his father's memory, he had sent a person in his confidence to remove the body of Duke Robert, which had been interred at Nice, and bring it to Normandy. The messenger, having proceeded on his pious errand, received the intelligence of his sovereign's death while he was in Apulia, on his return home with Robert's remains. He, therefore, interred them there. The place where they were deposited is unknown, but might be probably discovered by the researches of travellers in the south of Italy.

The other fact present a curious contrast between two destinies which were terminated within a few days of each other. The tourist who visits the church of St. Saviour at Bruges will find a leaden tablet, transferred from the church of St. Donat in the same city, which records that Gunilde, born of illustrious parents in England, being the daughter of the powerful Earl Godwin, by Githa a noble lady of Danish extraction, having

However, when the corpse was lowered into the stone coffin, they were obliged to use some violence in forcing it in, because through the negligence of the masons it had been made too short, so that, as the king was very corpulent, the bowels burst, and an intolerable stench affected the by-standers and the rest of the crowd. The smoke of incense and other aromatics ascended in clouds, but failed to purify the tainted atmosphere. The priests therefore hurried the conclusion of the funeral service and retired as soon as possible, in great alarm, to their respective abodes.

I have thus carefully investigated, and given a true account of all the manifestations of God's providence at the duke's death, not composing a well-feigned tragedy for the lucre of gain, nor a humorous comedy to provoke the laughter of parasites, but a true narrative of the various events for the perusal of studious readers. In the midst of prosperity adverse circumstances were permitted to arise, that the hearts of men might be impressed with the fearful warnings.

A king once potent, and warlike, and the terror of the numberless inhabitants of many provinces, lay naked on the floor, deserted by those who owed him their birth, and those he had fed and enriched. He needed the money of a stranger for the cost of his funeral, and a coffin and bearers were provided, at the expense of an ordinary person, for him, who till then had been in the enjoyment of enormous wealth. He was carried to the church, amidst flaming houses, by trembling crowds, and a spot of freehold land was wanting for the grave of one whose princely sway had extended over so many cities, and towns, and villages. His corpulent stomach, fattened with so many delicacies, shamefully burst, to give a lesson, both to the prudent and the thoughtless, on what is the end of fleshly glory. Beholding the corruption

devoted herself to a life of chastity, and refused the highest offers in marriage, left England when it was conquered by William the Norman, and her brother, King Harold, was slain. She spent some years of her exile at St. Ouen in Flanders, charitable to the poor, gentle and agreeable to her attendants, courteous to strangers, and only severe to herself. She afterwards removed to Bruges, and, after some years spent in the exercises of virtue, departed in the Lord on August 24, 1087. The death-bed of this chaste and pious princess was exempt from the remorse and the scandals which disgraced the last hours of the enemy of her family.

of that foul corpse, men were taught to strive earnestly, by the rules of a salutary temperance, after better things than the delights of the flesh, which is dust, and must return to dust.

There is but one lot for rich and poor; both become the prey of death and corruption. Trust not then, O sons of men, in princes who deceive, but in the true and living God, who created all things. Turn over the pages of the Old and New Testament, and take from thence numberless examples which will instruct you what to avoid and what to desire. Expect nothing from iniquity, and covet not the goods of others. "If riches increase, set not your heart upon them." "All flesh is grass, and the glory thereof as the flower of hay. The grass fadeth, and the flower thereof perisheth; but the word of the Lord remaineth for ever."

I have determined to conclude this seventh book of the history of St. Evroult with the end of King William's reign. In the eighth book, it is my design to leave to posterity some account of that king's sons, and of the various disturbances by which both Normandy and England were long grievously afflicted.

BOOK VIII.

CH. I. *William the Conqueror's tomb and epitaph—William Rufus crowned—Robert succeeds as duke of Normandy—His feeble character—The Norman barons become turbulent—Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his character and acts—Robert sells the Cotentin to his brother prince Henry.*

IN the year of our Lord's incarnation 1087,¹ the tenth indiction, William the Bastard, king of England, died at Rouen on the fifth of the ides [9th] September, and his remains were interred at Caen, in the church of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr. His son Robert then became, in name at least, duke of Normandy and lord of Maine, but abandoning himself to sloth and indulgence, his government was never remarkable for virtue and justice. William Rufus delivered his father's letter² to Archbishop Lanfranc, on perusing which that prelate hastened with the young prince to London, and crowned him in the old church of St. Peter the apostle, called Westminster, on the feast of St. Michael. His reign lasted twelve years and ten months;³ and, as to the affairs of this world, he endeavoured to follow his father's example in some things, being distinguished for his valour and secular magnificence, while he was but too prone to pride, lust, and other vices. But he had but scanty zeal for the worship of God and frequenting the services of the church.

He delivered to Otho the goldsmith⁴ a large quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones, ordering him to erect a monument of extraordinary magnificence over his father's tomb. Accordingly, in obedience to the royal commands,

¹ The Paris edition (1845) of Ordericus gives the date in the text as 1082; but it is probably a misprint, as the learned editor, in a note in the same page, fixes the accession of William Rufus in 1087, which is the true date of the death of William the Conqueror. The text of Duchesne, and the French edition published in 1826, give it correctly.

² See before. p. 414.

³ September 24, 1087—August 2, 1100.

⁴ This person is mentioned in Domesday-book, among the king's goldsmiths, as *Otho Aurifaber*. His son William was living in 1130.

he executed the work in an admirable manner, and the tomb may be now seen resplendent with gold, silver, and gems. Skilful versifiers have composed a number of noble and elegant poems on this great man, whose life furnished so copious a theme for their poetical genius, but I shall only insert the epitaph written by Thomas, archbishop of York,¹ out of respect for his metropolitan dignity.

Here WILLIAM, greatest of his princely race,
A home, a tomb, finds in this narrow space.
Him the fierce Normans faithful homage paid,
And lordly Maine his stern commands obeyed;
But mightier still, he England's sceptre swayed,
The glorious prize, when Senlac's bloody field²
Saw her brave sons before the Conqueror yield.
When seventeen days his course the August sun³
'Mid the bright Virgin's stars his course had run,
To Him who rules on high he bowed his head,
And the proud king was numbered with the dead.⁴

Many of the Norman nobility died the same year as their sovereign. During his last illness his cousin Gilbert d'Aufay,⁵ son of Robert de Hougleville, a worthy and simple-minded man, paid the debt of nature on the nineteenth of the calends of September [August 14], and was interred in the church of St. Mary, which he had endowed for the maintenance of six monks of the abbey of St. Evroult. Four years afterwards the pious lady, his wife Beatrix,⁶ was also buried there on the second of the nones [9th] of

¹ Thomas, archbishop of York (August, 1070—November 18, 1100), was a native of Bayeux, and brother of Samson, bishop of Worcester.

² The reader will have observed that this is the name invariably given by our author to the battle of Hastings.

³ Thé verse in the original gives the date *ter septem atque duobus*, but William died on the 9th of September, which corresponds with the seventeenth, not the twenty-third degree, of the constellation of the Virgin.

⁴ The magnificent tomb erected, as our author relates, by William Rufus over the Conqueror's grave, was destroyed, the grave broken open and the bones scattered, by the Huguenots in 1562. It was again opened by the prefect Cafarelli in 1793, after having escaped the ravages of the revolutionists. The stone coffin then contained some fragments of bones, which fell to dust, and one thigh-bone, which was re-interred. A grey marble slab in the pavement before the high altar, with a simple inscription, now marks the spot.

⁵ See before, p. 262

⁶ See *ibid.*

January. At the death of their duke many of the Normans were plunged into grief, if not for him, at least for their friends and relations who died about the same period, among whom were Simon de Montfort,¹ son-in-law of Richard, Count d'Evreux, Hugh Paganel,² Hugh, son of Hugh de Grantmesnil,³ a young man of distinguished bravery, and his cousin Robert de Rhuddlan,⁴ William d'Avranches,⁵ son of Witmond,⁵ with many other men of

¹ Simon de Montfort, father of Amauri de Montfort, who inherited the county of Evroux after his uncle William's death. Our author has already related that this marriage was effected by carrying off in the night Agnes d'Evreux, with the aid of Ralph, lord of Conches, her half-brother, and Simon's brother-in-law.

² William Paganel, lord of Montiers-Hubert, which is supposed to have been the original seat of this ancient family, and not their estates in the Cotentin. William was probably the eldest brother of Ralph Paganel, sheriff of Yorkshire, who possessed forty-five lordships at the time Domesday-book was made, and founded the priory of the Holy Trinity at York in the reign of William Rufus. Fulk, the founder of the family of the Paganel of Dudley, who was living in 1130, was grandson of this William.

Ralph Paganel had a son also named William, whose daughter was married first to Richard de Courci, and secondly to Robert de Gant. His eldest son, Alexander, was the founder of the family of the Paganel of Hooton in Yorkshire.

William Paganel (II.) also held the lordships of Drax, West-Rasen, &c., by grant from the king. He died about 1150, leaving four children, the eldest of whom received from Henry II., then count of Anjou and duke of Normandy, all his father's barony in Normandy and England, except Bréhal. From this Hugh descended the branch who were lords of West-Rasen in Lincolnshire, who lost their family estate of Montiers in the time of Philip Augustus; and from Fulk, his eldest brother, those of the Paganel of Hamby, lords of Drax. Having settled in Normandy, and entirely attached himself to the kings of France, Drax was taken from him and given to Hugh Paganel, to indemnify him for the loss of Montiers.

³ Hugh, third son of Hugh de Grantmesnil. It will appear hereafter that this young nobleman was buried at St. Evroult.

⁴ Robert de Rhuddlan will be spoken of in the third chapter of the present book.

⁵ William d'Avranches was son of Guitmond, lord of Haie-Painel. He married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin de Meules, and granddaughter of Gilbert, lord of Sap and Meules, and sheriff of Devonshire. She brought him the estate of Dolton in that county. William d'Avranches was lord of Folkstone in Kent, which remained in the possession of his male heirs until the beginning of the thirteenth century. At this time it passed by marriage to the family of Creveœur. William's son, Robert d'Avranches, was living in 1130. Besides his daughter, married to William Paganel, he had a natural daughter, afterwards legitimated, who was called Matilda

eminence. Happy those who, departing thus opportunely, were spared the pain of seeing their country desolated and having no protector!

At that time affairs in Normandy suffered a great revolution; the unarmed population shuddered with alarm, while the powerful gave full vent to their towering ambition without any check. Robert de Belèsme¹ had been on his way to court to confer with the king on urgent affairs, but on arriving at the gate of Brionne he learnt the king's death. Thereupon he immediately turned his horse round, and hastening to Alençon² took the royal garrison by surprise and drove them out of the castle. He did the same at Belèsme and all his other strongholds, and not only in his own, but in those of such of his neighbours as he condescended to consider as his equals. All these he either got into his power by introducing his own adherents, or razed to the ground to prevent their offering him any resistance thereafter. William, Count d'Evreux, also expelled the royal warders from the keep of his castle, and William de Breteuil, Ralph de Conches, and all the rest, got their fortresses into their own hands, so that every one might be able to prosecute with impunity his infernal feuds against his neighbours, and those whose territories bordered on his own. In this manner the Norman lords drove out the royal garrisons from their castles, and alternately ravaged the country, which was rich and flourishing, with bands of their own retainers. The wealth which had been plundered from the English and other nations was thus deservedly lost by rapine and violence.

All the world knew that the Duke Robert was sunk in

d'Avranches, who brought to Robert, the bastard son of Henry I. (and earl of Gloucester), one half of the lordships of Sap and Meules.

This family of Avranches must not be confounded with that of the viscounts d'Avranches, earls of Chester.

¹ Robert became count de Belèsme (the second of his name) on the death of his mother, the countess Mabel, so often mentioned by our author, although his father, Roger de Montgomery, was still living, and did not die till 1094.

² In the middle ages there were two roads from Alençon to Rouen, one by Bernai and Brionne, the other by Orbec and Pontaudemer. Robert de Belèsme probably chose the former, as the shortest, and passing by Bernai, his father's domain.

sloth and carelessness, so that he was despised by men of enterprise who fomented traitorous insurrections at their pleasure. The duke was personally brave and daring, and had many merits; was a good speaker, but inconsiderate in conducting his affairs, profuse in spending, and liberal in his promises, while no dependence could be placed upon them; he was compassionate to those who implored his mercy, but too gentle and easy in executing justice on offenders; changeable in his resolutions, and too affable and condescending in his general behaviour, he was held in contempt by the evil-minded and those who wanted discretion; his figure was short and corpulent, from which his father gave him the surname of Curt-hose. Endeavouring to please all, he gave, promised, or yielded, what every one asked. His prodigality led him daily to lessen the domains of his ancestors, absurdly granting whatever was demanded of him, so that he impoverished himself while he augmented the power of others to injure him. He gave to William de Breteuil, Ivri, where there is a well-fortified castle, erected by his grandmother Alberede;¹ and he granted to Roger de Beaumont, who had the custody of Ivri, under King William, Brionne, a strong fortress in the heart of his territories.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, being released from prison, regained all his former possessions in Normandy, and became the counsellor of the young duke, his nephew. This prelate was a person of distinguished eloquence and high spirit; he was liberal, and his bravery would have become a secular man: but he treated men of religion with great respect, protecting his clergy resolutely both by word and arms, and enriching the churches with valuable ornaments wherever they were needed. The buildings he erected are proof this, with the splendid vessels and vestments in gold and silver which his liberality furnished for the use of the churches and clergy. His near relationship to Duke William procured for him the bishopric of Bayeux while he was very young, and he was actively employed during the fifty years he held it.² The spirit had a praiseworthy pre-eminence in

¹ Alberede, wife of Ralph, count of Ivri and Bayeux, and half-brother of Richard I.

² Odo was not preferred to the see of Bayeux until the death of his

some parts of his conduct, in others the flesh was sadly predominant over the spirit. Led away by carnal passions, he had a son named John, who is now about the court of King Henry,¹ where he is eminent for his eloquence and virtues. But while, in some things, Bishop Odo lent himself to worldly vanities, externally he did much for the advantage of the church. He laid the foundations of the church of St. Mary, mother of God, and completed it in a beautiful style of architecture, amply providing it with wealth and ornaments.² He established monks in the church of St. Vigor,³ bishop of Bayeux, which stands outside the city-walls, and appointed as their superior, Robert de Tombelaine, a pious and learned man, who, among other monuments of his ability, has left the church a short and clear, but profound, commentary on the Canticles. After Bishop Odo was thrown into prison, Abbot Robert, abandoning all, went into foreign countries, and arriving at Rome, was detained by Pope Gregory VII. who paid him great respect, and he served the Roman church faithfully until his death.⁴ The bishop who founded it being in confinement, and the abbot detained in Italy, the newly formed predecessor, which occurred while he was attending the Council of Rheims in October, 1049. Odo himself died at Palermo in February, 1097.

¹ It appears, therefore, that this chapter was written before the death of Henry I., which occurred in 1135.

² All the upper part of this church was destroyed by fire by Henry I. in 1106. The crypt under the choir is, perhaps, the only part of the original church built by Bishop Odo, which now remains. It is supported on twelve pillars with rude capitals. The west end of the nave of the present edifice consists of florid Norman arches and pillars, attributed to Henry II., but which M. Le Prévost considers to be part of Bishop Odo's building. The end nearest the transept, and the choir, were built in the pointed style by Bishop Henry de Beaumont in 1205.

³ This foundation was made in 1066. Odo took Robert de Tombelaine, as well as five other monks, from the abbey of Mont St. Michael, making him abbot of the new foundation. Tombelaine is a rock near the former abbey, standing in the middle of the sands, and surrounded by the sea at high tides. There are still some ruins of the houses and castle which were in existence as late as the fifteenth century.

⁴ For the life and works of Robert de Tombelaine, see *L'Histoire Littéraire de France*, t. viii. p. 334, &c. It is not certain that he resided at Rome till his death, as our author states. It is believed, on the contrary (*Gall. Christ.* t. xi. p. 404), that having lost his patron, Gregory VII., he returned to Mont St. Michael, and there spent the rest of his days.

convent of monks dispersed, and each one settling himself where he could, they never returned to that monastery.

In the end, Bishop Odo gave it to Jarenton, abbot of Dijon, and it continues to this day to be a cell of the monks of that abbey.¹ It is thus plain that the prelate of whom I am speaking had a strong regard for the monastic order. He also sent intelligent young clerks to Liège and other places where he knew that the study of philosophy flourished most, making them liberal allowances for their maintenance, that they might, uninterruptedly and for a long period, employ themselves in the pursuit of learning.² Among the scholars he thus supplied with the means of education were Thomas, archbishop of York,³ and his brother Samson,⁴ bishop of Worcester, William de Roos,⁵ abbot of Fécamp, and Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury, with many others who flourished during my time in the church of God, and largely profited the flocks committed to their charge with the excellence of their teaching, and the example of their eminent virtues. In this manner, although Bishop Odo was deeply entangled in secular affairs, much that was laudable mixed itself with his evil deeds, and what he iniquitously amassed was freely bestowed on the churches and the poor. At length, by the will of God, he left all in the year of our Lord 1096, the fourth indiction, and accompanied his nephew, Duke Robert, in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as, with God's permission, we shall more particularly relate hereafter. He died at Palermo in the presence of Gilbert, bishop of Evreux; his body was interred in the church of St. Mary, where Roger,

¹ The two charters, one of Bishop Odo and the other of Duke Robert, creating and confirming this foundation, are both dated in 1096, in the eighteenth and nineteenth years of Robert's reign. The date is curious, because it shows that Robert assumed that he was invested with the dukedom as far back as 1077, and consequently before the siege of Gerberoi.

² Here again the parallel features in the characters of Odo and Wolsey, to which we have before drawn attention, become apparent; witness the latter's foundation of Christ Church, Oxford, &c.

³ See note before, p. 425.

⁴ Samson was bishop of Worcester, June 15, 1097—May 5, 1112.

⁵ William de Roos, abbot of Fécamp, 1079—March 24, 1108.

⁶ Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury in 1081, was compelled to return to Normandy in consequence of his violence to the monks in 1083. See before, p. 52, and *Malmsbury*, p. 308, *Bohn's Antiq. Lib.*

count of Sicily,¹ caused a splendid tomb to be erected for him.

Robert, duke of Normandy, distributed his wealth among his knights with a liberal hand, attaching to his person a number of young aspirants to arms who coveted his favour and rewards. His treasury beginning to fail, he sent to his brother Henry, requesting a supply from his abundant wealth—a demand Henry was by no means disposed to grant. The duke then sent word that he was ready to sell him a part of his territories; and when Henry understood this, he was most ready to comply with his brother's proposal. Terms were therefore concluded between them, by which Henry paid the duke three thousand pounds of silver, and received in exchange the whole of the district of the Cotentin, which is a third of all Normandy.² In this way Henry first obtained Avranches and Coutances, Mont St. Michael-in-peril-of-the-Sea, and the entire of the lordship which Hugh, earl of Chester, held in Normandy. Prince Henry governed the Cotentin discreetly, and employed his early years in worthy pursuits. From his very childhood, his parents had devoted him to the study of letters, and he became admirably imbued with the knowledge both of moral and natural philosophy. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as soon as the young prince was of a fitting age, armed him for the defence of the kingdom, clothing him with a breastplate, putting a helmet on his head, and giving him the belt of knighthood, in the name of the Lord, as the king's son, and born on the steps of the throne.³ During the twelve years of the reign of William Rufus in England, Henry had an active life with various changes of fortune, and acquired experience, both from prosperity and adversity. At length, on his brother's death, he ascended the throne, which he has

¹ Roger I., count of Sicily, 1072—July, 1101.

² Avranches, being a part of the ceded territory, must be added, as well as the lordship of Vire, which belonged of right to the earl of Chester. But even with these additions, the statement that the Cotentin formed a third of Normandy is an exaggeration.

³ This passage can only mean that Archbishop Lanfranc, as Prince Henry's tutor, presented him for knighthood. It was conferred upon him by the king his father, while he held his court at Westminster, in 1086 (not Winchester, 1087, as the French editor states). See *Saxon Chronicle*.

now filled nearly thirty-three years.⁴ It is my purpose, with God's permission, if my life is spared, to give an account of his life and actions in their proper place. I now return to the course of my narrative, and shall instruct posterity in the history of my own times.

CH. II. *The Norman lords in England league and revolt against William Rufus—Invite Robert Curthose—The insurrection breaks out in several counties—Siege of Rochester—Bishop Odo taken and banished.*

IN the first year of the government of the two brothers, there was a meeting of the great men of both states, to consult among themselves on the circumstances in which they were placed by the division of the sovereignty formerly lodged in the same hands. "We are suddenly involved," they said, "in a serious difficulty, and threatened with a great diminution of our power and wealth. Hitherto we have maintained ourselves with honour, under illustrious dukes, in the possession of Normandy, which our ancestors who came with Rollo from Denmark, two hundred and twelve years ago,² gained with their daring valour. Afterwards we crossed the sea with Duke William, and subduing the Anglo-Saxons by the might of our arms, seized their lands and wealth, for which we freely shed our blood. Alas! we are now witnesses of a great revolution, and the sudden overthrow of our power. What are we to do? On the death of our old sovereign, he is succeeded by two young princes, and the dominion of England and Normandy is suddenly divided. How can we conveniently serve two lords so different and so remote from each other? If we do our duty to Robert, the duke of Normandy, we shall offend his brother William. It will follow that we shall forfeit our great revenues and high honours in England. On the other hand, if we keep our fealty to King William, Duke Robert will take from us our patrimonial estates in Normandy. It behoves us to avoid such a separation under

¹ This passage fixes the date at which this part of Ordericus's History was written as at the close of the year 1132, or the commencement of 1133.

² Our author adopts the opinion generally current in the middle ages of the settlement, or at least the first invasion, of Normandy by Rollo in 876.

these princes as occurred among the Israelites in the time of Rehoboam and Jeroboam. Then one people was divided among itself between two rulers, and the law, the temple and the worship of God being neglected, fell into apostacy. At length one part of them were carried captives into Media by the Assyrians and never returned, and the rest underwent the Babylonish captivity under the Chaldeans. What happened to the Thebans under the two brothers, Eteocles and Polynices? Did not many thousands perish on both sides? At last both brothers fell in mutual encounter, and left the succession of their inheritance to strangers. It behoves us carefully to consider these and such-like instances, and to take prudent precautions that we may not be ruined by the policy of these youthful princes. Let us therefore enter into a firm and inviolable league, and having deposed King William or put him to death, as he is the youngest and most arrogant, and we owe him nothing, let us make Duke Robert, who is the elder brother, and of a more pliable temper, and to whom we have already sworn fealty during his father's life,¹ sovereign both of England and Normandy, that the union of the two states may be maintained.

This resolution was taken, with common consent, by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Eustace, count of Boulogne,² Robert de Belèsme, and many others, and their intentions were announced to Duke Robert. That thoughtless and inconsiderate prince was highly delighted with their empty promises, and pledged himself to second their undertaking in all points and shortly afford them effectual succour for the successful prosecution of so great an enterprise. Accordingly, after our Lord's Nativity,³ the before mentioned lords crossed

¹ This fealty was probably sworn at the time from which Robert assumed his association with his father in the government of Normandy—1077. The truth is, that although William nominated him his successor in the duchy before his invasion of England, he always resolutely withheld from him any share in the government. See his reply to the duke's demand to be invested in the duchy, pp. 171, 172 of the present volume.

² This nobleman, who was an entire stranger to Normandy, joined his fortunes to those of the duke rather than William Rufus in consequence of his connexion with Bishop Odo, under whom he held vast possessions in the county of Kent.

³ According to Florence of Worcester, this league was not entered into

over to England, and, putting their castles into a state of defence, very soon raised insurrections against the king through great part of the country.

Odo, as I have said before, was earl palatine of Kent, and several earls and powerfullords owed him fealty. Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, Hugh de Grantmesnil, who had the government of Leicestershire, with Robert de Rhuddlan his nephew, and other knights of distinguished bravery, favoured the conspirators, and fortified their castles with trenches, increasing the garrisons, and drawing in abundant supplies of food both for men and horses. Already rapacious freebooters began to pillage the peasants eagerly anticipating the arrival of Duke Robert, who had determined to follow his precursors with the returning spring, at the head of a large body of troops. At the same time Osbern, son of Richard, surnamed Scroop,¹ with Bernard du Neuf Marché² his son-in-law, and others in league with them, who held the frontiers of Mercia, made a savage inroad into the territory of Worcester, pillaging and slaughtering the inhabitants, in spite of the prohibition and excommunication directed against them by the man of God, Wulstan, bishop of Worcester.³ Meanwhile King William finding that his

till Lent in 1088, and began to take its measures after Easter. The two authors may be reconciled by supposing that the first idea of the conspiracy was formed in Normandy in the course of the autumn, but that it was not fully organized in England till the following Lent. He reckons among the malcontent nobles, in addition to those named by Ordericus, Robert, earl of Morton, Geoffrey de Mowbray, with his nephew Robert, earl of Northumberland, and even William, bishop of Durham, who till that time had been the principal adviser of the young king.

¹ He appears by Domesday-book to have held *in capite* estates in Worcestershire.

² For Bernard du Neuf-Marché, see before, p. 267. Florence of Worcester adds to the list Roger de Lacy from Herefordshire, and Ralph de Mortemer, who led the men of Shrewsbury; and says that these border-lords were followed by bands of robbers, Norman, English, and even Welsh.

³ St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, 1062—Jan. 19, 1095. The flames burst forth at several other points. Robert de Mowbray, who was with his uncle, the bishop of Coutances, at Bristol, pillaged and burnt Bath, ravaged Wiltshire, and attacked Gloucester, where he was repulsed by the inhabitants. William d'Eu overran Gloucestershire and seized Berkeley Castle. Robert Pigot at Norwich, and Hugh de Grantmesnil at Leicester, also took part in the revolt.

nobles had formed desperate designs against him in his own kingdom, and that, the mischief spreading, affairs were getting worse and worse, he was far from skulking like a frightened fox in the depths of caverns, but roused himself boldly with a lion's courage, to strike a terrible blow on the rebels. He therefore summoned a great council of the archbishop with his suffragans and the earls and native English, and laid before them the attempts of his adversaries, and his own wish to give them battle. Those who were present exhorted the king to put down the disturbers of the peace, and promised to support him with the utmost zeal. Thirty thousand Englishmen¹ voluntarily enrolled themselves in the royal service, demanding that the base traitors should be punished without respect of persons. "Act," they said, "with firmness as the son of a king, and, yourself placed lawfully on the throne, command with confidence all your subjects. See you not our numbers who have already flocked to your standard, and give you willing obedience? Send your orders through all England, and crush the rebels with the weight of your lawful power. We will fight for you to death, and never shall another prince usurp your place in our affections. It would be indeed a folly and a crime to prefer a foreign enemy to a well-known king. The nation which breaks its allegiance to its prince, must be held accursed. Death to the band which exults in the ruin of its lord! Search well the histories of the English, and you will find them to have been always faithful to their kings."

William Rufus² was so much encouraged by the temper of his native subjects, that he immediately took the field with the great army he had thus assembled, and marched at

¹ There appears to be some exaggeration in this number, which does not agree with the expression *mediocris*, which Florence of Worcester applies to the army of the young king. That author informs us that it was not till some time after the insurrection broke out, and after the first movements in the campaign, as we shall presently see, that, finding himself unable to cope with his powerful Norman barons, who had almost all declared against him, he summoned the English to his aid by a levy en masse, branding as *niderings* all who should not follow their sovereign's standard.

² Ordericus, in this and other passages, calls William simply *rex rufus*, the red king.

once against the rebels to give them battle. Upon this, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, shut himself up in the city of Rochester with five hundred men-at-arms, determining to wait the arrival of Duke Robert, with the auxiliary forces he had promised to bring; for the league, although they were very numerous, and had great resources in money and arms, and vast supplies, did not dare to meet the king in open fight within his own realm. They therefore, with great prudence, selected Rochester, because, if the king did not blockade them in the city, the position was central for making sudden eruptions and plundering London and Canterbury, and they could also take advantage of the sea, which lies very near, and the neighbouring islands, to despatch messengers to obtain assistance. The resolute king, however, anticipated their projects, and, in the month of May, invested the place with a powerful army; and, erecting two forts, shut up the enemy within the walls, so that every avenue of egress was closed. As I have said before, Bishop Odo, Count Eustace, and Robert de Belèsme,¹ with many nobles, as well as persons of moderate station, held the place, expecting, in vain, succours from Duke Robert, who was detained by sloth and indulgence. However Roger, earl of Mercia,² and many other Normans who were in the besieging army gave secret aid to the besieged, as far as it was in their power, although they did not venture to appear openly in arms against the king. All the bishops of England joined the English people in loyally supporting the king, and laboured to restore in the country that tranquillity which good men love. Also Hugh, earl of Chester, Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland,³ William de

¹ If we could be surprised at anything in so strange a character, which will be further developed hereafter, we might wonder to find Robert de Belèsme among the partisans of Henry Curt-hose after the activity he had shown in expelling the duke's garrisons from his own castles of Belèsme and Alençon, and in even inducing the lords of Evreux, Conches, and Breteuil to do the same. However, he had before the death of William the Conqueror been one of the partisans of the young duke, so far as to accompany him in some of his emigrations.

² Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, was Robert de Belèsme's father. See before, p. 194.

³ We have just seen that Florence of Worcester reckons this nobleman, with his uncle Geoffrey, among the insurgents.

Warrenne, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, with other loyal and experienced barons, maintained their fealty to their sovereign and gave him useful aid, both with their arms and their counsels, against the common enemy.

A plague, like the plague of the Egyptians, made its appearance in the town of Rochester, the Almighty, who, in all ages, superintends human affairs and orders them aright, having chosen to renew an ancient miracle in modern times. For as the flies tormented the Egyptians, and did not cease a moment from whizzing round them, in the same manner these flies grievously annoyed the besieged with their incessant attacks; for all egress from the castle was prevented, and many of those who were thus blockaded fell sick from their various sufferings, and, their disorders increasing, at length died. Innumerable flies were engendered in the dung of men and horses, and being nourished by the heat both of the summer, and of the atmosphere caused by the breath of so many inhabitants closely pent up, their swarms horribly infested their eyes and noses, food and drink. So severely was the insolent band of rebels afflicted with the annoyance of the swarms that they could not eat their meals, either by day or night, unless a great number of them were employed, in turn, in flapping them away from their comrades' faces. In consequence, Odo and his allies could no longer suffer the miseries of the siege;¹ they

¹ Florence of Worcester gives a somewhat different account of these transactions. He says that Robert Curt-hose despatched the earls of Boulogne and Belèsme, with a body of auxiliaries, to support Bishop Odo, promising to follow himself with a larger force. This was the first notice the king had of the danger which threatened him, and he immediately summoned such of the barons as he could rely on, and assembling a small body of troops at London, more English than Normans, marched for Rochester, taking Tunbridge in the way. He reduced that castle after two days' siege, having wounded Richard de Bienfacte, one of the conspirators, who held it, and forced him to capitulate. On the king's approach to Rochester, after this success, Odo made his escape, and took refuge in Pevensey Castle with his brother, the earl of Morton. The king, however, deferred the siege of Rochester, the garrison of which, in the meantime, ravaged the whole neighbourhood, and followed the bishop to Pevensey. It was at this period that the insurrection burst forth in several quarters, as mentioned in preceding notes. Pevensey surrendered to the king's troops after holding out six weeks, and Bishop Odo was taken, and, as Henry of Huntingdon says (p. 225, *Bohn's Antiq. Library*), solemnly swore to depart the realm, and to deliver up the city of

therefore sent envoys to the king, asking for peace and offering to surrender the place. The terms proposed were these: that they should be re-instated in the lands, the fiefs, and all the possessions they before had, and should, for the future, serve him loyally as their natural lord. The king was greatly incensed at these proposals, and, so far from making any concession, and accepting the terms offered by the envoys, he swore that he would seize, by force of arms, the perfidious traitors shut up in the town, and forthwith hang them on gibbets, or sweep them from the earth by other kinds of death. When, however, those who were engaged in the siege in the royal cause perceived that the king was so inflamed with passion against their relations and friends within the fortress as to threaten their execution, they came about him with deep supplications, and endeavoured to propitiate him by earnest prayers and flattering words. Thus they said: "Praise be to God who is ever the helper of those who trust in him, and grants that good parents shall succeed by worthy children." Lo! these aspiring youths, and old men blinded by their ambition, have sufficiently learnt, that the royal authority in this land is not yet extinct; for those who flocked here out of Normandy, to prey upon us like ravenous kites, have discovered, through the interposition of God, that William the younger is not less powerful than William the elder. Already half conquered they submit to your arms; and, confessing your might, approach you as suppliants. We too, who have stood by you in the hour of your greatest peril, as we did by your father, now humbly approach you with earnest intreaties on behalf of our fellow countrymen. It befits you, who have subdued by your valour these senseless and trembling men, to extend your clemency to them now that they are humbled and penitent. Let mercy temper the king's severity, and a glorious victory satisfy the claims of your Rochester. Being conducted there for that purpose, he broke or eluded his oath, and having got into the city remained there until, on its surrender, he became again a captive. It was at this period, Florence of Worcester informs us, that the king summoned the great body of his English subjects to his side, with such success that the Normans in Rochester, brave and numerous as the garrison was, could no longer resist the numbers which flocked to the king's standard; and the garrison was compelled to surrender at discretion.

distinguished valour, The great King David pardoned Shimei who cursed him,¹ and entreated Joab and Abishai and his other generals, not to slay Absalom his adversary.² Examples of this sort abound in the sacred volume, and the lines of the sagacious poet, in his work on the Wonders of the World, are to the same purport.

“ ’Tis lion-like to spare a fallen foe,
And lion-hearted kings should thus their greatness show.”³

King William replied to these observations; “ I confess that it is through your prowess I have subdued the enemy, and, by God’s help, with your valour, the victory is almost gained. But you ought to be the more cautious not to induce me by your supplications to deviate from the course of strict justice. When we spare perjurers and robbers, plunderers, and execrable traitors, we destroy the peace and security of the well-disposed, and sow the seeds of endless slaughter and pillage among the innocent and defenceless. In what have I offended these criminal men? What injury have I done them? Why have they sought to destroy me by every means in their power, and raised insurrections among the people wherever they could, to so much public loss? I confirmed them in all their rights, and have given them no cause to revolt against me; and yet they are become my determined enemies. I consider it just to follow rigidly the judgment of the great king David, whose example you set before me; thus, as Baanah and Rechab, the sons of Rimmon, the Beerothite, who beheaded Ishbo-sheth in his own house, were by David’s sentence condemned to be hung,⁴ so these seditious men shall be fearfully punished, that men of this and future ages may be deterred and restrained by the report of this terrible vengeance.”

¹ 2 Samuel xvi. 5—11.

² 2 Samuel xviii. 5.

³ In the original quotation,

Parcere prostratis sit nobilis ira leonis!

Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis dominaris in orbe!

The author, whoever he was, had probably in his mind the well-known line—

“ *Parcere dejectis et debellare superbos.*”

⁴ 2 Sam. iv. 2—12.

To this the nobles replied, "We admit all that you say, our lord the king, to be right and just, nor can we contradict any of your reasons. But we are compelled by our feelings of humanity humbly to implore your mightiness to consider who these persons are, on whose behalf we so earnestly implore your clemency. Odo, of Bayeux, is your uncle, and has been consecrated a bishop. He assisted your father in his conquest of England, and to his great peril stood by him in many straits. What can you do with a man of his eminence? Far be it from you to lay hands on a priest of the Lord, and shed his blood for such a cause. Recollect what Saul did at Nob,¹ and what he suffered in Mount Gilboah?² Who will be so wicked as to venture to advise you to condemn the Lord's bishop, and your own uncle? No one. It is therefore our unanimous request that you will extend your clemency to him, and permit him to depart without injury to his own diocese in Normandy. The count of Boulogne was also faithful to your father, and his valiant supporter and comrade in many a desperate battle. Robert de Belèsme likewise, who was much esteemed by your father, and promoted by him to great honours, has now obtained mastery of great part of Normandy, and being possessed of the strongest castles, holds the first rank among his neighbours, and the Norman lords. If you temper your animosity against these great men, and treat them graciously here, or permit them to depart in safety, you may advantageously use their amity and service, on many future occasions. 'He who is your enemy now, may be your useful friend another time.'³

"Under their ensigns there are many young aspirants to the honours of chivalry who are ready to serve under your standard, and whose services you, O king, ought not to despise. Those, therefore, whom you have now subjugated by means of your power, your wealth, and your eminent bravery, attach to your person by generosity and clemency."

In consequence, the noble-minded king, vanquished by the prayers of his faithful followers, granted their request,

¹ 1 Sam. xxii. 19.

² 1 Sam. xxxi. 1, 2.

³ *Idem qui laedit, fors post ut amicus obedit.*

and relieving the besieged from the sentence of death or mutilation, granted them leave to depart from the place with their horses and arms. But he utterly refused them all expectation of having any inheritance or lands within the realm of England, as long as he was on the throne. Then bishop Odo attempted to procure the king's command that the trumpeters should not sound a flourish while the garrison marched out, as is the custom when an enemy is conquered, and a fortress is taken by storm. But the king fell into a great passion, and would not listen to what was asked, asserting that he would not grant it for a thousand marks of gold. The garrison therefore marched out with sorrow and dejection, while the royal trumpets sounded in notes of triumph, and the crowds of English who were on the king's side shouted aloud, "Halters, bring halters,¹ and hang this traitor-bishop with his accomplices on a gallows. Great king of England, why do you permit this author of all our woes to escape safe and sound? This perjured homicide, who has caused the death of thousands by his plots and his cruelties, ought not to be suffered to live." The crest-fallen bishop and his associates were compelled to listen to the foul reproaches which were heaped upon them, but although they were threatened with a bitter fate, permission was not granted for the populace to wreak their vengeance on them. Thus the unholy bishop was banished from England, and his vast domains were forfeited, so that the prodigious wealth which he had iniquitously amassed, was, by the just judgment of God, lost with signal disgrace. He retired in confusion to Bayeux, and never again set foot in England.²

It was thus, that in the first year of king William's reign, at the commencement of summer, the city of Rochester was surrendered to him, and the criminal enterprise of those who had taken arms to disturb the peace of the realm was defeated. For the malignants and evil-doers, when they understood the king's bold and resolute character, became alarmed on account of the pillage and slaughter, and other wicked-

¹ *Torques, torques afferte.*

² The bishop of Durham also was forced to take refuge in Flanders, but, according to Henry of Huntingdon, not until the king had besieged him in Durham itself. P. 223, *Bohn's Antiq. Lib.*

ness, of which they had been guilty in so much haste, and during the twelve years of the king's reign they did not dare to mutter a word against him. Meanwhile, William acted with great caution, watching his opportunity for taking revenge. The factious attempts of some of his enemies he punished with the utmost severity of the law, but designedly winked at the offences of others. The old barons who had shown some signs of disaffection to him, were prudently spared, both out of regard to his father's memory, to whom they had been loyally attached, and from respect to their age; for he shrewdly thought that disease and death would soon prevent their giving him any trouble. Some, however, served him the more faithfully in after times, on account of their having been deeper involved in the crime of treason, and tried to render themselves acceptable to him by their gifts, their services, and their flatteries.

CH. III.—*History of Robert de Rhuddlan—His successes in curbing the Welsh—Is slain by Gryffith-ap-Conan. king of North Wales—Buried at St. Evroult—Elegy to his memory.*

IN consequence of the shock which England received from the violence of the storm we have just described, and of the wounds which were daily inflicted by its inhabitants on each other, divided as they were into two parties, one of which tried to depose the king, while the other stoutly maintained his cause, Gryffith, king of Wales,¹ at the head of an army, made an inroad on the English borders, and devastated the country about Rhuddlan with fire and sword, taking much booty and many captives. On the return of Robert, lord of Rhuddlan, from the siege of Rochester,² he received intelligence of these barbarities and his severe losses which filled him with grief, and drew from him in his

¹ Gryffith-ap-Conan, who after his victory over Howel-ap-Owen in 1076, reigned, it is said, at least at intervals, until 1136. Gryffith was allied to the Anglo-Saxon kings, being son-in-law of King Owen, the grandson of Grono, who married Etheffleda, widow of Edmund Ironsides.

² Robert de Rhuddlan had joined the league against William Rufus, but after the siege of Rochester, as it here appears, returned to his duties in Wales. He belonged to the great family of Grantmesnil by the father's side, and to that of Giroie, of which our author gives so much detail in the first volume, by his mother's.

wrath the most terrible threats. He was a brave and active knight, free of speech, a formidable enemy, but generous, and celebrated for his many deeds of valour. He had been one of king Edward's squires, and received from him the belt of knighthood. His father, Umfrid, was son of Amfrid of Danish race: his mother, Adeliza, was sister of Hugh de Grantmesnil, of the noble family of Giroie. This distinguished warrior, in the midst of his military employments, did not neglect the church, constantly treating the clergy and monks with great respect, and giving liberal alms to the poor, according to his means.

The abbey of St. Evroult, where his brothers Arnold and Roger were monks, and his father and mother and other relations lay buried, was much beloved by him, and he endowed it to the best of his power. In consequence, he gave to it the church of Tilleul,¹ and his portion of the church of Damblainville,² with the presbytery, and all that belonged to him in the church of Corneres.³ He added the tithe of his mills, and of all his rents, with an additional tenth from his butlery and cellar.⁴ The same Robert gave to the monks of St. Evroult, of his possessions in England, Little-Cwm,⁵ comprising two plough-lands, and twenty villeins; also, the tithes, and the whole vill called Kirkby,⁶ with the church and presbytery, and the church of the Island,⁷ and the church of St. Peter-in-the-Market, and three cottages in the city of Chester: and that St. Evroult might possess all these in perpetuity and without molestation, he came in person to a chapter at Ouche, and confirmed his grant of all that has been mentioned, before abbot Mainier, and the convent of

¹ Either Tilleul-en-Auge, in the canton of Dive, or Notre-Dame-du Tilleul, canton of Merlerault.

² Damblainville, canton of Falaise.

³ Supposed to be Cormier, near Evreux.

⁴ *Redecimationem promptuariorum suorum*. The French translator renders it "La dîme de la dîme de sa table."

⁵ The parish of Cwm, which in Welsh signifies a valley, adjoins Rhuddlan. It comprises a smaller valley, which is lateral to the vale of Clwyd, and there seems no doubt but that it is the same which Ordericus designates by the diminutive *Cumbi-nellam*.

⁶ Kirkby, *Chircabia*. It afterwards belonged to the church of St. Peter in-the-Market, at Chester.

⁷ This is probably "the manor surrounded by the sea," described among Robert de Rhuddlan's grants to the abbey of St. Evroult, in the charter of King William I. See before, p. 257.

monks. There were with him at the chapter, Raszo the dean, Hugh de Mellai, William the Butler, son of Grimold, Roger, son of Giroie, Durant, Burnell, Osbern d'Orgères,¹ and Walter the provost. These were present when Robert proceeded to the church, and laid on the altar the charter containing the grant of these premises.

I have inserted this short notice of the donations which the aforesaid lord made to the church of St. Evroult, and I think the judicious reader will not, on consideration, be disposed to ridicule me when I conform my narrative, as occasion offers, to the title of my work.

Robert, son of Umfrid, came over to England with his father while he was quite young, and was in the service of King Edward, both in his household and army, until he was knighted by that king. Then, newly invested with splendid armour, and enriched with honourable tokens of the royal favour, he formed the design of visiting his relations, and having obtained the king's licence, returned to his own country radiant with delight. After the battle of Senlac, while King William was engaged in making head against repeated insurrections, the young knight, with his cousin Hugh,² son of Richard d'Avranches, surnamed Goz, again came over to England, and distinguished himself in all the actions where military glory was to be obtained. After many exploits, he was attached to the service of Hugh before mentioned, who was made earl of Chester and appointed Robert commander of his troops, and governor of his whole province. At that time the Britons on the borders, who are commonly called Gael, or Welch, took arms with great fury against King William and all his adherents. A fortress was therefore built at Rhuddlan³ by the king's command, to

¹ Orgères, near Gacé.

² Hugh, viscount d'Avranches in Normandy, and afterwards created earl of Chester in England, where he is better known as Hugh Lupus. His young nephew held by grant under him large possessions, including two cantrefs in Flintshire or Denbighshire, of which Tegengle was one, and, in the end, the whole kingdom of Gwyned, or North Wales. He also held in farm, at forty pounds rent, the capital and royal palace of Aberfraw in the island of Anglesey.

³ Rhuddlan, from which he derived his surname, was Robert's principal seat. It was one of the most important fortresses in Wales, and was often taken and re-taken in the long succession of wars from early times. It was not "built" by Robert, as our author states; he probably added to it, and strengthened the fortifications. A battle was fought here between the

over-awe the Welch, and the custody of it committed to Robert that he might defend the English frontier against the inroads of those barbarians. The warlike lord-marcher had frequent encounters with that turbulent people, in which much blood was shed. The British inhabitants were, however, repulsed after some desperate engagements, and Robert enlarging his territories, erected a strong castle on mount Diganwy, close to the sea.¹ For fifteen years he severely chastised the Welsh, and seized their territory; notwithstanding that, proud of their ancient independence, they had refused all tokens of submission to the Normans. Making inroads into their country, through woods and marshes, and over mountain heights, he inflicted losses on the enemy in every shape. Some he butchered without mercy, like herds of cattle, as soon as he came up with them. Others he threw into dungeons, where they suffered a long imprisonment, or cruelly subjected them to a shameful slavery. It is not fit that Christians should so oppress their brethren who have been regenerated by holy baptism in the faith of Christ.

Ambition and avarice, those mainsprings of human action in every part of the world, were the powerful stimulants which urged Robert, the lord-marcher, to the indiscriminate pillage and slaughter which afterwards plunged him into the pit of destruction. It happened that, on the third of July, Gryffyth, king of Wales,¹ came to land with

Saxons and Welsh as early as 795, on occasion of which a plaintive air was composed by the bards called *Morfa Rhuddlan*, or the Red Marsh, which is still played with enthusiasm by the national harpers. Camden says that the castle was built by Llewellyn-ap-Sylt in 1015, or 1020, and became the palace of the Welsh princes. It was burnt down by Harold during his irruption into Wales in 1063, being then, as the Saxon Chronicle says, King Gryffyth's. It having been again occupied by the Welsh, Robert re-took it, and by command of the Conqueror restored and fortified it, as we have already seen.

¹ Diganwy, which stood on the heights commanding the entrance of the river Conway, was also a very ancient fortress. It is supposed to have been the Roman station *Dictum*, and is mentioned in the Welsh Chronicles as early as 810. It was, therefore, only restored and strengthened by Robert de Rhuddlan. Conway Castle, which stands on the opposite or western bank of the river, was not built till 1284.

² Gryffyth-ap-Conan, king of North Wales, was engaged in a continual contest for the defence of his kingdom and independence. This is not the only instance of his daring enterprises against Robert of Rhuddlan. The Norman lord, on one occasion, received a visit from the Welsh prince to

three ships under a mountain called Horma-heva,¹ and the band of pirates presently spread itself over the country for pillage, like ravening wolves. Meanwhile, the tide ebbed, and the ships were left dry on the beach; Gryffyth and his followers scouring the coast and carrying off men and cattle, with which they made a hasty retreat to their vessels thus lying on the strand.

Under these circumstances, Robert was roused from his noon-day sleep by the people's cries, which made him aware of this hostile inroad on his territories. He sprung up quickly, unarmed as he was, and without delay despatched messengers to summon his vassals to arms through all the district. Meanwhile, he pursued the Welsh, without further preparation, at the head of a few soldiers, and reaching the top of mount Horma-heva, which is very lofty, saw, beneath, the pirates binding the captives and driving them to their ships with the cattle. Upon this, the noble lord-marcher, bold as a lion, shouted aloud to his small band of followers, few and unarmed as they were, calling on them to rush on the Welsh on the dry sands before the return of the tide. They however excused themselves on account of their scanty numbers and the difficulty of descending the precipitous face of the mountain. Upon this, Robert, who saw that the enemy was only waiting the return of the sea to make their escape, was overwhelmed with grief, and impatient of delay, scrambled down the mountain side to throw himself on the enemy without armour and with only one follower, a man-at-arms whose name was Osbern d'Orgères. Seeing him coming to attack them, protected by his shield only and supported by a single soldier, the Welsh in a body hurled their spears at him, and, piercing the shield with the insupportable weight, mortally wounded the brave Osbern. But as long as Robert was able to stand and clasp his shield, no one ventured to come to close quarters and attack him sword in-hand. At length the intrepid warrior fell on his knees, pierced with darts, and his strength failing, the shield, heavy

ask his aid, which was granted; but on some quarrel, Gryffyth attacked him in his own castle, took and burnt the bailey or yard, and killed such a number of his men that very few escaped into the tower.

¹ The lofty promontory, conspicuous from the Menai Straits and the Irish Channel, which forms the extreme north-west of Carnarvonshire, and is now called *Great Orm's head*.

with the weight which clung to it, dropped from his hand; and he commended his soul to the Almighty and St. Mary, mother of God. Then the whole band rushed on him, and cutting off his head in the sight of his people, fixed it at the mast-head as a trophy of their victory. Many witnessed this spectacle from the summit of the mountain with grief and rage, but they were unable to render their lord any succour. At last the country people flocked in from the whole district; but it was too late; they were unable to save their lord-marcher, who was already slain. However, they manned some ships and pursued the pirates, as they were making their course over the sea, in a tumult of grief at seeing their lord's head carried off on the mast of the enemy's ship. Gryffyth and his crew, finding that they were chased, and observing that their pursuers' rage was inflamed by the insult to their lord, took down his head from the mast and threw it into the sea. On seeing this, Robert's followers ceased the fruitless chace. His body was lifted from the sea-shore with loud lamentations both of the English and Normans, and being carried to Chester, was buried in the abbey of St. Werburgh the virgin. That monastery had been lately built by Hugh, earl of Chester, who, appointing Richard, a monk of Bec, abbot there, established a body of men devoted to the service of God in the midst of the brutish bands of that border fortress.¹

Some years afterwards, Arnold the monk, son of Umfrid, crossed over to England, and, with the licence of Robert de Limesi, bishop of Lichfield,² took up his brother's remains and transferred them to the abbey of St. Evroult in Normandy. They were received with due honours by Abbot Roger and the convent of monks, and interred in the monks' cloister on the south side of the church. This Arnold, with four noble companions, Guy, Roger, Dreux, and Odo, quitted the military service in his youth, and becoming a monk, laboured more abundantly than his associates in the duties of his

¹ The abbey of St. Werburgh, founded by Edgar, king of Mercia, in 358. It was restored by Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, and his wife, Ermentrude, in 1093.

² Robert de Limesi was consecrated as bishop of Lichfield by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1085 (December 25). He transferred the seat of his bishopric to Coventry the 18th of April, 1102, and died the 30th of August, 1117.

order, which he performed zealously for almost fifty years. He devoted himself to promote the interests of his abbey, for which he several times crossed the British sea, as well as penetrated into Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, that he might procure supplies for the monastery from the gifts of his relations. In these journeys he visited his brother William, who was abbot of St. Euphemia, and William de Grantmesnil his cousin,¹ as well as other wealthy relations in Italy, and by a gentle violence carried off all he could to enrich his own abbey. In this way he procured from his kinsmen's stores ornaments and other things required for his own church, making his kindred subservient to the demands of the abbey. He had to bear many slights and rebuffs on several occasions, but he was not to be deterred from his undertaking by the obstacles which he sometimes, indeed frequently, met with. Nothing induced him to relax his zeal in the cause he espoused; and it was at his charge that the arch of stone, which is still standing, was built over his brother's tomb. Reynold the painter, who had the surname of Bartolomeo, decorated the arch and tomb with painting in a variety of colours, and Vitalis the Englishman, at the earnest entreaty of Arnold, composed an epitaph in elegiac verses, to the following purport:—

I.

Here in the soil that gave him birth,
 As mortals all return to earth,
 ROBERT OF RHUDDLAN's tomb you see;
 The flower of Norman chivalry,
 Old Umfrid's son, of Danish race,
 While beaming yet with youthful grace,
 And foremost 'mong the bold and brave,
 Fated to find an early grave.
 What though a stormy life he led,
 The fierce lord-marcher bowed his head
 To holy church, the spouse of Christ;
 And gave her wealth, for well he wist
 'Twas shame to turn from open door,
 The priest, the pilgrim, or the poor.

II.

Where Gwyned² meets the western wave,
 And Clwyd's floods the meadows lave,

¹ William, second son of Hugh de Grantmesnil, and son-in-law of Robert Guiscard.

² *Gwyned*, North Wales.

He Rhuddlan's Castle built, a name
 Which gives him never-dying fame;
 And fenced it well, 'mid wars' alarms,
 To curb a savage race in arms.
 O'er Snowdon's heights and Cefyn's stream¹
 Full oft they saw his armour gleam;
 For in the fierce and wild foray
 Nor stream nor mountain stopped his way.
 And chief, when princely Blethyn fled²
 Before the scanty band he led,
 Successful by a bold surprise,
 A glorious booty was the prize.
 Prince Howell³ groaned in Chester's towers,
 And royal Gryffyth⁴ counted hours
 Of dark and sad captivity;
 And prostrate Trahaern bowed the knee
 To Robert, flushed with victory.

III.

Alas! how short his bold career!
 See reckless, without pause or fear,
 Alone he rushes on the foe,
 Where on the sandy beach below
 Orm's beetling cliffs frown fearfully;
 'Twas on the third of bright July.
 Too rashly left Diganwy's walls,
 Pierced by a hundred darts he falls,
 And Gryffyth takes his gory head,
 Sad trophy of the ruthless deed.
 Fierce Owen raised triumphant song,⁵
 Prince Howell's bards the notes prolong;⁶

¹ *Cefyn*, the Welsh name of the Conway.

² BLETHYN-AP-CONWYN, prince of North Wales and Powis; at first, jointly with Rywallon (1060—1066), and afterwards solely until 1073.

The expedition of which our author speaks must have taken place in 1072.

³ HOWEL-AP-OWEN and his brother, Rhys-AP-Owen, princes of South Wales, were defeated at the battle of Pwll-Getty in 1076, and having been made prisoners, were both put to death.

⁴ GRYFFYTH-AP-CONAN, having endeavoured to dethrone Trahaern-AP-Caradoc, seized the isle of Anglesey, and then landed on the coast of Carnarvonshire, where he fought a battle at Bron-yr-Erw in 1073, in which he was defeated, and probably sent at once prisoner to Chester. Having recovered his liberty, he attacked Trahaern again, and gained a victory on the mountains of Carno in 1079.

⁵ Owen, son of Edwyn-AP-Grono, afterwards made king of North Wales by the Normans.

⁶ Howel-AP-Grono, though originally only lord of Tegengle, from his right of suzerainty may have well been called prince or king by the Welsh.

The brave lord-marcher's country weeps,
While here his mangled body sleeps,
Resting in Evroult's cloistered shade;
The good saints' merits be his aid!

IV.

Now, reader kind, some moments spare,
To breathe for Robert's soul a prayer;
ALMIGHTY FATHER, grant him rest,
In the bright mansions of the blest!
CHRIST, who life's breath and second birth
Dost give to sinful sons of earth,
Author of immortality,
Propitious to thy servant be;
Snatch him from dreary shades below,
From fires of purgatorial woe,
And, by thy cross, his ransom's price,
Waft him to light and paradise!
And, MARY mild, the sinner's friend,
Thy powerful intercession lend;
For when his foes around him pressed,
And Gwyned's spearmen pierced his breast,
Robert to thee his prayers addressed,
Invoked thee in the hour of death,
And sighed to thee his latest breath.

CH. IV.—*Robert Curthose, by his feeble government, suffers Normandy to be the prey of violence and rapine—In a moment of alarm he arrests and imprisons his brother Henry, and Robert de Belèsme.*

WHILE William Rufus, having established his authority through all parts of England, was employed in keeping down the insurgents by the strong hand of his princely power, the ambitious Odo, banished from England, betook himself to his diocese of Bayeux, and finding duke Robert sunk in slothful ease, set himself to acquire the mastery over the whole of Normandy. The entire province was in a state of dissolution; bands of freebooters overran the villages and country-side, and the unarmed peasantry were every where at the mercy of thieves and robbers. Duke Robert imposed no restraint upon the evil-doers, who, for eight years under that feeble-minded prince, vented their fury on the defenceless people. They harassed without remorse, even holy church, and wrung from her by force of arms, or devastated, the possessions with which she had been

endowed by their worthy ancestors. The monasteries were full of grief at their desolation, and the monks and nuns were reduced to penury.¹ In the midst of these pestilent disorders, no honour was shown to persons and things dedicated to God; no respect. Fire, robbery and homicide were matters of daily occurrence, and the people were overwhelmed with calamities and trouble. Normandy gave birth to wicked sons, who abandoned themselves to every sort of crime, and cruelly devoured their mother's bowels. The Venus of Sodom stalked boldly in the midst of such scenes with her wanton enticements, defiling the effeminate, who were only fit to be burnt. The marriage bed was polluted by open adultery, and every part of the divine law was entirely neglected. The bishops excommunicated the outlaws by their divine authority, and theologians gave the warnings of God to the guilty in their discourses; but vain were all these against the irresistible influence of pride and avarice, and the vices which follow in their train. Strong places were every where constructed without lawful authority, where the sons of robbers were nourished like wolves' whelps to mangle sheep. The malignants sought causes of offence, that in their mutual quarrels they might have opportunities of resorting to places in the neighbourhood, and that burnings and plunderings might result from their enterprises. The depopulated country and crowds of widows and infirm persons, lamenting the calamities brought upon them, are witnesses to this day of the truth of my statements. Thus quickly vanished and fell into decay, confusion, and disgrace, through the sloth of the careless duke, all that had been created by the vigour and ability of a wise prince and his assistants, and had long flourished in Normandy.

In the course of the summer, as soon as certain intelligence of the surrender of Rochester was received beyond sea, Henry, the heir-apparent, now count of the Cotentin, crossed over to England, and demanded of his brother the

¹ Some idea of these devastations may be formed from the fearful account given in the Chartulary of the Holy Trinity at Caen (*Bibliothèque Royale*, 5650) of those which were suffered by that abbey from the neighbours of its domains. The greatest men in the country, William, count d'Evreux, Richard de Courci, Robert Bertran, Robert de Mowbray, and even Prince Henry himself did not blush to take part in these ravages.

investiture of his mother's domains. King William received him graciously as became a brother, and granted him fraternally all that it was in his power to bestow. Having accomplished his business, in autumn he took leave of the king, and embarked on his return to Normandy, with Robert de Belèsme, who, through the mediation of powerful friends, had made his peace with the king. Meanwhile, their arrival had been anticipated by certain malevolent sowers of discord who mix falsehood with truth, and who sent tidings to duke Robert that his brother Henry, and Robert de Belèsme had not only made peace with the Red King, but had also bound themselves by an oath to the duke's disadvantage. In consequence, the duke knowing them to be powerful and valiant knights, and being in great fear of their enterprises, took counsel with the bishop of Bayeux, and caused them to be arrested. Before they could undertake anything, and while landing in security from their ships on the sea shore, they were seized and fettered, and committed to the custody of the tyrannical bishop, one at Bayeux, the other at Neuilly. When Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, heard that his son Robert was a prisoner, he hastened over to Normandy, having obtained the king's licence, and put all his castles in a state of defence against the duke. But Odo, of Bayeux, like a dragon struck to the earth and vomiting flames, and full of rage at the haughty treatment he had received from the king, raised all sorts of commotions in Normandy, that by some means or other he might foment evil to his nephew, by whom he had been disgracefully expelled. The duke was much afraid of him, and followed his advice in some things, while he made light of it in others.

CH. V.—*Odo, bishop of Bayeux, counsels Robert Curthose—He takes up arms against Robert de Belèsme—Belèsme's extraordinary career and character.*

THE malcontents in Normandy being every where in arms, and threatening more mischief, the turbulent bishop Odo came to the duke at Rouen, and reviewing the state of the country at large thus addressed him :—"Whoever would worthily govern the state, and rule the people of God, among whom there is so much diversity of conduct, should be both gentle and severe, according to circumstances. He

should be gentle as a lamb to the good, the submissive, and the humble; fierce as a lion to the wicked, the rebellious and the proud. Consider this well, my lord the duke, that you may well govern this noble duchy of Normandy, which, by the grace of God, you have inherited from your ancestors. Take courage, and act with firmness. You see that miscreants and outlaws are revelling throughout the land, more like Pagans than Christians in their evil courses, and, if I may be permitted to say so, equalling the former in the enormity of their crimes. The monks and the widows cry to you, and you sleep. Unutterable delinquencies are frequently reported to you, and you make light of them. It was not thus that holy David, and the great Alexander acted: not thus, Julius Cæsar and Severus,¹ the African; not thus Hannibal the Carthaginian, Scipio Africanus, Cyrus the Persian, and Marius the Roman. But I waste time in mentioning barbarians, whose very names are unknown to you. Let us turn to those which are more familiar, and belong to our own race. Think of your fathers and forefathers, whose firmness of mind and courage made them formidable to the warlike race of the French. I speak of Rollo, William Long-sword, the three Richards, your grandfather Robert, and lastly, your father, William, who was more illustrious than all his predecessors, I beseech you to emulate their firmness and ability, as they inherited the vigour and industry of their ancestors, who by their prodigious exertions, became arbiters of the fate of kingdoms, put tyrants under their yoke, and subdued barbarous nations. Rouse yourself, and, assembling the invincible army of Normandy, lead it to the city of Nantes. There is a garrison of your own soldiers in the citadel which your father built, and the whole city, with the venerable Hoel, the bishop, render you willing homage. Summon all the leading men of Maine to attend you there, and receive graciously, and address courteously, those who obey your summons; but take arms against such as treat it with contempt, and lose no time in besieging their castles if they do not surrender them. Having secured the submission of the people of Maine, march against Earl Roger,² and rid yourself alto-

¹ Septimius Severus.

² Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, who, as Ordericus has

gether of him and his sons, by utterly expelling them from Normandy. Fear not; trusting in the power of the Lord. Carry yourself manfully, and be guided by the counsels of the wise. Already you have in prison Robert, earl Roger's eldest son, and if you make a bold effort, such as becomes a brave prince, it is in your power utterly to expel that disloyal family of Talvas from your duchy. It is a cursed race; it breeds mischief, and contrives it as their inheritance. This is proved by their horrible ends; death coming upon none of them in the ordinary course of nature. This family of Talvas,¹ if it be not now extirpated, will, in my opinion, yet prove very troublesome to you, and even irresistible. They hold a number of the strongest fortresses, Belèsme, Lurson, Essai, Alençon, Domfront, St. Ceneri, La Roche d'Igé, for which the bold Hugh assassinated Mabel,² and Vignas, with many more stately castles, built by William de Belèsme, Robert, Ivo and Warin, and their successors, or which they wrested from their lawful owners or their neighbours, either by force or stratagem. Their whole conduct has been steeped in fraud and crime, nor have they ever kept faith with any one with whom they were connected by the ties of friendship, or alliance. They have prospered by getting rid of their unsuspecting neighbours by death or captivity, and their stately houses and strong fortifications have been built at the expense of the blood of the peasants. Now is your opportunity, most noble duke, for stripping them of these strongholds with perfect justice, if you will only resolutely follow the example of your magnanimous father and his great actions. As for him, he was master of all these fortresses as long as he lived, and committed the custody of them to those he thought fit. But this Robert, as soon as he received intelligence of the king's death, arrogantly expelled your own garrisons from your own castles, and disinherited you by getting them into his own power. Reflect wisely on what I have said, and like a good prince, exert yourself worthily for the peace of holy mother church, and the defence of the poor and defenceless, while you crush the rebellious by the force of your arms. If you break the horns of the leaders who raise their heads against

just informed us, hastened over to Normandy as soon as he heard of his son Robert de Belèsme's arrest.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 385—389.

² See p. 194 of the present volume.

you, the rest will be terrified by the ruin of their associates, and submit to your commands without opposition. Thus the people of God will rejoice in peace and security under the shield of your protection, and offer devout prayers to the Almighty for your safety. All orders in your dominions will constantly celebrate divine worship, and the law of God be duly observed in general security."

The bishop's exhortations were cordially approved by all who were present, and they cheerfully placed themselves at the duke's disposal for the defence of the country. Duke Robert therefore, having assembled troops, led them to Mantes, where he was received with joy, both by the clergy and citizens. On hearing his messages, Geoffery de Mayenne,¹ Robert the Burgundian,² Elias son of John,³ and many others came and offered their services to the Duke. The Norman troops were under the command of the bishop of Bayeux, William count of Evreux, Ralph de Conches, and his nephew, William de Breteuil,⁴ and many other knights of distinguished merit. Paganus de Montdoubleau with other malcontents held possession of the castle of Ballon, and made an obstinate resistance, when the duke and his army proceeded to invest it. In that engagement, Osmund de Gasprée, a handsome and honourable knight was slain on the calends [1st] of September. His body was brought to St. Evroult by the monk Arnold, and buried in the porch before the church door.

After many losses on both sides, the garrison of Ballon made peace with the duke, and afterwards the united forces of the Normans and Manceaux, under the duke's command, laid siege to the castle of St. Céneri. The family of Robert

¹ Geoffrey, lord of Mayenne (1059—1099). See vol. i. p. 449. He was the most formidable of the opponents of Norman domination in Mayenne in 1063. Having been reconciled with Duke William, he accompanied him in his expedition to England. He married Hildeburge, daughter of Judicael, count of Nantes, but formed an attachment to Hersende, eldest daughter of Hugh III., and wife of Azzo.

² Robert de Nevers, surnamed the Burgundian, lord of Sablé, in right of Avicia de Sablé, his first wife.

³ Elias de Beaugenci, lord of La Flèche, son of John de Beaugenci, and grandson of Paule, daughter of Herbert Éveille-chien, count of Maine. See vol. i. p. 448.

⁴ Son of Adeline, sister of Ralph de Conches.

de Belèsme had taken refuge there, and it was committed to the keeping of Robert Quarrel, a knight of great spirit and resolution, who was encouraged by Earl Roger to offer a determined resistance to the besiegers; but their provisions failing the castle was taken, and by order of the enraged duke, Robert Quarrel, the governor, was deprived of sight. Many others also, who had joined in the obstinate resistance to the Norman prince, suffered mutilation of their limbs by a judgment of his court.

Then Geoffrey of Mayenne, with the lords of that province, sought an audience with the duke, and presented to him Robert Giroie, son of Robert Giroie.¹ "This man, my lord duke," said Geoffrey, "is your cousin, and has long dwelt in Apulia with your kinsmen, who are very powerful in that country. He now comes, in full confidence, to you, his lord and cousin, offering you his fealty and service, and demanding this castle as his right, his father having held it all his life by inheritance, and died there." Duke Robert readily granted this claim, and restored the castle of St. Ceneri to Robert Giroie. He held it for nearly thirty-six years afterwards, and fortified it with walls, and ditches, and watch-towers. At his death he left it to his sons, William and Robert.

The inhabitants of this place seldom enjoyed any peace or respite from the attacks of the Normans and Manceaux. The rocky hill on which it stands is surrounded on three sides by the windings of the Sarthe. St. Ceneric, the venerable confessor,² dwelt there in the time of Milehard, bishop of Séez. He founded there a convent of monks, becoming the Lord's soldier among the noble company, and after a well-spent life, departed in Christ happily on the nones [7th] of May. At length, in the reign of Charles the Simple, at the time Hasting the Dane, with his heathen band, was ravaging Neustria, the holy remains were translated by the faithful to Chateau-Thierri, the monks were dispersed, and the monastery ruined. In the times that followed it changed its inhabitants. Some cruel freebooters

¹ See vol. i. pp. 390, &c.

² St. Ceneric, who is called in Normandy St. Ceneri, and even St. Cenerin, established himself about the year 670 in the place which bears his name, and died there on the 7th of May, as our author states.

established a den of thieves where the despisers of worldly things had lived orderly under the rule of St. Ceneric, bearing the Lord's yoke according to the monastic discipline to the end. It is reported that one hundred and forty monks laboured there in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth. Their grave-stones in the church, and all around, bear open testimony to travellers of the worth and reverence of the men who there lie buried. The miscreants who succeeded them in their habitation suffered, as they deserved, many calamities; fires, massacres, and numberless other miseries, being their frequent lot.

The garrisons of Alençon, Belèsme, and other fortresses, hearing of the sad fate of Robert Quarrel and his comrades, were much terrified, and consulted together on the propriety of surrendering the castles on the duke's approach. But Robert's exhibition of spirit quickly failed, and his love of ease and quiet soon led him to terminate the campaign, disbanding his army, and suffering each man to depart to his own home.

Earl Roger was much delighted at the dissolution of the united forces of Normandy and Maine, and sent fair-speaking envoys to the duke demanding peace and his son's release, with many empty promises. The duke, who was imprudent and fickle, easy to be persuaded, and lax in the execution of justice, accepted unexpectedly the frivolous offers of his disloyal vassals, making peace with Earl Roger, and granting his demands, and releasing Robert de Belèsme from confinement. But as soon as he had obtained his liberty he became more insolent than ever, paid little attention to the orders or threats of the duke, and, mindful of the affront he had received, took a long and multiplied vengeance for his wrongs. In fact, during the fifteen years he and the duke remained afterwards in Normandy together,¹ his rage was unbounded, and he was seldom at a loss for opportunities to raise commotions in the province. By his crafty devices he drew over to his side many of the duke's servants and adherents, and lessened the domains which his predecessors had possessed and largely augmented. Robert

¹ This calculation is not exact, the two Roberts were only fourteen years together in Normandy, and they were reconciled before the battle of Tinchebrai.

Belèsme¹ was of a subtle genius, deceitful and wily: in person he was stout and of great strength; intrepid and formidable in war; he was a fluent speaker, but desperately cruel; his avarice and lust were insatiable; he was an able manager of important affairs, and toiled with the utmost patience through the greatest worldly trials; he displayed great skill in constructing buildings and machines and other difficult works, and inexorable cruelty in tormenting his enemies. He did not honour, cherish, and clothe the holy church as a son should a mother, but dishonoured, oppressed, and stripped it as a step-son would treat his mother-in-law. After numberless offences and traitorous conspiracies, King Henry, by God's judgment, has most righteously committed him to close confinement, having thus made himself the stern avenger of the wretched under the special influence of divine revelation. But we shall speak of this in another place.

This lord, with the assistance of King William, by whom he was much beloved for his father's and mother's (Roger and Mabel) sake, obtained for wife a daughter of Guy, count of Ponthieu, Agnes by name; he had by her a son called William, who inherited their large domains scattered through Normandy and Ponthieu. By means not only of his wealth but his domineering spirit, Robert established his pre-eminence over all his brothers, and, disinheriting them, usurped the entire patrimony of their ancestors both in Normandy and the county of Maine, of which for a long period he had sole possession. He used his utmost efforts to reduce to subjection the lords of his neighbourhood, his equals in birth, and with some, actuated by his insatiable ambition, he succeeded, either by treachery and insupportable hostilities, or by insidious attacks. This was the case

¹ The character of this extraordinary man, whose great talents distinguished him from most of the turbulent nobles of this age, seems to have inspired all the contemporary historians with horror. Henry of Huntingdon says, "He was a very Pluto, Megæra, Cerberus, or anything you can conceive still more horrible," and gives details of his cruelties which are omitted by Ordericus. William of Malmesbury particularly enlarges on the powers of dissimulation, by means of which his victims became his prey. *Huntingdon's Letter to Warin on the Illustrious Men of his Time*, p. 311. *Malmesbury's History*, p. 432. *Bohn's Antiq. Library*.

with Hugh de Nonant,¹ Paganus,² and Robert de St. Céneri,³ Bernard de la Ferté,⁴ and several others whom he frequently troubled, terrified, and perplexed in various ways. Many he humbled by seizing their domains and burning their castles, or reduced them to the utmost poverty by ravaging their lands, or, what was worse, he made them worthless by maiming their limbs, so that they became halt and lame, or by depriving them of sight. By such tyranny of the cruel lord-marcher while he was aiming to crush all his neighbours, the wretched country was reduced to desolation; they, on the other hand, proud of their nobility, which was equal to his, defending to death their former independence. Thus immense injuries were constantly inflicted, loss being added to loss, either through revenge or covetousness, until the people of the country were threatened with want.

Geoffrey, son of Retro, count de Mortagne, took up arms against Robert, and set fire to Echaufour⁵ and several other villages around, from which he swept off much booty, and made many prisoners. This count was magnanimous, handsome, and strong; he feared God, was a devout friend of the church, a staunch protector of the clergy and poor; in peace, he was gentle and courteous, and of most obliging manners; in war he was powerful and successful, and became formidable to the neighbouring princes, who were all his enemies. The nobility of his own birth, and that of his own wife Beatrice, rendered him illustrious above all his compeers; and he had among his subjects warlike barons and brave governors of castles. He gave his daughters in marriage to men of the rank of counts: Margaret, to Henry earl of Warwick,⁶ and Juliana to Gilbert de Laigle,⁷ from whom sprung a noble race of handsome children. The glory of Count Geoffrey was exalted by such a progeny, and he maintained it by his

¹ Nonant, a bourg to the north of Séez.

² The family of Paganet were lords of Hanterive, near Alençon.

³ This person must be Robert Giroie, oftener mentioned by Ordericus, who was in constant hostility with Robert de Belèsme.

⁴ Paganet, as well as Robert de St. Céneri, were probably vassals of Robert de La Ferté-Bernard, who was also of the family of Giroie.

⁵ Echaufour, near St. Evroult. See p. 288.

⁶ Henry was eldest son of Roger de Beaumont, earl of Warwick.

⁷ Gilbert, lord of Laigle, on the death of his father, Richer, mentioned in book vii.

valour and courage, his wealth and alliances. Above all, having the fear of God, he feared no man, but marched boldly, with a lion's port. Laying claim to the strong castle of Domfront and other domains, as his right, he endeavoured to dispossess his cousin Robert of them. He was grieved to harass the unarmed and innocent, but he could not bring the public enemy with whom he had a just quarrel to a fair field for deciding it. Robert de Belèsme, who was the terror of so many others, was not the less in constant apprehension of them, and did not dare to join issue with his adversary in open fight. He therefore prudently skulked within the shelter of his fortifications, and even permitted, with regret, freebooters to ravage his territories, rather than venture to march against them, brave as he was. For, in his extreme caution, he was apprehensive that if he took the field, his own vassals might leave him in the enemy's hands. In consequence, the quarrel between the two lords-marchers was long protracted, and was the cause of severe losses and much bloodshed among their dependants. There were similar germs of evil among the nobles in other parts of Normandy, which growing to a head, produced a fruitful crop of tragic occurrences.

CH. VI.—*Durand, abbot of Troarn—His death, and epitaph—The sister abbeys of Troarn, and St. Martin, at Séz, both founded by Roger de Montgomery—Prince Henry released.*

WHILE Normandy under an inert prince was a prey in every quarter to the turbulent enterprises of her factious lords, and the peaceful sons of the church, exposed to the loss of their property by fire and frequent depredations, vented their sorrow in groans and sighs, the merciful Ruler of mankind took pity on his servants, and snatched some of his veteran followers from the lake of misery and valley of tears, the abode of mortals, and, as we believe, enrolled them in the company of those who had been their fellow soldiers in the same service, among the delights of the blessed paradise.

Thus Durand, the aged abbot of Troarn, who had been a monk from his childhood, and was celebrated for his piety and wisdom—a doctor of great skill in church music, and of deep erudition in sacred learning, severe to himself, gentle

to others—took to his bed after long labours in the worship of God, and having well prepared himself, like a prudent and faithful servant, for going worthily to his court, he departed out of this life on the the third of the ides [the 11th] of February. At his death, an extraordinary circumstance occurred. The corpse appeared to be of two colours; the left side of the face, and the whole body down to the feet, were of a snowy whiteness: the right side was of a leaden hue, which entirely tinged that half of the corpse from the crown of the head to the feet, while the other became white. This unusual appearance of different shades of colour struck the beholders with terror, and supplied those who studiously inquired into the cause of such a phenomenon an opportunity of exhibiting their subtlety in speculation. Some said one thing, some another. It is not my business to insert in this short account all the clever observations which were made in abundance. Some, indeed interpreted the difference between the left and the right, as that of the active and contemplative, or the present and future, life. Others thought that the prodigy was a sign of future events.

Durand's devout disciples reverently buried the corpse of their pious master in the chapter, and inscribed the following epitaph on a white stone which covered the grave :—

Here venerable DURAND finds a tomb;
 February th' eleventh bears record of his doom
 When, from the burden of the flesh released,
 His life of bliss began, his earthly labours ceased.
 This sacred fane to God's high praise he reared,
 Whose laws he honoured and whose frown he feared;
 And here, as abbot, held his gentle sway,
 Nursed us for heaven, and showed, himself, the way.
 Sure, he, we mourning lay in holy ground,
 Has for his pious deeds God's heavenly mercy found.

Having interred their pastor, the monks of Troarn elected Arnulf, prior of Sééz, and requested their ecclesiastical and temporal rulers to appoint him their superior. Arnold undertook the government of the abbey of Troarn with their full consent and approbation, and conducted it wisely for nearly twenty-two years,¹ edifying his flock, both by his writings

¹ 1088—1112.

and his excellent example. The two monasteries just named were founded by one nobleman, and drew from one source their usages in divine service, and their monastic discipline. For Roger de Montgomery established the convents of monks in both, and the abbey of Féchamp supplied the the rules for their regular life. The two societies were united by a mutual regard, and they were both under the protection of the miracle-working Martin, archbishop of Tours. The monks of Séez received their first abbot from the brethren of Troarn,¹ and now in his life-time sought a return of the favour in the person of one of his disciples. They returned thanks to God for the superior that was sent them, and profited much by the talents of the good shepherd.

Then Robert, duke of Normandy, in compliance with the entreaties of his barons, pardoned his brother Henry, and released him from the confinement into which he had been thrown with Robert de Belèsme.

CH. VII. *Gregory VII. dies—Victor III. succeeds him—Then Urban II.—Guibert, the anti-pope—Affairs of the Normans in Apulia.*

ABOUT this time, Pope Gregory died in the city of Beneventum,² and Desiderius, abbot of Monte-Cassino, was elected pope, and enthroned by the name of Victor.³ The body of the deceased pope was interred in the church which contains the relics of St. Bartholomew the apostle,⁴ where abundant miracles were performed by his merits, on behalf of those who asked them in faith. Lepers begged the water in which his body was washed, and after washing themselves in it with faith, were immediately cleansed.

Pope Victor having been elevated to the papacy, began to chant his first mass on the holy day of Whitsuntide. But by God's will he fell suddenly ill, and was compelled by

¹ His name was Robert. He was brother of Dreux, abbot of Tréport, and flourished 1050—January 15, 1089.

² Gregory VII. did not die at Beneventum, but at Salerno, the 25th of May, 1085.

³ Victor III., elected May 24, 1086, consecrated May 9, 1087.

⁴ Gregory VII. was not buried in the church of St. Bartholomew at Beneventum, but in that of St. Matthew at Salerno.

diarrhœa to retire thrice during the service; so that he scarcely performed a single mass while he was pope. He was a man of high birth, of great wisdom, and ardent piety, and governed the monastery at Monte-Cassino a long time. Removed from thence to the popedom, he suddenly fell sick, as I have said before, languishing from Whitsuntide until August, when he died.¹ On his death, the Roman clergy assembled, and elected Odo, who from a monk had become bishop of Ostia, pope, by the name of Urban. The God of Israel made him powerful against the Mahometans,² and gave him the tower of David with its bulwarks against the side of Damascus.³ This pope was a native of France, of distinguished birth and manners; he was born at Rheims,⁴ and had been a monk of Cluni; of the middle age, stout in person, of great modesty, earnest piety, and remarkable wisdom and eloquence. Guibert, the intruder into the apostle's see, still troubled the church of God, and either by fair words or persecution drew all he could from the unity of peace to join in his schism.⁵ Odo, count of Sutri,⁶ was his nephew, and caused many vexations to the supporters of ecclesiastical unity.

Pope Urban, trusting in the Lord of heaven, who does not long suffer the rod of sinners in the lot of the righteous,⁷ sent legates and letters, with the authority of Rome, to the French, the Greeks, and other nations of the world, exhorting them to persist steadfastly in the Catholic faith, and carefully avoid all schism from the law of God, and the body of Christ, which is the church. Only Henry, and the emperor of Germany, and his allies, adhered to Guibert; but the

¹ The 16th or September in the same year. He was, as our author intimates, of the family of the counts of Capua, and governed the abbey of Monte-Cassino, when, after a long struggle, he consented to accept the papacy.

² *Allophiloi*; the adorers of Allah.

³ Canticles iv. 4.

⁴ Urban II. was a native, if not of the city, of the territory of Rheims. He is supposed to have been born at Bainsion, near Châtillon-sur-Marne, of which his father was lord, as well as of Lageri.

⁵ The anti-pope Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who was elected at Brixen the 27th of June, 1080, lived till September, 1100.

⁶ Sutri, an episcopal city in the patrimony of St. Peter.

⁷ Psalm cxxv. 3.

French and English and almost all other nations piously supported Urban.

In Apulia, the Normans favoured with one accord the catholic pope; but they had bitter divisions among themselves, and brothers waged with each other worse than civil wars. Roger, surnamed Crumena, which signifies a purse, had sole possession with his mother of the duchy of Calabria, to the great grief of his brother Bohemond, who lived in exile at the court of Jourdan, prince of Capua. In consequence, with the aid of Jourdan, his brother-in-law, and his other relations and friends, he took up arms against his brother, and began to recover part of his father's territories, which he had assisted him in conquering. His brother and step-mother could not withstand this attack, and were compelled to listen to prudent advice from their friends. By the persuasions of Roger, count of Sicily, and their other neighbours, they made peace, and ceded to Bohemond, Bari and Tarentum, with two other cities, and a number of towns.¹ The two brothers having made this treaty, gave their sister Mabel² in marriage to William de Grantmesnil,³ and, as he was very brave, placed several castles under his command. The Normans prudently connecting themselves by alliances of this sort, are masters to this day of great part of Italy, which Dreux, Umfrid, and Richard,⁴ and above all Robert Guiscard conquered.

CH. VIII. *Ralph, abbot of Séez, becomes afterwards archbishop of Canterbury—William Rufus severely taxes the English—Has their estates re-valued—Appropriates episcopal revenues—Ralph, his chancellor, a sharp lawyer, the instrument of his exactions—His character.*

IN the year of our Lord 1089, the twelfth indiction, Robert, the first abbot of the monastery of Séez, a worthy and simple-minded man, took to his bed in the month of January, and having received the Lord's sacraments, departed this life on the eighteenth of the calends of February [15th of January]. He was succeeded by Ralph, son of Silfred

¹ These events occurred in the year 1088.

² Surnamed Courte-Louve, fifth daughter of Robert Guiscard.

³ William, second son of Hugh de Grantmesnil.

⁴ Richard, prince of Capua, son of Ansquetil de Quarrel.

d'Escures, a monk of the same abbey.¹ Being deeply learned, as well as fluent of speech and good humoured, he was generally liked. In his youth he quitted a distinguished family to enter on a monastic life, and humbly served ten years, through the various degrees in the offices which fell to the monks. At last, in his eleventh year, he succeeded to the government of the abbey by the command of Girard, bishop of Sééz, who consecrated him; and he administered it piously for sixteen years, while the storms of war were raging around. With God's help, he diligently increased the possessions of the church, as far as the times permitted. But he was compelled to take refuge in England from the increasing severities of Robert de Belèsme, and was retained there by King Henry, who treated him with great respect, and through bishop Gundulph, raised him to the see of Rochester. Some years afterwards he was promoted to succeed the venerable archbishop Anselm, and presided over the metropolitan see of Canterbury nine years.

In the third year of William Rufus, king of England, Lanfranc, archbishop of the metropolis of Canterbury, departed this life,² and was buried before the crucifix in the church of the Holy Trinity, which he had built with great magnificence. Anselm, abbot of Bec, composed an elegy in heroic verse to the memory of his countryman, and by God's providence was, after three years, promoted by canonical election to the see of Canterbury.³ Afterwards, within the ten years of the reign of William Rufus, Thomas, metropolitan of York, followed his brother archbishop to the tomb,⁴ as well as many other bishops and abbots. Wul-

¹ His father was lord of Escures, a hamlet in the suburbs of Sééz, not Escures near Falaise. Ralph became a monk at St. Martin de Sééz in 1079, succeeded Robert I. in 1089, and was made bishop of Rochester the 9th of August, 1108, *succeeding* bishop Gundulph. He was raised to the see of Canterbury the 26th of April, 1114, and died the 20th of October, 1122.

² The 20th of May, 1089.

³ Anselm was named to the metropolitan see when William Rufus lay on his sick bed, by the universal agreement of those who were present, on the 6th of March, 1093, and consecrated the 4th of December following.

⁴ Thomas, archbishop of York, the first of that name, elected May 24, 1070—November 18, 1100. It is not quite exact to say that this bishop died during the reign of William Rufus, who expired on the 2nd of August of the same year.

stan, bishop of Worcester,¹ Robert, bishop of Hereford,² Osmund, bishop of Salisbury,³ and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester,⁴ also Baldwin, the archdeacon, who was abbot of St. Edmund's,⁵ bishop and martyr, Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury,⁶ and Reynold, abbot of Abingdon,⁷ and several other bishops and abbots, died; whom I refrain from naming individually, lest I should weary the reader.

At this time a certain clerk named Ralph⁸ gained the confidence of William Rufus, and acquired pre-eminence over all the king's officers by his subtlety in prosecutions and his skill in flattery. This man was of an acute intellect and handsome person, a fluent speaker, fond of the pleasures of the table, and addicted to wine and lust; he was, at the same time, cruel and ambitious, prodigal to his own adherents, but most rapacious in his exactions from strangers. Sprung from poor and low parents, and rising to a level far beyond that to which his birth entitled him, his arrogance was by swelled the losses he inflicted on others. He was the son of one Thurstan, an obscure priest of the diocese of Bayeux, and, having been brought up from his earliest years among the vile parasites of the court, was better skilled in crafty intrigues and verbal subtleties than in sound

¹ St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, September 8, 1062—January 19, 1095.

² Robert Losing, bishop of Hereford, December 29, 1079—June 26, 1095.

³ Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, 1078—December 3, 1099.

⁴ Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, May 23, 1070—January 3, 1098.

⁵ Baldwin, a monk of St. Denis, afterwards abbot of St. Edmund's, 1065—December 29, 1097.

⁶ Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury, 1083—1102.

⁷ Reynold, abbot of Abingdon, 1084—1097.

⁸ This was another of the remarkable characters of the age. Henry of Huntingdon paints it in a few short sentences, in much the same colours as Ordericus. See his *Notices of the Distinguished Men of his own Times*, p. 310 (*Antiq. Lib.*). The Saxon Chronicle calls him the king's chaplain, who held his courts (gemot) all over England. Ralph appears to have been a sort of judge in eyre, or of circuit, and a very corrupt one. Ingram quotes a curious notice of him from the Chronicle of Peterborough, published by Sparke, typis Bowyer, 1723, from which we learn that he wrote a book, now lost, ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND. Ingram says, "He may, therefore, be safely called the father of English lawyers, or at least law-writers. It was probably the foundation of the later works of Bracton, Fleta, Fortescue, and others."

learning. Inflated with ambition to raise himself above the eminent men who adorned the court of the great king William, he undertook many things without orders, and of which that prince was ignorant, making impertinent and vexatious accusations in the king's court, and arrogantly over-awing his superiors as if he was supported by the royal authority. In consequence Robert, the king's steward,¹ gave him the surname of Flambard, which, indeed, prophetically suited his genius and conduct; for, like a devouring flame, he tormented the people and turned the daily chants of the church into lamentations, by the new practices he introduced into the country. He disquieted the young king by his perfidious suggestions, recommending him to revise the record which had been taken of all property throughout England, and, making a new division of the lands, to deprive his subjects, both native and alien of all that exceeded a certain amount. Having obtained the king's consent, he had all the plough-lands, which are called in English hides,² accurately measured and registered, and setting aside the larger admeasurement which the liberal-minded English had made use of by order of king Edward, and lessening the estates of the farmers, augmented the royal revenues. By this diminution of the former extent of their estates, and the heavy burdens of new and increased taxation, he shamefully oppressed the king's faithful and humble subjects, impoverishing them by the loss of their property, and reducing them from affluence to great indigence.

By Ralph's advice, the young king, on the death of the prelates, took their churches with the domains attached to them from ancient times, into his own hands, and set his courtiers over the convents of monks, and the deans and canons of the episcopal sees, allowing these a small pit-

¹ *Dispensator*; from whence Despensers became the family name. This Robert is so described in the Domesday-book. He was brother of Urso d'Abitol. The castle of Tamworth, the honour of Scrivelsby, and his other manors in England, were held in the reign of Henry I. by Roger Marmion, son of Robert Marmion, and son-in-law or grandson in the female line of the family of Despensers.

² According to Gervase, a hide contained one hundred acres. Ordericus describes the admeasurement to have been made *funiculo*, by a small rope or cord, as we now use the chain in surveying.

tance out of the revenues for their maintenance, and applying the rest to his own purposes. The king's covetousness thus impoverished the churches of God, and the iniquitous practice which commenced at that time has continued to the present day to the loss of many souls. For the avaricious king, with this object, deferred appointing pastors to the churches, so that the people, having no guides and the flocks no shepherds, became a prey to the attacks of wolves, and perished from wounds inflicted by the winged arrows of their own manifold sins. This inordinate covetousness gathered into the royal treasury the wealth which the ancient English kings had freely and piously devoted to God; such as were Ethelbert, Edwin, Offa, Ethelwulf, Alfred, Edgar, and other princes, as well as their great nobles. They indeed, having been converted to the faith, devoutly worshipped God, and out of their abundance made large endowments on the monks and clergy, that those special servants of the Divine law might enjoy ample means of subsistence, and be able day and night, without hindrance, to perform cheerfully the offices of divine worship, and keep perpetually the appointed vigils in places consecrated to the service of God. Thither pilgrims and wayfarers resorted in security, and there found a short repose after their fatigues, and, according to the fundamental institutions of such places, a plentiful repast, after their privations. Returning thanks to God for such unexpected refreshment, they offered devout prayers to the Creator of all things for the benefactors, long since departed, who had secured them the enjoyment of such privileges.¹

Before the Norman conquest, it was the practice in England, on the death of the superiors of monasteries,² for the bishop in whose diocese they were to take an accurate account of the possessions of the convents, and become their

¹ Our author has drawn in this passage a pleasing picture of monastic hospitality in the middle ages.

² *Rectores ecclesiarum*; the rectors of churches. M. Dubois gives the literal translation, observing that the clergy with cure of souls are still styled "rectors" in England, while in France they are called *curés*. Our own opinion, however, is, from the sequel of the passage, that Ordericus intended thus to designate the abbots and priors, who administered the government of the monasteries; the revenues of which must have been more tempting objects, and called for a more especial guardianship in those days, than the tithes or other endowments of the parochial clergy.

guardians until the new abbots were canonically ordained. In like manner, on the death of a bishop, the archbishop took charge of the property of the see, and, with the advice of the officers of the church, appropriated it either to the relief of the poor, the repair of churches, or other pious uses. William Rufus, in the beginning of his reign, was induced by Flambard to abolish this custom, so that he suffered the metropolitan see of Canterbury to remain vacant three years,¹ and seized its revenues for his own use. It is evidently unjust and contrary to all reason that what has been devoted to God by the liberality of pious kings, or laudably acquired by the stewards of the property of the church should fall again into lay hands, and be iniquitously devoted to secular uses. Nor can we doubt that as, on the one hand, those who have consecrated to God part of their wealth have received from Him the just reward of their good deeds; so, on the other, sacrilegious intruders into sacred things will be brought to punishment by the avenging hand of God, and stripped of the possessions they have usurped to their eternal disgrace. Such is the Almighty's sure and immutable law. Recompense is graciously promised to righteous doers, while transgressors are threatened with fearful vengeance for their crimes. Every page of the sacred writings sets forth this mercy and severity, so that they are as clear as light to every well informed mind. It is, therefore, surprising that the human heart is so prone to evil, and covets present and fleeting advantages more than future and everlasting rewards, when it is known that all things are open to the view of the Almighty, and that nothing can escape the penetration of the divine scrutiny.

The metropolis of Canterbury having languished in fear and grief and a state of widowhood, deprived of its bishop, for three years, the righteous Judge, who beholds from heaven the children of men and perceives all the world running after the vanity of vanities, visited with a severe disease the king of England who was polluted by the guilt of so many crimes. Thus punished by sickness, he had recourse to the priests of the Lord, and laying open to those physicians of the soul

¹ May 28, 1089—March 6, 1093: and even then the king was only induced by an alarming illness and the importunities of his ministers to fill up the vacancy, as we shall presently find.

the wounds of his conscience by humble confession, promised amendment of life and commanded the rulers of the church to choose an archbishop according to the will of God. It happened that at that time Anselm, abbot of Bec, had crossed over to England on the affairs of his monastery. On hearing that the king had given orders for the election of a metropolitan, holy church was filled with joy and an assembly of her leading rulers was held to treat of the business on which they were summoned. At length, taking into consideration the sanctity and wisdom of the venerable Anselm, he was unanimously elected in the name of the Lord, and, very unwillingly on his part, elevated to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Having been solemnly enthroned, this able pastor was often in great tribulation when he carefully weighed the serious and difficult burthens imposed upon him. So far from being lifted up by his high promotion, he was filled with alarm lest many of those placed under his government, who were erring from the right way, should come to perdition. He found a variety of things in his diocese which required correction. It was often his duty to censure a sinful monarch and a stubborn nobility. This exposed him to their repeated attacks, and he was twice driven into exile for his zeal in the cause of justice. Both by word and good example, he strove to improve the perverse habits of his flock; but some of them were so hardened in iniquity that he could not succeed as he wished. For, as Solomon says, the perverse are difficult to correct, and the number of the foolish is infinite.

In those days the light of true holiness was dim among all orders in the state, and the princes of the world with their subjects abandoned themselves to deeds of darkness. William Rufus, king of England, was a young man of loose and debauched morals, and his people but too readily followed his example. He was imperious, daring, and warlike, and gloried in the pomp of his numerous troops. His great delight consisted in conferring the honours of knighthood on account of the worldly splendour with which it surrounded him. He took no care to defend the country folk against his men-at-arms, so that their property was at the entire mercy of his young knights and squires. The king's memory was very tenacious, and his zeal either for good or evil

was ardent. Robbers and thieves felt the terrible weight of his power, and his efforts to keep the peace throughout his dominion were unceasing. He so managed his subjects, either by making them partake of his bounty, or curbing them by the terror of his arms, that no one dared whisper a word in opposition to his will.

CH. IX. *The king resolves on invading Normandy—Death and epitaph of William de Warrenne, founder of the priory of Lewes—His countess Gundrede—The king comes to an understanding with some Norman lords.*

WILLIAM RUFUS being now firmly established on the throne, he assembled his barons at Winchester and opened his mind to them in the following discourse:—"You are well aware," he said, "illustrious lords, in what manner my brother Robert has kept faith with me, and how much trouble he has occasioned me. It does not require many words to tell you what numbers of my liegemen he has caused to rebel against me, and how he conspired to deprive me of my crown and my life. It is well known that in the very first year of my reign he would have involved me in insupportable difficulties, had not divine goodness in its great mercy averted the evil. And now our holy church addresses to me her lamentable complaints from parts beyond the sea, bathed daily in tears of the deepest grief, because being without a just patron and protector she finds herself among her malignant enemies like a sheep in the midst of wolves. He who takes no care to defend his own dominions from rapacious attacks, makes it his object to usurp mine by fraud or force. It is for this reason that I warn you who were my father's liegemen, and who held fiefs of him both in Normandy and England, to support me loyally, manfully, and with unanimity, in my just enterprises. We ought not to suffer dens of robbers to exist in Normandy, and harass the faithful and ruin the abbeys which our fathers founded with so much zeal. The whole country is a prey to robbery and murder, and is often forcibly reminded of the great duke William who delivered it from war both foreign and internal. It becomes me who inherit both his name and his crown, to pursue zealously the same course that he did for the defence of his country. Meet therefore, I pray you, in

council, and consult with prudence, and then give me your advice what ought to be done in this state of affairs. If you approve of it, I will send over an army to Normandy and make reprisals for the mischief which my brother without any provocation has contrived against me. I will succour the church of God, protect widows and orphans, and punish robbers and assassins with the sword of justice."

All the assembly concurred in these proposals, and lauded the king's intrepid spirit. At that time King William made William de Warrenne earl of Surrey;¹ but not long afterwards he was snatched away by death which spares no one.² The Cluniac monks whom he had established at Lewes,³ interred his body in their chapter, and recorded his character and merits in verses inscribed on his tomb on a white marble slab:—

Who seeks EARL WARRENNE'S tomb, may look around,
And mark the buildings on this holy ground;
For here, with pious zeal, his wealth he spent
In rearing this his noblest monument.

¹ Our author states here, correctly, that William de Warrenne was made earl of Surrey by William Rufus; but in his fourth book (see before, p. 49) he has committed the error of attributing that appointment to William the Conqueror.

² William de Warrenne died June 24, 1089. He was son of Ralph (or Walter) de Warrenne, who has been already mentioned (see note, p. 408). He had, also, it has been supposed, a brother also named Ralph, mentioned in the Chartulary of the Trinité-du-Mont, who came over to England, according to Domesday-book, and was engaged in the rebellion of Ralph de Gauder, if the passage referred to does not apply to the latter from a confusion of the names. This illustrious family was originally of Bellencombne near St. Saens.

³ The priory of Lewes was founded by William de Warrenne and Gundrede, his wife, about the year 1078, in the meadows below the castle, which was the earl's principal seat. The church, on the site of which a small chapel stood before the conquest, was dedicated to St. Pancras. Both the earl and countess were interred there. Gundrede's grave-stone, a slab of black marble, the greater part of the inscription on which is legible, was carried off from the ruins after the Reformation, but recovered some years since, and deposited in the church at Southover adjoining the town of Lewes. Recently, in cutting a line of railway through the ruins of the priory, the coffins containing the remains both of William de Warrenne and Gundrede were discovered. They have been removed to Southover church, and placed, with other relics, in a small chapel or oratory erected on the south side of the chancel for their reception. See a paper addressed by M. A. Lower to the *British Archæological Association*, Nov. 19, 1845.

Here the poor brethren whom his bounty fed
 With dirge and requiem laid his honoured head;
 St. PANCRAS¹ here his mouldering ashes guards,
 May the good Saint secure him rich rewards,
 And grant him with the blest above to reign,
 Who to St. Pancras raised this stately fane.

The earl was succeeded by his two sons, William and Reynold, with their mother Gundrede,² and they flourished for a long period under William and Henry, kings of England, being distinguished for their valour, worth, and power.

King William likewise conferred great honours and possessions on Robert Fitz-Hamon,³ so that he ranked among the greatest of the English nobles. He married Sibylle, daughter of Earl Roger, who bore him a daughter, called Matilda, afterwards married to Robert, son of King Henry.

Stephen d'Aumale,⁴ who was the first in rank of the Nor-

¹ St. Pancras was born in the third century of noble parents in Phrygia, and coming to Rome, at the age of fifteen embraced Christianity, and was baptized by St. Cornelius. The emperor Diocletian endeavoured to win him back to his ancient faith, but, preferring martyrdom, he was beheaded on the Aurelian Way. His feast was kept on the 4th of the ides (12th) of May.

² Gundrede did not survive her husband William de Warrenne. She died in child-birth, at Castle Acre in Norfolk, the 27th of May, 1085. The Conqueror's charter of foundation of the priory of Lewes discloses the curious fact, which no historian of the time has mentioned, that Gundrede was a daughter of Queen Matilda. Her epitaph at Lewes calls her *stirps ducum*, and in the charter of donation of the priory of Walton in Norfolk to St. Pancras at Lewes by William the Conqueror, the copy of which is not however very exact, that prince calls her his daughter. But it has been well conjectured that she was, in fact, as well as her brother Gerbode, the issue of Matilda by a former marriage. She must, therefore, have been divorced when she married William, and that might have been the reason for Pope Leo's offering so strenuous an opposition to that marriage.

Gerbode, who had the earldom of Chester conferred upon him by the Conqueror (see before, p. 47), appears to have been in 1086 high-steward of the abbey of St. Bertin, as well as another person of the same name mentioned in charters of the years 1028 and 1056. This may have been Queen Matilda's first husband.

³ For Robert Fitzhamon and his family, see before, p. 250.

⁴ Stephen, count d'Aumale, son of Adeliza, sister of William the Conqueror, by Eudes, count of Champagne, her third husband. The continuator of William de Jumièges is for making this lady only half-sister of the king. But that is clearly an error, for her son would never have been king of England if he had been only the descendant of Herluin de Conteville.

mans, and son of Eudes, count of Champagne, sent his adhesion to the king, at whose expense he strongly fortified his castle on the river of Eu,¹ and received into it a royal garrison for its defence against the duke. His example was speedily followed by Gerard de Gournai,² who put into the king's hands Gournai, La Ferté,³ Gaillefontaine, and all his other fortresses, and strove to bring his neighbours over to the royal side. Afterwards, Robert, count d'Eu, Walter Giffard,⁴ and Ralph de Mortemer,⁵ with almost all who lived in the country beyond the Seine, as far as the sea leagued themselves with the English, and were supplied by the king with large sums of money to enable them to fortify their residences and arm their vassals.⁶

Meanwhile, duke Robert, to prepare a barrier of defence against so many enemies, gave his daughter, by a concubine, in marriage to Elias, son of Lambert of St. Saens, with Arques, Bures, and all the neighbouring country for her marriage portion, to enable him to resist the enemy and defend the province of Caux. Elias addressed himself manfully to his duties, for he never failed in his fealty towards Duke Robert and his son William, which drew upon him much persecution during the reigns of William and Henry, kings of England, when he was disinherited, and suffered many losses, exile, and perils.

¹ The Bresle ; the castle of Aumale stands above it.

² Gerard de Gournay, son of Hugh de Gournay and Basile, daughter of Richard Flaitel, was son-in-law of William Warrenne, earl of Surrey, whose death has been just related.

³ La Ferté-en-Brai, Gaillefontaine. The castle was burnt by Henry II., who made himself master of it in 1151.

⁴ Walter Giffard, lord of Longueville and earl of Buckingham.

⁵ Ralph Mortemer, son of Roger, and, as well as his father, a benefactor to St. Victor-en-Caux. See before, p. 408.

⁶ Our author, in enumerating the nobles who opened their gates to the troops of William Rufus, should not have omitted Walter de St. Valleri, eldest brother of Gilbert d'Aufay (see chapters 7 and 8 of book vi. pp. 261 and 266), as their harbour of St. Valleri-sur-Somme was so valuable to him for keeping up his communication with the strong places he secured in this part of Normandy. The commission given to the commanders of his troops was to devastate all the neighbourhood, and there is little doubt, from what we know of the practice of these times, that it was effectually accomplished. This understanding with the Norman lords appears to have been entered into in the autumn of 1089.

CH. X. *Fulk, count of Anjou, succeeds in deferring the insurrection in Maine—The terms of the compact made by Robert Curthose—Long-peaked shoes, and other new fashions of the Normans.*

WHEN the people of Maine learned that the Normans were at variance, they thought it a convenient opportunity for throwing off their insolent yoke, an attempt they had often made in the time of William the Great, king of England. Duke Robert discovering this, sent ambassadors with presents to Fulk, count of Anjou,¹ earnestly entreating him to deter the Manceaux from their bold enterprise, and to join him in Normandy, where he was suffering from severe illness. Fulk readily accepted the invitation, and found the duke already convalescent. They had many friendly conferences, in the course of which the count said to the duke: "There is one thing which I have much at heart, and if you will bring it to pass I will undertake to reduce the Manceaux to submission, and will become from henceforth your faithful ally. I have formed an attachment for Bertrade, daughter of Simon de Montfort, and niece to William, count of Evreux, who is brought up by her guardian, the countess Heloise.² I pray you to accomplish my marriage with her, and I will perform all I have promised you." The duke immediately sent for the count of Evreux to speak with him on the subject. The count then consulted with his most intimate friends and anxiously inquired what course he ought to take. At last, having fully weighed the proposal, he returned to the duke's court, and, among other conversation, addressed him thus: "My lord duke, you ask what is very contrary to my wishes when you demand that I should give my niece, who is now a mere girl, and whose guardianship was entrusted to me by my brother-in-law, in marriage to a man who has been already twice married.³ You look well to your own interests

¹ Fulk-le-Rechin.

² Eloise de Nevers, countess of Anjou.

³ The count of Anjou had been already married, not twice, but thrice. 1. To Hildegard de Beaugenci; 2. To Hermengarde de Bourbon; and, 3, to Arengarde de Châtillon. He had divorced the two last, who were living at the time of his fourth marriage, which we shall find in ch. xx. did not turn out better than the others.

and disregard mine. You wish through my niece to get the county of Maine into your power, but you deprive me of my own inheritance. Is what you propose reasonable? I shall not comply with your wishes, unless you restore me Bavent, Noyon,¹ Gacé, Gravençon and Ecouché,² with the other fiefs of my uncle Ralph, who, on account of the extraordinary size of his head and his shaggy hair was humorously surnamed *Tête d'Ane* (Ass's-head).³ I also require that my nephew, William de Breteuil, shall be re-instated in Pont-St.-Pierre, and other estates which we can prove to be legally and reasonably ours by right of inheritance. I have lawful and credible witnesses that Robert de Gacé, the son of my uncle Ralph, whom I named before, left me heir of all his domains. But King William, who was our cousin, being more powerful than we were, appropriated to himself all the portions of our inheritance, as a lion would in sharing a stag. When, my lord duke, you have well considered all this, do what is right towards us, and we will obey your commands."

The duke, having heard this reply, determined, on consultation with his council, to concede the lesser objects, that he might not lose what was more important. At that time, Edgar Atheling,⁴ Robert de Belèsme, and William d'Arques, a monk of Molême,⁵ were his principal councillors. The duke therefore granted the demands of William d'Evreux, and his nephew William de Breteuil, and ceded to them the places before named, with the lands, appertaining to them, except Ecouché, which was held by Gerard de Gournai, who was of the same family, being the son of Basile, daughter of

¹ Bavent, near Troarn, and Noyon-sur-Audelle, now Charleval.

² Gravençon, near Lillebonne, and Ecouché, near Argenton.

³ Ralph *Tête-d'An*, second son of Archbishop Robert, count d'Evreux. See vol. i. p. 449.

⁴ This unfortunate prince, the heir of the Saxon line of kings, who appears to have been of no great capacity, had always the misfortune to be on the losing side. This was not the only time he attached himself to the fortunes of Robert Curthose. He was afterwards with him and Robert de Belèsme at the battle of Tinchebraie, "having gone over from the king a short time before." Being taken prisoner, King Henry exhibited his compassion, or his contempt, by "letting him depart unhurt."

⁵ This monk of Molême (in Burgundy) was now one of the duke's confidential advisers; in a subsequent chapter (xviii.) of this book we shall find the duke resorting to him in very critical circumstances.

Gerard Flaitel, and so powerful, that no one dared to offer him violence. Upon this, the count of Anjou, to his great joy, secured the prize he so much desired—marrying a third wife while he had two already living. Bertrade bore him a son who was named Fulk. Faithful to his engagements, Fulk then went among the people of Maine, and endeavouring to keep them quiet, more by entreaties and promises, than by force of arms, succeeded at last in deferring the threatened revolt for a year. This count was very blameable, and even infamous in many parts of his conduct, and abandoned himself to all sorts of vices. His feet being deformed, he had shoes made of an unusual length, and very sharp at the toes, so that they might conceal the excrescences, commonly called bunnions, which caused his feet to be so ill-shaped. This new fashion became common throughout the west, and wonderfully pleased light-minded persons, and the lovers of novelty. In consequence, the shoemakers, in making shoes, shape them like scorpions' tails, vulgarly called *pigaces*,¹ a fashion which almost all the world, both rich and poor, are wonderfully taken with, while in former times, shoes with round toes, fitted to the form, were in common use both by rich and poor, clergy and laity. But now men of the world sought in their pride fashions of dress which accorded with their perverse habits; and what formerly honourable persons thought a mark of disgrace, and rejected as infamous, the men of this age find to be sweet as honey to their taste, and parade on their persons as a special distinction.

A debauched fellow named Robert, was the first about the court of William Rufus who introduced the practice of filling the long points of the shoes with tow, and of turning them up like a ram's horn. Hence he got the surname of Cornard; and this absurd fashion was speedily adopted by great numbers of the nobility as a proud distinction, and sign

¹ *Pigaceas*; Ordericus appears to have Latinized a Norman-French term of the day, not now to be found in any vocabulary. The curious account of the fashions of the age supplied by our author shows that nothing escaped his observation, recluse as he was. That of the long-peaked shoes, with the toes trussed and fastened upwards, *souliers à la poulaine*, pulley shoes, as the French called them, flourished for three centuries, and was not given up till it was severely denounced by kings and popes.

of merit. At this time effeminacy was the prevailing vice throughout the world. Men revelled in vice without remorse, and odious wretches, who ought to have been food for the flames, shamefully abandoned themselves to the foulest Sodomitical practices. The habits of illustrious men were disregarded; the admonitions of priests derided; and the customs of barbarians adopted in dress and in the mode of life. They parted their hair from the crown of the head on each side of the forehead, and let their locks grow long like women, and wore long shirts, and tunics, closely tied with points. They wasted their time, spending it according to their own fancy, and without regard to the law of God, or the customs of their fathers. The night was devoted to banqueting and drunkenness, to silly talk, dice, tables, and other games. Thus, after the death of Pope Gregory, and William the Bastard, and other religious princes, the simple habits of our fathers were abandoned in almost all the west of Europe. They used a modest dress, well fitted to the proportions of their bodies, which was convenient for riding and walking, and for all active employments as common sense dictated. But in our days, ancient customs are almost all changed for new fashions. Our wanton youths are sunk in effeminacy, and the courtiers study to make themselves agreeable to the women by every sort of lasciviousness. They insert their toes, the extremities of their bodies, in things like serpents' tails, which present to view the shape of scorpions. Sweeping the dusty ground with the prodigious trains of their robes and mantles; they cover their hands with gloves too long and wide for doing anything useful, and, encumbered with these superfluities, lose the free use of their limbs for active employment. The fore-part of their heads is bare after the manner of thieves, while on the back, they nourish long hair like harlots. In former times, penitents, captives, and pilgrims usually went unshaved, and wore long beards, as an outward mark of their penance, or captivity, or pilgrimage. Now, almost all the world wear crisped hair and beards, carrying on their faces the tokens of their filthy lust, like stinking goats. Their locks are curled with hot irons, and, instead of wearing caps, they bind their heads with fillets. A knight seldom appears in public with his head uncovered, and properly shaved according to the apostolic

precept.¹ Their exterior appearance and dress thus exhibit what are their inward thoughts, and how little reverence they have for God.

In consequence, the Almighty Judge who sits on his throne in the heavens, perceiving the heart of man a prey to iniquity, visits the people lost in ignorance, and the unbridled populace, with a variety of inflictions. He permits men to be worn down with sickness and disquieted by wars; and gives up to hypocritical rulers those whom he finds to be opposed to his will, and the ready transgressors of his law. Meanwhile, the elect, inflamed with the zeal of Phineas, are often incensed at these evil ways, and cry to the Lord with the prophet, "I beheld the transgressors and was grieved, because they kept not thy word."² In consequence, holy doctors rebuke, entreat, and threaten them, with patience and wisdom. But their efforts are set at nought by the hardness of their depraved hearts, which foster and harbour all the pollutions of sin. If Persius and Plautus, and other bitter satirists were now living, and keenly observed the manner in which people in our times give the run to their passions, in public and private, they would easily find abundant opportunities for exercising their talents in sarcasm and ridicule.

Remarking the countless scandals, which disgraced the world, Giroie Grossive, in a letter which he addressed to Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, says among other things:—

Once Virtue's flame had bathed the earth in light,
But now to brighter worlds has sped its flight;
While manly worth is buried with the dead,
Nor from the shades shall lift again its head.
Who to be honest, good, and virtuous dares?
Who for the prize of honour, virtue cares?

The zealous scholar has spoken hyperbolically of the enormous wickedness which he saw generally prevalent. So

¹ The apostolical admonitions alluded to by our author are in 1 Cor. xii. vers. 7 and 14.

Ver. 7. *For a man, indeed, ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God.*

Ver. 14. *Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him?*

² Psalm cxix. 158.

also Blitero the Fleming,¹ has finely painted in his elegies, the revolutions of the world, and human miseries. Many other learned philosophers have also uttered loud complaints of the flagitiousness and calamities of the present age. Following in their steps, I have briefly noticed in this chapter the era of the introduction among the Cisalpine nations of the absurd fashions of long-toed shoes, and of a superfluity of hair, as well as of trains sweeping the dust to no purpose.

It would be far pleasanter to write about the holiness and miracles of the saints, than on the follies and frivolous extravagancies of silly men, if our princes and prelates were deeply imbued with divine graces, and prodigies abounded, which are the heralds of sanctity. But it is out of my power to compel them to walk in the ways of righteousness. This being the case, I can only give a faithful account of things as they are, and I now return to the regular course of my history.

CH. XI. *Revolt of the Manceaux—Hugh, son of Azo, marquis of Tuscany, made Count—Resigns in favour of his cousin Elias.*

IN the year of our Lord 1090, the thirteenth indiction, the people of Maine revolted against the Normans, and expelling their garrisons from the fortresses, set up a new prince of their own choice. During King William's life, they had made frequent attempts to rise in arms against him, and the instant he was dead, they took measures for throwing off their yoke. They sent envoys to the sons of Azo, marquis of Liguria,² and intimated their wishes to them. "Why are you so cowardly and inert, as not to claim your inheritance which we voluntarily defend for you? All the direct heirs

¹ This poet is very little known. The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, who had not discovered any other notice of it than that given by Ordericus, attribute to him an elegy on the death of Charles the Good, count of Flanders. M. Le Gay, in his Notes on Balderic, has quoted him in reference to another poem on the same subject. It is very probable that Blitero was the canon of the church of Utrecht named by Albert Le Mire (*Diplom. Belg.* 1, 174) among the members of the chapter who in 1134 subscribed the charter of foundation of the abbey of Berna, near Bois-le-Duc.

² Azo, marquis of Liguria (Tuscany), was the second husband of Gersende, eldest daughter of Herbert Éveille-chien, count of Maine.

to the county of Maine have failed, and there is none now left who is nearer than yourself. William, himself, the unjust usurper of so many states, is now dead, having too long enslaved us by means of Margaret, Herbert's daughter, whom he wished to marry to his son Robert.¹ His sons, one of whom is king of England, and the other duke of Normandy, are mutually waging a murderous war, burning and pillaging their respective territories, and, in their fury, are ready to cut each other's throats. Meanwhile we the people of Maine hold our city and towns in peace, and we invite you in all sincerity to come among us and take the government which is yours by right of inheritance." The people of Maine sent this message to the Ligurian chiefs, not for the love they bore them but to find some reasonable excuse for shaking off the Norman yoke, which for nearly thirty years² had sharply galled their stubborn necks.

The two sons of Azo, who received this proposal in Liguria, were greatly delighted with it, and took counsel with their intimate friends what was to be done. It was at length determined that Fulk, the eldest, should retain their father's fiefs in Italy, while his brother, Hugh, should assert his pretensions to the state of Maine, in right of his mother. In short, Geoffrey of Mayenne, Elias,³ and other citizens and lords of castles, received Hugh on his arrival, and for some time lent him aid in recovering his mother's inheritance.

Notwithstanding, the venerable Hoel, who had been made bishop by the choice of King William,⁴ always remained faithful to him and his sons. As far as was in his power, he now opposed a revolt which must be attended with bloodshed, launching an interdict against those who were most obstinate, and excommunicating them by his episcopal authority, he cut them off from the communion of holy mother church. This roused against him the anger of the promoters of the rebellion, who threatened to wreak their vengeance upon

¹ See vol. i. p. 448.

² Twenty-eight years, their submission having been yielded in the year 1063.

³ Elias was both nephew, according to the custom of Brittany, of Hugh, by his aunt Paula, daughter of Herbert Éveille-chien, and his grandson by the same lady, according to all the genealogies.

⁴ See the singular details of King William's nomination of the good Bishop Hoel, book iv. c. 12, p. 70, of the present volume.

him. While, therefore, he was riding through his diocese, attended by his clerks, and duly performing his episcopal functions, Elias de la Flèche seized him, and throwing him into prison, detained him there till such time as Hugh should have obtained possession of the city of Mans. Meanwhile, the church shared her bishop's sorrows; the holy images of the Lord, with the crucifixes, and the shrines containing the relics of saints were laid prostrate on the floor, the church-doors were hedged with thorns, the bells ceased to ring, the chants were hushed, all the usual solemn offices were suspended, and thus the widowed church abandoned herself to grief.

The people of Maine, finding their new count destitute of sense as well as of wealth and courage, began to repent of their imprudent act, and despised and detested him, as the Shechemites did Abimelech.¹ He was, indeed, an imbecile, a coward, and an idler, and totally unfit to hold the reins of government in so high a station. He had married the daughter of Robert Guiscard,² but such a poltroon could not brook the spirit of a high-minded woman, and he therefore repudiated her; for which he was excommunicated by Pope Urban. The Allobroges³ detested him and were glad of an opportunity of turning him over to the fierce Cisalpines. Ignorant among the well informed, a coward among gallant knights, he was considered a craven count; for such were his alarms, that he frequently fainted, and only thought of flight as his best remedy. The people of Maine discovering this, were filled with joy and endeavoured, through the elders⁴ of the land, to increase his terrors.

At last Elias, his cousin, came to him, and conversing on the pressure of circumstances, said: "My lord, I hear it whispered among the people that you are thinking of returning to your own country and abandoning this land of an in-

¹ Judges ix., in which the fine apologue of the nobler species of trees refusing the pre-eminence offered them, and the highest rank at last devolving on the bramble, is applied to the choice of unworthy rulers.

² This marriage took place in 1077.

³ The present Dauphiny and Savoy, not Tuscany, were the proper country of the Allobroges.

⁴ *Sempectas*. The word is borrowed from the rule of the order of St. Benedict, in which it signifies the veteran monks, who after fifty years' profession, were no longer subjected to any severe duties.

dependent race and fierce habits. In truth, your friends should not dissuade you from this purpose. For while your disposition is gentle, and you are a lover of peace and tranquillity, the people of this country are always ready for war and impatient of repose. Moreover, the implacable Normans lay claim to Maine and most ferociously threaten to inflict the greatest severities on its inhabitants. The sons of King William, who were at variance, have been reconciled, and are now assembling a vast army in Normandy, with which they intend to make a sudden irruption into our territories, and to attack and pursue without mercy us who have revolted against them. You may fully believe that it is for this purpose King William has crossed over to Normandy with so much pomp, and I have no doubt his arrival will cause us great alarm and find us much to do." On hearing this, Hugh plainly told Elias that it was his wish to sell his rights in the county of Maine and return to his own country. Elias replied: "My lord, I am your cousin, and it was by my support you were made count, an honour which you can give or sell to no one but myself. For the daughter of count Herbert married Lancelin de Beaugenci, and bore him Lancelin, father of Ralph,¹ and John, who was my father. I have thus plainly shown that I, as well as you, am descended from count Herbert. Now, then, receive from me what shall be agreed on between us, and resign in my favour the dignity of count, as in truth it ought to be mine from nearness of kin. The object of my ambition is attended with serious difficulties, and I shall scarcely ever possess it in peace so long as either of the three sons of King William are alive. It appears to be disgraceful to such powerful princes, who can surround us with a hundred thousand troops, that they should patiently suffer an affront from a kindred race who live on their frontier, or lose in any manner without a fearful struggle any rights which their father gained by some sort of treaty. Nevertheless, I am inspired by this love of independence, and rightfully contending for my grandmother's heritage, I shall be animated by trust in God."

¹ Ralph, lord of Beaugenci, was son-in-law of Hugh, count de Verman-
dois, becoming by that alliance, which took place in the summer of this
same year (1090), nephew of King Philip.

The cowardly Allobrogan consented to the proposal, and sold the county of Maine for ten thousand shillings of Mans currency. On the retirement of Hugh, Elias became count of Maine, which he held bravely twenty years.¹ He succeeded also to the domains of his father-in-law, Gervase de Château-du-Loire, whose daughter he married.² He had by her a daughter, named Eremburge, who was married to the son of Fulk, count of Anjou, his suzerain. On attaining power, he greatly mended his conduct and became eminent for his virtues, worthily honouring the clergy and church of God, and attending daily at mass and divine service. He governed his people with equity, and, as far as was in his power, protected the poor in peace.

CH. XII. *Feuds and hostilities between the Norman lords— Surprise of the castle of Exmes, and surrender of Ivri— Gilbert, lord of Laigle, assassinated— William de Breteuil taken prisoner.*

AT this period the most outrageous iniquity prevailed in Normandy; it abounded in all quarters and grievously harassed the wretched inhabitants. The clang of arms gave token of frequent conflicts, and the soil was watered with the blood of the slain.

The second year after king William's death,³ Ascelin, sur-named Goël,⁴ took by surprise the castle of Ivri from William de Breteuil, his lord, and traitorously delivered it to Duke Robert. William, however, unwilling to lose it, redeemed it from the duke for fifteen hundred livres. Having recovered his castle, to punish Goël, he deprived him of its custody, and stripped him of everything he held in his

¹ It will be found in the sequel that Elias did not retain his rights as count of Maine without encountering serious difficulties from the opposition of the dukes of Normandy.

² Elias married Matilda, the only daughter of Gervase, who died before Easter, 1099. Their daughter, Eremburge, conveyed the county of Maine to Fulk, count of Anjou, whom she married in 1100.

³ A.D. 1089.

⁴ This person and his family, with the surprise of the castle of Ivri, are mentioned before. See p. 237. Robert, father of Ascelin de Goël, was lord of Breval, but not of Ivri, though he may have had the custody of it for the duke of Normandy or William de Breteuil. Breval is situated between Paci and Septeuil.

lordship. Hence arose hostilities between them which lasted a long time, so that the neighbourhood was exposed to rapine and fire, with loss of life. Amauri de Montfort, who had his surname of Le Fort, on account of his valour, became formidable by his daring and cruel acts to all his neighbours within his reach. But making an inroad on the lands of William de Breteuil, like a raging lion, and engaging, singly, in combat with two men-at-arms, he was pierced in the side by the lance of one of them, so that he died the same day. On his decease, his brother Richard succeeded to the domains of his father, and zealously devoted himself to take vengeance on William de Breteuil for his brother's death.

Duke Robert frequently employed in his wars Gilbert, son of Ingenulf de Laigle,¹ on account of his great bravery, and gave him the castle of Exmes as his recompense, and for the defence of the country. This gave great offence to Robert de Belèsme, whose rage and jealousy were so roused, that he assembled troops, and in the first week of January beset the castle for four days, assaulting it with great vigour, notwithstanding the winter's frost and snow. Gilbert had but a small number of followers within the fortress, but they were brave, and made a stout resistance. Hurling spears and stones on the assailants, they precipitated them into the ditch, wounding some and killing others; meanwhile, the young Gilbert, lord of Laigle, came to his aid with eighty soldiers, and, getting into the castle by night, this addition to the garrison with provisions and arms enabled his uncle to maintain the defence. Upon this, the tyrant Belèsme, finding how strongly the place was fortified, and the stout resistance made by its defenders, did not venture to prolong the siege, and drew off his troops with rage and mortification, having gained nothing but his followers' wounds. The year following, as Gilbert, the knight just named, was returning from the S^{te}. Scholasse, he halted at

¹ De L'Aigle, or *De Aquela*. Gilbert was fourth son of Engenulf, lord of Laigle. The eldest brother's (Roger) death is mentioned in book iv. c. 5, vol. i. p. 427; and the assassination of the second brother, Richer, lord of Laigle, p. 379 of the present volume. Gilbert, his eldest son, succeeded him.

² Sainte-Scholasse-sur-Sarthe.

Moulins, to converse with Duda, the lady of that castle. After their conference, he chanced to leave his armour there with one Anthony, surnamed Haren, and towards evening, thus unarmed, departed in haste, attended by his squires. He was instantly pursued by Gerard Chevreuil, and Roger de Ferrers,¹ with some men-at-arms of the Corbonnais² to the number of near thirteen, who endeavoured to take him alive. He spurred his horse to a gallop, but while endeavouring by his speed to get away from his enemies, he was struck in the side by one of their spears, and the noble knight died the same day, to the great grief of those by whose hands he fell. On the morrow, which was the bissextile day,³ his corpse was carried to St. Sulpice,⁴ and there amid universal sorrow buried by the side of his parents; Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, and Serlo, abbot of St. Evroult, officiating.

Geoffrey, count de Mortagne, reflecting that his vassals who had perpetrated this foul deed had sown the seeds of infinite mischief to his territories by the murder of the brave baron, accommodated matters with his nephew Gilbert de Laigle, giving him his daughter Juliana in marriage; by whom he had three sons, Richer, Geoffrey, and Gilbert. The prudent count did well for his people and his heirs, in smothering the growth of evil from this flagrant offence by the endearments of conjugal affection, lest multiplied disasters should spring from the root, and gaining fresh vigour in after times, should grow from worse to worse. The peace between the kindred heirs of the two families has been indissolubly preserved to the present day, and the connection has established a cheerful and agreeable concord between them.⁵

The same week, in which, as we have just seen, Gilbert

¹ See before, p. 192.

² La Ferrière-aut-Doyers, near Moulins. Our author is mistaken in placing it in the Corbonnois, to which, however, it is very near. Gerard Caper (*Capreolus*) is mentioned in the chartulary of Chartres under the year 1077.

³ Wednesday, the 29th of February, 1092.

⁴ St. Sulpice-sur-Risle, a priory at Tiron, near Laigle. See before, p. 380.

⁵ Recollecting that this paragraph was written about 1133, a period of forty years had then elapsed, during which there had been continued peace between the counts of Perch and the lords of Laigle. An alliance of such

perished on the road from Moulins to Laigle, Goël attacked his Lord William de Breteuil in the open field, and being supported by Richard de Montfort, and a large body of Frenchmen, defeated his enemy's troops. William himself was taken prisoner, with many others, and, thrown into a noisome dungeon, suffered much during the ensuing¹ Lent, so that for his sins he was compelled to endure the rigours of that penitential season. At last, the matter brought together Richard de Montfort, Hugh de Montgomery,² Gervase de Neufchatel,³ and many others, both French and Normans, who made peace between William and Goël, at Breval,⁴ after which, William, according to the terms of the treaty, gave his daughter Isabel in marriage to Goël, and ransomed himself at the expense of a thousand livres of Dreux, besides the delivery of horses, arms, and many other things. With great sorrow and regret he added also the castle of Ivri. The infamous freebooter enriched with these fruits of enterprise grew intolerably insolent, and enclosed his castle, which was in very deed a den of thieves, with deep ditches and stout pallisades, spending his existence there in continual rapine and bloodshed, to the ruin of many. He had seven sons⁵ by his wife Isabel, who, as they grew in years, increased in wickedness, so that the cries of the widow and poor followed their evil deeds.

CH. XIII. *Claims of the family of Beaumont to the castle of Ivri—Roger de Beaumont takes Brionne.*

At the same time, another disturbance broke out in Normandy. Robert, earl of Mellent came over from England, and, swelling with arrogance in consequence of gifts and

long duration was rare at that time between the Norman lords, who were always ready for mutual hostilities.

¹ *Sequenti*. But Lent had already commenced, on Wednesday the 11th of February.

² Hugh de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury.

³ He was son-in-law of Hugh, lord of Chateau-Neuf, in Thimerai, mentioned before, p. 109. Hugh married Mabel, third daughter of Roger de Montgomery, by Mabel de Belèsme.

⁴ Breval, a strong castle on the confines of Normandy and Maine. See before, p. 237.

⁵ Of these, we only know Robert, lord of Ivri, William Louvel, and Roger-le-Bègue.

... of the family of Beaumont ...

promises made him by King William, went to the duke at Rouen, and insolently demanded the restoration of the castle of Ivri. The duke replied, "I gave Brionne, a noble castle, to your father in exchange for that of Ivri." But the earl of Mellent said, "I do not agree to that exchange, and I choose to have what your father gave to mine,¹ otherwise, by St. Nicaise,² I shall do what will be very disagreeable to you." The duke was greatly incensed, and caused Robert to be arrested, and thrown into prison in the castle of Brionne, under the custody of Robert, son of Baldwin.³ The crafty old Roger de Beaumont, hearing that his son was a prisoner, applied himself for some days to other affairs, just as if he had received no intelligence of his son's misfortune, hiding his grief under a smiling face. At last, when he thought the duke's wrath was somewhat abated, he sent him presents, and then went to his court. Having offered his respects to the duke, and being saluted in return, he thus addressed him: "My lord duke, I return your highness thanks for having chastised the arrogance of my son with princely severity. Had I sufficient spirit at my advanced age, I should have long ago done it myself, for his insolence and disregard of my admonitions have often pained me. It is therefore high time that he should be rebuked, and taught to know how to conduct himself when addressing his superiors and seniors."

With language of this sort, Roger contrived to conciliate the duke, who, not knowing what was to follow, eagerly swallowed the flattery. Roger was now familiarly admitted to the duke's councils, and it afterwards appeared that these steps were all leading to his son's liberation. He was one of the old and honoured nobles of Duke Robert, and King

¹ See before, p. 428. It was not the ownership, but only the custody of the castle of Ivri, of which the duke deprived Roger de Beaumont; and he received an ample indemnification in Brionne, which stood in the heart of the country and of his own domain of Beaumont and Pont-Audemer.

² Robert de Meulan or Mellent appears to have had a particular veneration for St. Nicaise, patron of the city of Meulan, by whom he swears. He founded a priory to the saint's honour in 1101.

³ Robert, son of Baldwin de Meules, and grandson of Gilbert, count de Brionne. In some MSS., instead of Robert, we read Roger de Bienfaite, which we shall presently see is incorrect.

William; son-in-law of Waleran, count de Mellent, and brother-in-law of Hugh;¹ of approved faithfulness and loyalty, supported by powerful connections, both friends and relations; and in possession of ample wealth, lordships, and domains, with strong castles and brave vassals. He had besides valiant and noble sons, one being count of Mellent, in France, and the other earl of Warwick in England. Thus strong in good sense, wealth, and supporters, he one day came to the duke, and said, "You ought to deal graciously with me, my lord duke, recollecting that I have always been loyal to the princes of Normandy. I never broke my fealty to my liege lord, but on the contrary, have done and suffered much in his cause. You have been yourself witness of this in the battle when I fought against the rebels under your father's eyes,² where Roger of Spain, with his sons Albert and Elinance fell, besides many others. I learnt from childhood the duty of firm perseverance in loyalty. I received it as the heritage of my father, Thorold, and my grandfather Umfrid, and I have zealously performed it all my life, both in prosperity and adversity. Far be it from me in my old age to commit a breach of faith, which I have always detested, and from my youth upwards used every effort to avoid. Your father, therefore finding me ever at his side, and firmly maintaining my allegiance, as well as manfully sustaining the evils to which my fealty to him exposed me, always admitted me to his most secret councils in preference to his other nobles." The duke replied as follows, "I know well, Sir Roger, from many witnesses, your great fidelity to my predecessors, and therefore, as they highly esteemed you, and adopted your judicious advice, I also, taking advantage of your wisdom, embrace your suggestions. If I have imprisoned your son, I did it from no ill-will to you, but in consequence of his own folly and insolence, in importuning and threatening me." Roger then said, "I thank your highness from the bottom of my heart, for the chastisement you inflicted on the rash youth. But now if it please your highness, I pray you to pardon him. Release

¹ Waleran II., de Meulan, 1015?—October 8, 1069 or 1070. Hugh II., his son and successor, became a monk at Bec in 1077.

² For an account of this battle, see vol. i. pp. 150 and 401. See also William de Jumièges, book vii. c. 3.

him now that he has been punished, and he will be your faithful servant." The duke, won by this sort of language, set at liberty the count of Mellent, and permitted him to depart with his father.

Not long afterwards Roger and his son begged the duke to restore Brionne to them, accompanying the request with an offer of a large sum; whereupon the duke, who was in want of money, lent a ready ear to their proposals, and ordered Robert, who had the custody of the castle, to give it up to Roger. His answer to the duke was this: "If it be your desire to have Brionne in your own hands, as your father held it, I will make no difficulty in delivering it to you; but otherwise I will keep what is my own inheritance, and yield it to no man while I live. It is well known to all the inhabitants of this province that Richard the elder, duke of Normandy, granted Brionne with the county belonging to it, in full right to his son Godfrey, and that on his death he left it to his son Gilbert. When Count Gilbert was cruelly murdered by infamous assassins, his sons, under the care of their guardians, fled for safety from his enemies to the court of Baldwin, count of Flanders, whereupon your father attached part of the domains to the fief of my grandfather, distributing the rest among strangers. A long time afterwards, having married the daughter of this Baldwin of Flanders, the duke, at his request, restored to my father Baldwin, Meules and Le Sap,¹ and gave him his aunt's daughter in marriage. At the same time, he restored Bienfaite and Orbec to his brother Richard. At length, by your favour, my lord, whom it is my desire to obey in all things, I am now in possession of Brionne, the principal seat of my grandfather, and, God supporting my right, I will keep it to the end."

When Roger heard this, he earnestly encouraged the duke not to give way, but instantly collecting a body of troops to crush his refractory vassal, and laying siege to the strong fortress, which lay in the very heart of his dominions, compel its surrender. Accordingly in Whitsun-week Duke Robert sat down before Brionne, where Robert, son of

¹ Baldwin, like his father, bore a variety of names; we find him successively called Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert, Baldwin de Meules, Baldwin du Sap, Baldwin the Viscount, and Baldwin of Exeter.

Baldwin, had only six knights¹ to defend it against an army. The lord of Beaumont and the count of Mellent had collected large bodies of soldiers and closely invested the fortress on all sides to prevent any succour or supplies of victuals being thrown in; and, pressing their advantage, after the ninth day made a vigorous assault. It being the commencement of summer, the weather was very warm, and there was a great drought, of which the besiegers took advantage; for they adroitly heated the iron points of their missile weapons in a furnace which was built for the occasion, and all of a sudden hurled them on the roof of the great hall of the castle, where the red-hot steel of the arrows and javelins, driven with great force into the shingles,² set fire to the dry moss which in course of time had overspread the roof, so that the whole was quickly in a blaze. Meanwhile the garrison were fighting stoutly on the fortifications, and not expecting any such manœuvre, were in great spirits until they found the flames rising over their heads. When however they discovered that the whole building above them was falling to ruins, the flames within spreading through every part, they surrendered at discretion. Thus Duke Robert, by an assault which only lasted from nine o'clock till sunset, gained possession of Brionne, which it took his father, William, with the aid of Henry, king of France, three years to reduce, when Guy, son of Reynold of Burgundy, shut himself up in it after the battle of Val-des-Dunes.

¹ *Militibus*. The chroniclers using this word for knights as well as common soldiers, there is often difficulty in giving the right version, unless the context is clear. In the present case, six soldiers would, indeed, be a small garrison for such a fortress as Brionne, but that number of knights, with their retainers, might possibly have made a stout resistance against a considerable force. M. Le Prevost suggests, however, that the reading may have been, not *sex*, but *sexaginta*, sixty.

² It appears that the roof of the castle was covered with shingles of wood, instead of slates or tiles. This is still the case with respect to many of the towers of the country churches in the Lieuvain and the Roumois, and if the shingles were not painted, they might be overgrown with mosses and lichens.

This castle is not the same of which some ruins, the keep, still exist, built, it is supposed, by the lords of Harcourt. It did not stand on the same site, but on an island in the river Risle, as William de Poitiers clearly points out. The island was probably that which lies between the two bridges, near an oil-mill.

Gilbert de Pin¹ commanded the troops employed in the present attack of the castle of Brionne, making a skilful disposition of the force from Pont-Audemer and Beaumont,² and leading them with great daring in their irresistible assault. But while so doing he was mortally wounded in the head by a dart hurled from above, and immediately carried, in a fainting state, by his sorrowful comrades from the throng of battle. Recovering shortly from his faintness, the wounded man began shouting to the by-standers with piercing cries: "Wretched, wretched men! what are you doing? For what are you spending your lives? Why do you covet worldly vanities, forgetting the things which are really for your good and are eternal? If you only knew the misery and torments which await you as evil-doers, and could only see for one hour the horrors which I have just witnessed, you would thenceforth hold cheap all the pleasures of this fleeting world." He tried to add more, but his speech failed, and thus the renowned soldier gave up the ghost.

The siege being ended, the duke granted Brionne to Roger, and taking compassion on Robert, who had the custody of it, promised to restore him his paternal fief:³ for

¹ There are three communes of this name in Normandy: this was probably Pin-au-Haras, near Exmes, of which Robert de Meulan was lord. Or Gilbert might have been a native of Pin in the Lieuvin, between Lisieux and Corneilles, which is at no great distance from the vast domains of Roger de Beaumont about Pont-Audemer.

² The two chief seats of Roger de Beaumont's possessions.

³ We have seen before, p. 428, that Robert Curthose had deprived Roger de Beaumont of the custody of the castle of Ivri to confer it on William de Breteuil, who received Brionne as an indemnity. It was against this exchange that the count de Meulan, Roger's son, protested. The office of keeper of the castle of Ivri must not be confounded with the subaltern appointment of provost of Ivri, which Ascelin Goël held hereditarily before the castle was given up to him by William de Breteuil, as we find in the sequel.

According to the continuator of William de Jumièges, it was Roger de Bienfaite, and not Robert de Meules, who claimed Brionne; but Roger de Bienfaite was already indemnified by the lands of Hommet in Normandy, and Tunbridge in England, while Baldwin de Meules and his descendants had hitherto received no equivalent for their share of the succession. The duke Robert could not have entrusted the custody of Brionne to any one more interested in defending it against the lords of Beaumont than Robert de Meules, grandson of the first proprietor, Count

he was strongly supported by his friends and kinsmen, and had many partisans in the duke's court. It has been already stated that King William had an especial regard for Richard and Baldwin, the sons of Count Gilbert, and advanced them in the world, both on account of their nearness of blood and their own valour; enriching them with many fiefs, manors, and lordships, both in England and Normandy. Both the brothers also made excellent marriages with wives of noble families. Richard married Rohais, daughter of Walter Giffard,¹ who bore him several sons as well as daughters. The sons were Roger, Gilbert, Walter, Robert, and Richard a monk of Bec, who has been made abbot of Ely by King Henry. Baldwin's sons were, Robert, William, Richard, and Viger, a bastard. All these distinguished themselves in the stirring times of King William and his sons, floating on the waves of this troublesome world as they were driven by the changeable gales of unstable fortune. Viger the youngest voluntarily retired from secular conflicts, and receiving the tonsure in the abbey of Bec, lived there as a monk nearly forty years, under the venerable abbots, William and Boso.²

CH. XIV. *Hostilities between the count of Evreux and the lord of Conches, fomented by their wives' quarrels—The castle of Conches besieged—Peace restored—Dreams of young Roger de Conches, and Baldwin, afterwards king of Jerusalem.*

WHILE the storm of battle was raging in all parts of Normandy, the province of Evreux could enjoy no tranquil-

Gilbert. Emma, mother of Robert de Meules, was daughter of an aunt of King William, perhaps Adelaide, wife of Reynold of Burgundy. In that case Robert would have an additional title to Brionne, as nephew of Guy of Burgundy.

With respect to the castle of Tunbridge, which was given to Richard de Bienfaite in exchange for Brionne, the continuator of William de Jumièges gives the following story: "A league was measured with a rope round Brionne, and the same rope was carried over to England, and employed in measuring a league round Tunbridge, so that in the measurement as many miles were allotted to Tunbridge as Brionne was proved to contain."

¹ Walter Giffard, son of Osbern de Bolbec.

² William de Montfort, October, 1093—April 16 1124. Boso, 1124—June 24, 1136.

lity; for there a worse than civil war was waged between two powerful brothers, and the mischief was fomented by the spiteful jealousy of their haughty wives. The Countess Havise¹ took offence at some taunts uttered by Isabel de Conches,² and used all her influence with Count William³ and his barons to induce them to have recourse to arms. Thus, through women's slights and quarrels the hearts of brave men were stirred to rage, and their hands speedily imbrued in the blood of their fellow mortals, while burning farms and villages completed the horrors. Both the ladies who stirred up these fierce hostilities were great talkers, and spirited as well as handsome; they ruled their husbands, oppressed their vassals, and inspired terror in various ways. But still their characters were very different; Havise had wit and eloquence, but she was cruel and avaricious. On the contrary, Isabel was generous, enterprising and gay, so that she was beloved and esteemed by those about her. She rode in knightly armour when the vassals took the field, and exhibited as much daring among belted knights and men-at-arms as Camilla, the renowned virgin of Italy among the squadrons of Turnus. Nor was she inferior to Lampedona and Marseppa, Hyppolyta, and Penthesilia, and the other warrior-queens of the Amazons, spoken of by Pompeius Trogus⁴ and Virgil, and other writers of history, with whom the kings of Asia formed connexions, and who, for fifteen years, ruled the Asiatic nations. The people of Evreux had many allies, so that they harassed those of Conches by continually burning their property, and carried off much booty. But there was no great disparity, and the others, in turn, took their revenge. Meanwhile Ralph⁵ went to the court of Duke Robert, and laying

¹ Havise, daughter of William, count de Nevers, and wife of William, count d'Evreux, died in 1114.

² Isabel, or Elizabeth, de Montfort L'Amauri, was daughter of Simon, lord of Montfort, and wife of Ralph, lord of Conches and Toeni. Conches stands about four leagues to the south-west of Evreux.

³ Her husband, the count of Evreux.

⁴ This is no place for commenting on the fabulous history of the Amazons, but we may be permitted to take the opportunity of expressing our regrets for the loss of the great historical work of Trogus Pompeius, which is the more singular as the cotemporaries of Ordericus possessed it.

⁵ Ralph II., lord of Conches, Elizabeth's husband.

before him an account of the losses to which he was exposed by the aggressions of his neighbours, demanded the aid which he had a right to expect from his liege lord; but his complaints were fruitless and he obtained no redress. Upon this he turned his attention to another quarter, being compelled to seek a protector where he could. He therefore made application by his envoys to the king of England, and laying his distressed circumstances before him, promised him the fealty of all his estates if he would afford him succour. The king was highly pleased at the proposal, and promised efficacious aid to the suppliant who so much needed it. In consequence he gave orders to Count Stephen¹ and Gerard de Gournai, with the other officers who were in command of his retainers in Normandy, that they should render every assistance to Ralph, and throw supplies of all kinds into his castles. Accordingly they obeyed with alacrity the royal commands and gave their support to Ralph, striving earnestly to do the king's pleasure.

In the month of November Count William assembled a large body of troops and laid siege to Conches. His two nephews, William de Breteuil and Richard de Montfort, with their vassals, joined him in the attack upon the people of Conches. Then Richard de Montfort, while taking possession of the abbey of St. Peter de Châtillon,² regardless of the respect due to the monks, who cried to the Lord with bitter lamentations, died the same day to the great grief of both parties; for he was Isabel's twin-brother as well as nephew of Count William by his sister. Both parties therefore deplored the death of the brave marcher, who perished while persisting in an evil deed, urged on by his pride and rashness. His followers bore their lord's body to his native place, and he was buried in the churchyard of St. Thomas the Apostle, at Epernon.³ There the monks of Marmoutier regularly serve God,⁴ and there also the old Simon, son of Amauri, and his sons, are buried.

Not long afterwards the people of Evreux assembled again, and made an irruption into the territory of Con-

¹ Stephen, count d'Aumale.

² At Conches, by which name it was afterwards generally known.

³ Epernon is four leagues from Montfort-Amauri.

⁴ This priory stands in the suburb called the bourg St. Thomas.

ches to avenge their discomfiture. At this time Ralph had in the castle a very strong body of his own and the king's adherents; but when the young knights were eager to sally forth, he said to them: "Arm yourselves and stand ready, but do not leave the fortress until I give the order. Permit the enemy to encumber himself with booty, and we will fall upon him as he is retiring." The youthful soldiers were ready to obey the commands of so brave and experienced a commander, and pursuing the people of Evreux when they were loaded with booty, charged them with great fury, and putting them to flight, recovered the spoil. William de Breteuil and many others were taken prisoners; and, in consequence, peace was proposed. The count of Evreux and his party were ashamed that, having commenced hostilities through their arrogance, they had suffered the greatest losses, and therefore after the war had been carried on three years, they consented to an accommodation, and a meeting being held, the following terms were agreed on: William¹ paid his uncle three thousand livres for his ransom, and made his cousin Roger, Ralph's son, heir to the whole of his fief. The count of Evreux appointed the same Roger,² who was his own nephew, his successor in the county. But Divine Providence, which is not ruled by the will of man, provided otherwise. The young Roger was of an excellent disposition and much beloved by his companions and the vassals and neighbours. He had a great regard for the clergy and monks, paying them due reverence. Rejecting the pomp of dress, in which the nobility too much gloried, his whole demeanour was simple and modest. Upon one occasion, when the knights were amusing themselves in the hall at Conches³ with various games, and talking on different subjects, as the custom is, the Lady Elizabeth⁴ being present, one of them said: "I had a dream lately, which much alarmed me: I saw the Lord on the cross, his whole body livid and writhing with torture, while I fixed my eyes upon him in great terror." At this account his companions remarked: "This dream of yours was solemn and fearful,

¹ William de Breteuil.

² Roger de Teëni, second son of Ralph de Conches.

³ Some ruins of the castle, of which this hall was part, are still standing.

⁴ Elizabeth, his mother, lady of Conches, before called Isabel.

and seems to forebode some terrible judgment of God upon you." Baldwin, son of Eustace, count of Boulogne, then said: "I too, lately saw in a dream the Lord Jesus hanging on the cross; but in my vision he was bright and glorious, and smiled benignantly upon me, graciously making the sign of the cross on my head." Upon this the by-standers observed; "This vision seems to promise you some singular grace and favour."

The young Roger having heard what passed said to his mother, "I know a person, not far off, who lately had a vision of the same kind." His mother's curiosity was excited, and she pressed him to tell who it was, and what was seen; but the youth blushed, and was unwilling to make it public. At length, however, he yielded to her repeated entreaties, in which his friends present joined, and thus replied: "A certain person lately saw in a vision the Lord Jesus laying his hand on his head, who graciously blessed him, calling him in these words: 'Come quickly to me, beloved, and I will give thee the joys of life.' I therefore affirm most assuredly that one who I know has been called by the Lord, will not live long."

Soon afterwards, the three young men experienced different fates, corresponding with what each had related. The first was severely wounded while engaged in a hostile inroad, and died without having confessed and received the viaticum. Baldwin, Ralph de Conches' son-in-law, took the sign of the cross on his left shoulder,¹ and, on the summons of Pope Urban, joined the pilgrimage against the infidels. In that expedition he distinguished himself beyond all his compeers, being gloriously sustained by the Divine cross-bearer he had seen in his dream. First, he was made duke of Rages, that is of Edessa, a most flourishing city, and some years afterwards, on the death of his brother, he was elected king of Jerusalem, where he long reigned. He was constantly engaged in wars with the infidels, in which, by God's help, he nobly triumphed. As to Roger, he took to his bed the same year the visions were seen, and having de-

¹ Every one knows that this was the badge of the Crusaders. Baldwin, who was afterwards count of Edessa and king of Jerusalem, married Godchilde, daughter of Ralph de Conches, and widow of Robert de Neubourg. In the next book there is an account of her death during the first crusade.

voutly performed all that becomes a Christian, departed on the ides [15th] of May, and was buried, amidst general grief, with his ancestors at Châtillon, where he rests.

CH. XV. *Insurrection at Rouen—Fomented by William Rufus—Quelled by Prince Henry—Tragic end of Conan, its leader.*

At the same time, Prince Henry ably governed the Cotentin, and stood on his guard with great firmness against his brothers. He was exasperated with the duke for the captivity he had recently undergone at his hands. He was no less at variance with King William in regard to his mother's lands in England, of which his brother had disseised him, and then granted them to Robert Fitz Hamon.¹ In this state of affairs, he kept his fortresses always prepared for war, and wisely conciliated the favour of several of his father's barons, who became his adherents. Among his principal castles were Avranches, Cherbourg, Coutances, and Gavrai: while Count Hugh,² Richard de Reviers,³ and the other lords of the Cotentin, except Robert de Mowbray,⁴ joined him, and gathering aid on all sides, either by fair words or rewards, his strength was daily on the increase. Normandy was therefore a prey to unceasing calamities, and the infernal furies made human beings, villages, and houses, the victims of fire and slaughter.

The influence of the English king extended through

¹ See before, p. 250.

² Hugh, viscount d'Avranches, earl of Chester.

³ Richard de Reviers, near Creuilli, son of Baldwin, whose name appears as subscribing the charter of the Abbaye-aux Dames in 1082, was descended, it is said, from Osmond de Centevilles, viscount de Vernon, and a niece of the duchess Gonnor; but this descent is very doubtful, as far as the male line is concerned. The castellans of Vernon were not called Osmund, but Hugh and William, and the latter survived to the conquest. As to the female line, there is more probability, and our author's account of the descent is confirmed by a document in the chartulary of Carisbrook, which calls Richard de Reviers nephew of William Fitz-Osborne, who was himself nephew of the duchess Gonnor. Perhaps it was Adeliza, wife of Richard de Reviers, who was daughter and heiress of the lords of Vernon. It was in right of the castle of Vernon that Ordericus reckons Richard among the inhabitants of the Cotentin.

⁴ Robert de Mowbray, often mentioned before, nephew of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances.

almost every part of Normandy, and having gained over the barons by means of his wealth, the province, in which its own prince had lost all power, lay at his feet. Even the citizens of Rouen, allured by the royal promises and bribes, began to talk of deposing Robert, and consulted the means of giving up the capital of Normandy, with their drowsy duke, to the king. Conan, son of Gilbert Pilet, was at the head of the conspirators; a person of great influence, as he was the richest man in Rouen. Having made a league with the king for putting him in possession of the place, his immense wealth made him very powerful, and enabled him proudly to maintain in his household a crowd of soldiers and retainers in opposition to the duke. The greatest part of the townsmen were of his faction; some however were for maintaining their allegiance to the duke, and resisted and hindered by all the obstacles in their power his traitorous design. But Conan, relying on the concurrence of his fellow citizens, fixed a time, and on the appointed day summoned the king's troops from Gournai, and the other fortified places which were in their possession, directing them to march on Rouen without loss of time. Meanwhile, the duke, discovering the serious conspiracy on foot against him, called to his councils his most trusted friends. In this juncture he made alliances with his brother Henry and some others with whom he had been at variance, and despatched hasty messengers to William, count of Evreux, Robert de Belèsme, William de Breteuil, Gilbert de Laigle, and his other adherents, to inform them of his danger. Henry was the first to come to his succour, bringing a reinforcement which enabled him to inflict condign punishment on the traitor Conan.

On the 3rd of November Gilbert de Laigle arrived with a troop of horse for the duke's service, and crossing the bridge over the Seine reached Rouen on the southern side¹ at the same time that Reynold de Warrenne,² at the head of

¹ Gilbert's cavalry approached Rouen on the south side, by the bridge over the Seine, which then stood on the same spot as that afterwards erected by the Empress Matilda in 1167, where the suspension bridge now stands. Not only the bridge, but great part of what is now the rue Grand-Pont, was then outside the city.

² Reynold de Warrenne, second son of William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, was on the king's side.

three hundred men-at-arms, galloped up to the gate of Chaux.¹ Upon this Gilbert shouted to his followers: "Be on the alert, and get your arms in order, there is no time for delay; see, the enemy is approaching from the south to attack us, and our gallant comrades are rapidly advancing from the west to our support; be ready then to receive both our allies and our enemies as we ought; open your ranks to admit our friends, and close them firmly against our foes." One body of the townsmen fled to arms to resist Gilbert and his troop, while others flocked to the western gate, and set to work to force it open and give admission to Reynold and his followers. Besides this, some of the king's adherents had already contrived to find their way into the place, and having watched secretly for the moment of action, were quite ready to support the rebellion, waiting with impatience the delay of the outbreak.

At last the tumult began to rage both among the troops and the citizens, whose shouts were heard on all sides, the whole place being thrown into confusion, and venting its fury in mutual attacks; for many of the townsmen fought at both the gates against their relations and neighbours, one part rallying for the duke, the other for the king. The duke perceiving the struggle that was taking place in the city issued forth from the castle,² with his brother Henry and his troops, and hastened to the succour of his party in the town. But while all was in the confusion of this wild tumult, and the citizens hardly knew which side to take, the duke was persuaded by his friends to make his escape with a few followers, from apprehension that he was foolishly exposing himself to perils which could bring him no

¹ "We suppose that the gate of Chaux stood at that time on the site or the present great clock-tower (Grosse Horloge). A few lines further, our author calls this the west gate. It is probable that the circuit of the walls of Rouen had then only four gates at the four cardinal points." *M. Le Prévost*. We do not understand, however, how Gilbert could point his men to support coming from the *west*, if Reynold de Warrenne and the troops of William Rufus were just making their appearance at that gate. Nor does it appear who were the enemy on their own track from the south, but they were probably the auxiliary forces of William de Breteuil, the count de Belèsme, and the lord of Laigle, as we presently find them in the city.

² The castle of Rouen stood at the south-east angle of the square mentioned in a preceding note. It is now called the Old Tower.

honour, and to the eternal ridicule of all the Normans. He therefore went out at the east gate,¹ and was dutifully received as their lawful sovereign by the inhabitants of the suburban village, called Mal-Palu.² A boat was then got ready, and embarking on the Seine he left the storm of battle behind, and proceeded by water, in great alarm, to the village of Emendreville.³ He was received on his landing by William d'Arques, a monk of Molême,⁴ and waited there, in the church of Notre-Dame-du-Pré,⁵ the issue of the insurrection.

Gilbert de Laigle, having forced an entrance through the southern gate by the intrepidity of his followers, aided by the exertions of the citizens who had not taken the side of the traitors, he joined Prince Henry and the duke's other auxiliaries, and charged the rebels who had possession of the city. These presumptuous and guilty traitors, failing in their wicked enterprise, the party of the duke now took courage, and Gilbert furiously assaulted and crushed the enemy. There was great slaughter of the townsmen, and Conan, the leader of the insurgents, was taken prisoner with many others. The city resounded with cries of grief and terror, the women making loud lamentations, while the men were fighting, falling, and fleeing. The innocent and guilty alike were everywhere butchered, or captured or driven to flight. When it appeared that the citizens were divided among themselves, and that severe misfortunes were impending, the royal troops withdrew in confusion, and hastily gaining the shelter of the neighbouring woods, concealed themselves there until under cover of night, they, with some difficulty, escaped the risk of death or captivity.

Meanwhile, Conan was conveyed by the victors into the castle, and Prince Henry having taken him to the summit of the tower said to him ironically: "See, Conan, what a beautiful country you have tried to become master of. There, to the

¹ This gate stood at the end of the rue St. Romain.

² Being now included in the city, it has left its name to a street so called.

³ Now the faubourg of St. Sever.

⁴ This monk is mentioned before as one of the counsellors of Robert Curthose.

⁵ The priory of Notre-Dame-du-Pré, now Bonne-Nouvelle, a dependency on the abbey of Bec, which was founded by William and Matilda.

south, a delightful park¹ is spread before your eyes : see its wooded glades, well stocked with beasts of chace. There flows the Seine, abounding in fish, washing the city walls, and bearing daily on its bosom ships loaded with rich cargoes of merchandise to the port of Rouen. See, on the other side, that populous city, with its strong walls, and churches, and stately houses, the capital of Normandy from the earliest times." Conan, trembling at the prince's ironical insult, groaned aloud, and imploring his clemency, said : "I confess my guilt, which has justly subjected me to condemnation, but I beg for mercy, in the name of God, the Creator of all things. I will give, my lord, for my ransom, all the gold and silver which can be found in my own coffers and in those of my friends, and I will efface the crime of my disloyalty by dutiful allegiance to the end of my days." Henry, however, replied : "By the soul of my mother,² I will take no ransom for a traitor ; the death he has deserved shall be instant." Then Conan cried aloud with a lamentable voice : "For the love of God, allow me first to have a confessor." But Henry, impatient to avenge his brother's wrongs, in the fury of his passion paid no regard to the prayers of the wretched man, and seizing him with both hands, dashed him backward from the tower window. The wretch's limbs were broken by the fearful fall, but he had ceased to live before he reached the ground. The corpse was fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged with disgrace through all the streets of Rouen, to strike terror into the rebels. The place where the deed of vengeance was wrought is called to this day "Conan's leap."

Duke Robert returning from the church of Notre-Dame-du-Pré to the castle, and learning what had happened, was touched with compassion and deeply lamented the miseries of the citizens ; but the sterner counsels of the nobles prevailed, and he was not allowed to pardon the guilty. Robert de Belèsme and William de

¹ The park of the dukes of Normandy, on the south bank of the Seine, included the lands of Sotteville, Grammont, St. Etienne-du-Rouvrai, the forest of Rouvrai, Le Petit Couronne, and the priory of St. Julien.

² Henry's respect for his mother, Queen Matilda's, memory, did not, however, prevent his pillaging the domains which she gave to the Abbaye-aux-Dames, as we shall shortly see.

Breteuil had arrived, and they treated the inhabitants of Rouen as if they had been aliens and robbers, carrying them off and throwing them into loathsome dungeons. William, son of Ansgar, one of the richest of the citizens, was led away captive by William de Breteuil, and after long undergoing the horrors of a prison, was permitted to ransom himself for three thousand livres.¹ Thus the people of Belèsme and Laigle, and the duke's other auxiliaries, exercised the greatest cruelties against their own fellow countrymen, and evil-entreated the citizens of the capital of Normandy, dragging them away captives, and stripped of everything as if they had been barbarian enemies.

To what calamities was now reduced that proud Normandy which so lately triumphed in the conquest of England, and destroying or expelling her native sons, usurped their lands and their government! The prodigious wealth which was wrung from others, and enriched by which she exalted herself to her own destruction, has now, so far from turning to her advantage, become the source of the severest torments. Now, like Babylon, she drinks herself of the cup of tribulation, which she gave to others. At the sight of so many evils the impoverished clergy weeps, the convents of monks lament, and the helpless people are everywhere desolate and sorrowful. They only rejoice, and their triumph will be of short duration, who can rob and thief without restraint. Alas! the respect for the priesthood, to which once all did reverence, is nearly extinct in the flood of calamities which so violently rages. Why have the furies such unbounded licence to revel in Normandy, crushing its inhabitants and overwhelming them in its ruins? In the days when there was no king or ruler in Jerusalem, the rebellious people sacrificed to the golden calves of Jeroboam in Dan and Bethel.² Therefore it was that Joel wept for and exhorted the transgressors of the law, harassed by the palmer-worm, the canker-worm, the locust, and caterpillar. By the four plagues mentioned by the prophet³ are signified, fear, desire, grief, and joy. Fear and desire stimu-

¹ Exactly the same ransom which we have seen William de Bretueil pay to his uncle, Ralph de Conches.

² 1 Kings xii. 28.

³ 1 Joel i. 4.

late and corrode the hearts of men, and overwhelm and destroy them with fatal joy or grief. Joys minister to lust, sorrows lead to cruelty. Virgil speaks of them thus in his poem :¹

Desire and fear by turns possess their hearts,
And grief and joy : nor can the grovelling mind
In the dark dungeon of the limbs confined,
Assert its native skies, or own its heavenly kind.

Those who are plunged in the gloom of the world's troubles can neither enjoy the light of true wisdom nor extricate themselves from the snares of vice. I see many passages in the sacred writings which are so adapted to the circumstances of the present times, that they seem parallel. But I leave to studious persons the task of inquiry into these allegorical quotations and the interpretations applicable to the state of mankind, and will endeavour to continue the history of Norman affairs a little further in all simplicity.

CH. XVI. *Robert de Belèsme erects castles, and commences hostilities with Hugh de Grantmesnil and his kindred—Lays siege to Courci—Events of the siege—The pacification—William Rufus crosses over to Normandy, and is reconciled with the duke, Robert Curthose.*

HAVING now described the reverses of the people of Evreux, and the revolt and sufferings of the citizens of Rouen, I purpose to relate the contests and calamities of the people of Oxmes.² Robert de Belèsme built a castle on an elevated spot which is commonly called Fourches, and, transferring there the inhabitants of Vignats, sought to reduce all the neighbours under his tyranny. He erected another fortress called Château Goutier,³ at La Courbe,⁴ on the river Orne, by which he would be enabled to impose his yoke, however unjustly, on all the district of the Houlme.⁵ Thus aggrandized far beyond his parentage and ancestors, he attacked his

¹ *Hinc metuunt, cupiuntque ; dolent, gaudentque ; neque auras
'Respiciunt, clausæ tenebris et carcere cæco.—Æn. vi. 734, 735.*

² The inhabitants of the Hiémois.

³ Château Goutier, on the neck of a peninsula formed by the Orne.

⁴ La Courbe, in the canton of Écouché.

⁵ The Houlme formed the western part of the diocese of Séez.

equals almost every where in Normandy, where a protector of just rights was not to be found, and began to harass his immediate neighbours. Finding this, the Norman nobles were much disturbed, and their disquietudes grew to such a pitch that they had long and frequent consultations on the subject of resisting these inroads. The first to take arms, because they were the nearest to the tyrant's borders and most exposed to his nefarious attempts, were Hugh de Grantmesnil¹ and Richard de Courci,² who drew supplies of arms and provisions to their castles and strengthened the garrisons. These knights were now grey-headed, but their spirit was high and noble, and their intimate connection increased their power; for Robert, Hugh's son, had married Hugh's daughter,³ and she had borne her husband five sons.

The noble Hugh de Grantmesnil was in his youth distinguished for his valour, and married a very beautiful lady, Adeliza,⁴ daughter of Ivo, count de Beaumont, by whom he had Robert, William, Hugh, Ivo, and Aubrey; Adeline, Havise, Rohais, Matilda, and Agnes. This large and promising family was a prey to various misfortunes, so that none of them except Robert lived to old age. He was the eldest, and, surviving all his brothers and sisters, was thrice married before he was advanced in years. His first wife was Agnes, daughter of Ranulf of Bayeux,⁵ the second, Emma, daughter of Robert D'Estoteville,⁶ and he married lastly Lucy, daughter of Savaric Fitz-Cane.⁷ William and

¹ Hugh de Grantmesnil, viscount or sheriff of Leicestershire, and governor of Winchester.

² Richard, lord of Courci-sur-Dive.

³ Rohais, or Rohesia, third daughter of Hugh de Grantmesnil.

⁴ Adeliza, daughter of Ivo II., count de Beaumont-sur-Oise, founder of the priory of Conflans, by Judith, his first wife.

⁵ Ranulf de Briquesart, viscount de Bayeux, nephew and heir of Hugh, earl of Chester.

⁶ Robert D'Estoteville, surnamed Grand-Bois, lord of Estoteville-sur-mer, canton of Yerville, is the first person on record of this illustrious family.

⁷ She was married to Ralph, viscount of Maine. Their son, Saveric, was half-brother of Hubert de Sainte Suzanne, of whom we have heard before (p. 378). He was still a minor in 1060, when he was a consenting party to a donation in favour of the monks of Vivoin. His sons were Ralph, Savaric Fitz-Savaric, and Godwin. A charter of King Richard, dated at Gorron, March 31, 1190, confirms to Francis de Bohun several

Ivo were also married. The first took to wife, in Apulia, Mabel, daughter of Robert Guiscard;¹ and the other, in England, a daughter of Gilbert de Gand.² Adeline married Roger d'Ivri,³ and Rohais, Robert de Courci; Matilda, Hugh de Mont-Pinçon;⁴ Agnes, William de Say;⁵ and Havise died just as she became marriageable.

Hugh de Grantmesnil therefore, thus surrounded by sons fiefs in Normandy, and, among others, Bohun, as fully as Savaric Fitz-Savaric held the same at the time of his death; and moreover, Midhurst and other lordships in England, as Savaric, son of Cane, held the same under Henry I. and Henry II. Ralph and Savaric, the second of that name, having died without issue, their possessions, together with one moiety of the fief of Bohun, which they inherited from Engelger de Bohun, passed to this Francis, who was son of their brother Godwin, and became the ancestor of the barons of Bohun and Midhurst.

¹ Mabel, who had the surname of Courte-Louve, fifth daughter of Robert Guiscard and Sichelgade.

² Our English genealogists consider this person to have been the son of Baldwin de Mons, brother of Queen Matilda, of whom we know no other descendants but Arnulf and Baldwin. The truth is, that Gilbert was brother of Baldwin de Gand, lord of Alost, and son of Ralph. His name appears as witness to a document at Alost, on his return from England, the 25th of May, 1075. By his wife, Alicia de Montfort, he had a son named Hugh, founder of the family of the lords of Montfort, barons of Cocquanilliers. He survived his eldest son, named also Gilbert. His third son, Walter, inherited all his estates in England. He had, besides, two daughters, married, the one to William, constable of Chester, the other, Emma, to Alan de Percy. He received a vast number of manors *in capite* by grant from William the Conqueror. He was the restorer of Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire; and he was one of the small number of Normans who escaped the massacre by the Danes at York in 1069. He is supposed to have died about 1094.

³ See before, pp. 109 and 212. Roger d'Ivri held of Bishop Odo two manors in England (*Domesday-book*). A singular act of fraternity was made between this Roger and Robert D'Oyley: *Memorandum that Robert D'Oyley and Roger d'Ivri came to the conquest of England with William the Bastard, as sworn brothers and confederates, pledged to each other by their mutual solemn oaths.* The following passage in the *Scriptum de servitiis militaribus quæ debentur duci Normanix*, concerns one of his descendants, and not his father, as Kennett supposes. . . . *Waleran d'Ivri one man-at-arms for his butlership, and three and a half for himself; the same has from Ivri eight men-at-arms and a half, and to render to the king at the king's pleasure.* His wife, Adeline, appears in *Domesday-book* as tenant *in capite* on her own account.

⁴ Hugh de Mont Pinçon. See before, p. 212.

⁵ William de Say; this person subscribed the charter of Henry I. in favour of St. Evrout, in 1128. Concerning the family of Say, near Argentan, and in England, see before, p. 201.

and sons-in-law, as well as many friends, took the lead actively in hostilities against Robert de Belèsme, and by the aid of his distinguished allies, made a bold resistance to his tyranny. Robert, however, relying on the support of his brothers Roger and Arnulph,¹ and his numerous vassals, put his neighbours to defiance, and set himself to injure them by frequent inroads and devastations on their territories. Matthew, count de Beaumont,² William de Warrenne,³ and many other knights, flocked to these encounters to exhibit their prowess in such lists. There, however, Theobald, son of Walter de Breteuil,⁴ and Guy the Red, were slain. Theobald, whose steed and all his appointments were white, was called the white knight, and Guy was called the red, because his were of that colour.⁵ Robert de Belèsme, finding that he was unable alone to cope with his illustrious neighbours, who were so eminent for their noble bearing, and the intrepidity and prowess they exhibited, both in sustaining and daring the shock of arms, won to his side the duke of Normandy by his humble supplications and specious promises, so that he prevailed with him by his earnest entreaties to march to his aid.

In the year, therefore, of our Lord 1091, the thirteenth indiction, in the month of January, the duke laid siege to Courci,⁶ but unwilling to come to extremities with his great nobles, he took no measures for closely investing the besieged. Robert, however, used every resource of open attack and stratagem against the enemy for three weeks, employing various engines of war in his assaults on the fortress; but the garrison being numerous and making a resolute defence, he was repulsed with shame. He caused a vast machine,

¹ Roger and Arnulph de Montgomery, improperly called earls by the French editor of Ordericus and some English genealogists. See the note, p. 203.

² Matthew, count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, brother-in-law of Hugh de Grantmesnil, and chamberlain of France in 1139, died in 1151 or 1152.

³ William de Warrenne, the second earl of Surrey.

⁴ This Waleran did not belong to the family of the lords of Breteuil, but was one of their vassals.

⁵ The reader who is conversant with the chronicles and romances of the middle ages, or even with some modern works of fiction, will here recognize a well known practice.

⁶ Courci-sur-Dive.

called a belfry,¹ to be erected over against the castle walls, and filled it with all kinds of warlike instruments, but even this failed of compelling the garrison to submit; for as often as he began an assault on Courci, the powerful force from Grantmesnil hastened to the rescue, and charging the assailants with fury drew them off from their intended attack. Meanwhile the garrison took prisoners William de Ferrers² and William de Rupière,³ whose ransoms were a great assistance to the besieged. But the lot of war is uncertain, and the victors often have to yield to those they have defeated. Thus Ivo, Hugh's son,⁴ and Richard, Gilbert's son,⁵ and several others, were made prisoners by the besiegers, and had some experience of the horrors of Robert de Belèsme's dungeons. Hugh de Grantmesnil did not bear arms himself, on account of his advanced age, but in council his shrewdness and wisdom enabled him to take the lead. The long continuance of the siege caused him extreme pain, and in consequence he sent the following message to the duke who was engaged in it: "I long served your father and grandfather, and suffered much in their service. I have also been always loyal to you. What have I done? in what have I given you offence? how have I merited at your hands this hostile attack? I openly acknowledge the fealty I owe you as my liege-lord, and on that account I will not appear in arms against you; but I offer you two hundred livres to withdraw where it may suit your pleasure for one single day, that I may take that opportunity of fighting Robert de Belèsme: it is clear enough, that his principal reliance is upon your protection, and that the besieged are more restrained by their loyalty to you than by any fear they have of their enemies."

¹ *Berfredum*; a wooden tower on four wheels, with a great number of stages or floors, employed in sieges to assault and command the fortifications.

² William, lord of Ferrières St. Hilaire, near Bernai, and son of Henry, who was present at the battle of Hastings.

³ This lord gave the church of Frenouville to the abbey of Troarn, and in 1099 added the tithe to his former grant.

⁴ Ivo, fourth son of Hugh de Grantmesnil.

⁵ Richard de Clare, or de Bienfaite, son of Gilbert, count of Brionne. It will appear afterwards that he did not long survive the sufferings he endured during his captivity.

An oven had been built outside the fortifications between the castle gate and the assailants' belfry, and there the baker baked the bread required for the use of the garrison, because the siege was begun in such haste that they had no time to construct an oven within their new defences. It followed therefore that the thickest of the fight often raged around this oven, much blood was shed there, and many spirits departed by violence from the prison of the flesh. For the people of Courci stood in arms to defend their bread, while Belèsme's followers tried to carry it off, so that many desperate conflicts occurred. It happened that one day while the loaves were being baked in the oven, and the two hostile parties were engaged in a violent quarrel, the troops on both sides came up, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which twenty men were killed and more wounded, who never tasted the bread their blood had purchased. Meanwhile, the friends of the besieged daily entered the castle in sight of the besiegers, and the duke taking no care to prevent it, conveyed to their comrades fresh supplies of arms and provisions to give them courage and support.

On one occasion, Robert and his troops having been repulsed from an assault, those who pursued them made a squire mount into the belfry and set fire to it on the north side. The machine was therefore burnt by the righteous judgment of God, it having been irreligiously constructed by a tyrannical order during the days when the feast of our Lord's Nativity is observed.¹

Gerard,² the politic bishop of Sééz, came during the progress of the siege to use his efforts to restore peace between the contending parties in his diocese, and took up his abode at the convent of Dive.³ He proposed terms of accommoda-

¹ The French editor of Ordericus remarks that the machine must have been constructed in anticipation of the siege, if it did not begin till the month of January, as our author states, and therefore conjectures that Ordericus counted *the calends of January* as belonging to that month. That would carry back the date of the commencement of the siege to the fourteenth of December; but perhaps the true solution is that, as every one knows, the feast of Christmas does not terminate till Twelfthday, the sixth of January, or even its octave the 13th. The machine, if brought to the spot ready framed, might be put together in a few days.

² Gerard, bishop of Sééz, 1082—1091.

³ The abbey of Notre-Dame-de-St.-Pierre-sur-Dive, at a short distance from Courci.

tion, but was grieved to find that the spirit of discord was too powerful and caused them to be rejected. He was also much distressed at a gross insult offered him by Robert de Belèsme. A certain youth who was in the bishop's service was one day riding through the camp amusing himself in a boyish way, when Robert caused him to be pulled off the horse and thrown into prison, retaining also the horse for his own service. The boy was called Richard de Gaprée, he was son of Sevald, and his relations had long struggled with all their might to defend themselves from Robert's encroachments. When the bishop heard that his clerk was arrested by Robert without any cause of offence, he commanded him to release him instantly, or otherwise he would lay the whole army under an interdict. After some days the young clerk was set at liberty, and the bishop was carried back in a languishing disorder to his own see at Sééz. He then received the holy sacraments and died surrounded by his disciples on the tenth of the calends of February [23rd January].¹ His body was interred in the church of St. Gervase the martyr.

The same week,² William Rufus, king of England, crossed over to Normandy with a great fleet. The duke was alarmed at his arrival, and with Robert de Belèsme and the other besiegers retired from Conches, and every one went to his own home. Almost all the Norman lords presently paid their court to William with great zeal, offering him presents in the expectation of receiving still greater in return. The French also, and the Bretons and Flemings, as well as many from the neighbouring provinces, when they heard that William was residing at Eu in Normandy, resorted to him. They admired his great magnificence, and, on their return home, exalted him above all their own princes for his wealth and generosity. At last, the two brothers met amicably at Rouen and were reconciled, their former quarrels being buried in oblivion. At this interview the duke received presents of great value from the king, and ceded to him the counties of Eu and Aumale and the entire fiefs of Gerard de Gournai and Ralph de Conches with all

¹ A.D. 1091.

² This week extended from Sunday, the 19th, to Saturday, the 25th of January.

the castles in their hands or held of them by their dependants. The king and his court resided at Rouen from January to the calends [the 1st] of August in all the splendour of regal magnificence.¹

CH. XVII. *Narrative of a vision of departed and reprobate spirits seen, at the time of the siege of Courci, by a priest who related it to the author.* ✓

I CONSIDER that I ought not to suppress and pass over in silence what happened to a certain priest of the diocese of Liseux in the beginning of January.² In a village called Bonneval there was a priest named Walkelin who served the church of St. Aubin of Anjou, who from a monk became bishop and confessor.³ At the commencement of the month of January, 1091, this priest was summoned in the night time, as the occasion required, to visit a sick man who lived at the furthest extremity of his parish. As he was pursuing his solitary road homewards, far from any habitation of man, he heard a great noise like the tramp of a numerous body of troops, and thought within himself that the sounds proceeded from the army of Robert de Belèsme on their march to lay seige to the castle of Courci.⁴ The moon,

¹ From the last day of January, 1091, to the 1st of August in the same year.

Florence of Worcester gives with more precision than our author the terms of the arrangement made between the two brothers. It was agreed,

1. That the duke should cede to William the county of Eu, the abbeys of Fécamp and Mount St. Michael, Cherbourg, and all the castles which had been given up to him.

2. That the king should reconquer for his brother Maine, and the castles which had refused to submit to his authority.

3. That the king should restore to the Normans in England the estates they may have forfeited for having taken the side of Robert; and should also grant to Robert the domains which he had promised him before their differences.

4. That the survivor should inherit the dominions of the other. This convention was confirmed by the oaths of twelve barons on each side.

² The 1st of January.

³ St. Aubin de Bonneval, between Orbec and Sap, and not far from St. Evroult. St. Aubin, bishop of Angers, March 1, 550.

⁴ The siege, then, described in the preceding chapter had commenced, or was on the point of commencing, on the 1st of January, which confirms our conjecture that the great machine used in it was put together in the

being in her eighth day in the constellation of the Ram, shed a clear light, so that it was easy to find the way. Now the priest was young, undaunted, and bold, and of a powerful and active frame of body. However, he hesitated when the sounds, which seemed to proceed from troops on the march first reached his ears, and began to consider whether he should take to flight to avoid being laid hold of and discourteously stripped by the worthless camp followers, or manfully stand on his defence if any one molested him. Just then he espied four medlar-trees¹ in a field at a good distance from the path, and determined to seek shelter behind them, as fast as he could, until the cavalry had passed. But as he was running he was stopped by a man of enormous stature, armed with a massive club, who, raising his weapon above his head, shouted to him, "Stand! Take not a step further!" The priest, frozen with terror, stood motionless, leaning on his staff. The gigantic club-bearer also stood close to him, and, without offering to do him any injury, quietly waited for the passage of the troop.² And now, behold, a great crowd of people came by on foot, carrying on their heads and shoulders, sheep, clothes, furniture, and moveables of all descriptions, such as robbers are in the habit of pillaging. All were making great lamentations and urging one another to hasten their steps. Among them the priest recognized a number of his neighbours who had lately died, and heard them bewailing the excruciating sufferings with which they were tormented for their evil deeds. They were followed by a

course of the week before Twelfthday. This was not Robert de Belèsme's road to Courci, but terror seems to have already turned the head of the worthy curate.

¹ Normandy was famed for its orchards from very early times.

² The memory of this vision, and of the spot where it occurred, still lingers in the neighbourhood. The story is thus told:

"At a very remote period, the curé of Bonneval returning in the night-time from administering the sacrament to a rich parishioner in the village of Bosc, had reached the foot of a field called Olivet, at the cross-roads called Fosses-Malades (on account of the adjoining graves in which the dead were buried during a pestilence which ravaged the parish), when he fell in with some thirty men, dressed in red, some of whom were on foot and the rest on horseback. These men led the curé to the top of the field, and solicited him to abjure his religion and deny God. Their instances proving fruitless, they departed, leaving the good priest to return safe to his dwelling."

troop of corpse-bearers, who were joined by the giant already mentioned. These carried as many as fifty biers, each of which was borne by two bearers. On these were seated a number of men of the size of dwarfs, but whose heads were as large as barrels. Two Ethiopians also carried an immense trunk of a tree, to which a poor wretch was rudely bound, who, in his tortures filled the air with fearful cries of anguish; for a horrible demon sat on the same trunk and goaded his loins and back with red-hot spurs until the blood streamed from them. Walkelin distinctly recognized in this wretch the assassin of Stephen the priest, and was witness to the intolerable tortures he suffered for the innocent blood he shed two years before, since which he had died without penance for so foul a crime.

Then followed a crowd of women who seemed to the priest to be innumerable. They were mounted on horseback, riding in female fashion, with women's saddles which were stuck with red-hot nails. The wind often lifted them a cubit from their saddles, and then let them drop again on the sharp points. Their haunches thus punctured with the burning nails, and suffering horrible torments from the wounds and the scorching heat, the women pitiously ejaculated, woe! woe! and made open confession of the sins for which they were punished, undergoing in this manner fire and stench and unutterable tortures for the obscene allurements and filthy delights to which they had abandoned themselves when living among men. In this company the priest recognized several noble ladies, and beheld the palfreys and mules with the women's litters of others who were still alive.

The priest stood fixed to the spot at this spectacle, his thoughts deeply engaged in the reflections it suggested. Presently, however, he saw pass before him a numerous company of clergy and monks, with their rulers and judges, the bishops and abbots carrying croziers in their hands. The clergy and bishops wore black copes, and the abbots and monks cowls of the same hue. They all groaned and wailed, and some of them called to Walkelin, and implored him, in the name of their former friendship, to pray for them. The priest reported that he saw among them many who were highly esteemed, and who, in human estimation, were now associated with the saints in heaven. He recognised in the

sons of Count Gilbert,¹ who were lately dead, with so many others that I cannot enumerate them. Among the rest, was Landri of Orbec, who was killed the same year, and who accosted the priest, and uttering horrible cries, charged him with his commissions, urgently begging him to carry a message to his wife. Upon this the troops who marched before and after him interrupted his cries, and said to the priest: "Believe not Landri, for he is a deceiver." This man had been a viscount and a lawyer, and had raised himself from a very low origin by his talents and merit. He decided causes and affairs according to his own pleasure, and perverted judgment for bribes, actuated more by avarice and duplicity than by a sense of what was right. He was therefore justly devoted to flagrant punishment, and publicly denounced by his associates as a liar. In this company no one flattered him, and no one had recourse to his cunning loquacity. He, who while it was in his power had shut his ears to the cries of the poor, was now in his torments, treated as an execrable wretch who was unfit to be heard.

Walkelin having seen these countless troops of soldiers pass, on reflection, said within himself: "Doubtless these are Harlequin's people;² I have often heard of their being seen, but I laughed at the stories, having never had any certain proofs of such things. Now, indeed, I assuredly behold the ghosts of the departed, but no one will believe me when I tell the tale unless I can exhibit to mortal eyes some tangible proof of what I have seen. I will therefore mount one of the horses which are following the troop without any riders, and will take it home and show it my neighbours to convince them that I speak the truth." Accordingly he forthwith snatched the reins of a black steed, but the

¹ Richard de Bienfaite and Baldwin de Meules, son of Gilbert, count de Brionne.

² *Herlechini*. M. Le Prévost says in a note on this passage, "It is what is still called in our country-places *Hennequin's* hunt. This Hennekin, as the tradition runs, was a great hunter who, having sold himself to the devil, is compelled to return every year during the storms in the night which occur in Advent, attended by his huntsmen and dogs, whose howlings many persons have declared to me they have distinctly heard. It is curious to remark the identity of the primitive name of this visionary hunter (*Herlechinus*) with that of the comic character in a parti-coloured dress, which originated at Bergamo."

animal burst violently from his hold and galloped away among the troops of Ethiopians. The priest was disappointed at the failure of his enterprise; but he was young, bold, and light-hearted, as well as agile and strong. He therefore stationed himself in the middle of the path, prepared for action, and the moment a horse came up, laid his hand upon it. The horse stopped, ready for him to mount without difficulty, at the same time snorting from his nostrils a cloud of vapour as large as a full-grown oak. The priest then placed his left foot in the stirrup, and, seizing the reins, laid his hand on the saddle, but he instantly felt that his foot rested on red-hot iron, and the hand with which he held the bridle was frozen with insupportable cold which penetrated to his vitals.

While this was passing, four terrific knights came up and uttering horrible cries, shouted to him: "What do you want with our horses? You shall come with us. No one of our company had injured you, when you began laying your hands on what belongs to us." The priest, in great alarm, let go the horse, and three of the knights attempting to seize him, the fourth said to them: "Let him go, and allow me to speak with him, for I wish to make him the bearer of a message to my wife and children." He then said to the priest, who stood trembling with fright: "Listen to me, I beseech you, and tell my wife what I say." The priest replied: "I know not who you are, or who is your wife." The knight then said: "I am William de Glos,¹ son of Barno, and was once the renowned steward of William de Breteuil and his father William, earl of Hereford.² While in the world I abandoned myself to evil deeds and plunder, and was guilty of more crimes than can be recounted. But, above all, I am tormented for my usuries. I once lent money to a poor man, and received as security a mill which belonged to him, and as he was not able to discharge the debt I kept the mortgage property and left it to my heirs, disinheriting my debtor's family. You see that I have in my mouth a bar of hot iron from the mill, the weight of which I feel to be more oppressive than the tower of Rouen. Tell, therefore,

¹ Glos-la-Ferrière, now Glos-sous-Laigle, in the neighbourhood of St. Evroult. *cf. Orderic Vitalis, l. viii. c. 13.*

² William Fitz-Osbern.

my wife Beatrice, and my son Roger, to afford me relief, by speedily restoring to the right heir the pledge from which they have received more than I advanced." The priest replied: "William de Glos died long ago, and this is a commission which no Christian man can undertake. I know neither who you are, or who are your heirs. If I should venture to tell such a tale to Roger de Glos, or his brothers, or to their mother, they would laugh me to scorn as one out of his wits." However, William continued still to persist in his earnest entreaties, and furnished him with many sure and well-known tokens of his identity. The priest understood very well all he heard, but pretended not to comprehend it. At length, overcome by importunities, he consented to what the knight requested, and engaged to do what was required. Upon this, William repeated again all he had said, and impressed it on his companion during a long conversation. The priest, however, began to consider that he durst not convey to any one the execrable message of a damned spirit.¹ "It is not right," he said; "to publish such things; I will, on no account, tell to any one what you require of me." Upon this, the knight was filled with rage, and seizing him by the throat dragged him along on the ground, uttering terrible imprecations. The prisoner felt the hand which grasped him burning like fire, and in this deep extremity cried aloud: "Help me, O holy Mary, the glorious mother of Christ." No sooner had he invoked the compassionate mother than the aid of the Son of God was afforded him, according to the Almighty's disposing will. For a horseman immediately rode up, with a sword in his right hand, and brandishing it over Roger's head, exclaimed: "Will ye kill my brother, ye accursed ones? Loose him and begone!" The knights instantly fled and followed the black troops.

When they had all passed by, the horseman, remaining alone in the road with Walkelin, said to him, "Do you not know me?" the priest answered "No." The other said: "I am Robert, son of Ralph le Blond,² and your

¹ *Biothanati*; this word, which in its original signification was applied to those who put an end to their own lives, means here the damned, the reprobate, the suicide of his soul.

² Several persons of the name of Le Blond are mentioned in Domesday-book, among others Gilbert Le Blond, who about the year 1100 founded

brother." The priest was much astonished at this unexpected occurrence, and much troubled at what he had seen and heard, as we have just related, when the knight began to remind him of a number of things which happened in their youth, and to give him many well-known tokens. The priest had a clear recollection of all that was told him, but not daring to confess it, he stoutly denied all knowledge of the circumstances. At length the knight said to him: "I am astonished at your hardness of heart and stupidity; it was I who brought you up on our parents' death, and loved you more than any one living. I sent you to school in France,¹ supplied you plentifully with clothes and money, and did all in my power to benefit you in every way. You seem now to have forgotten all this, and will not even condescend to recognise me. At length the priest, after being abundantly furnished with exact particulars, became convinced by such certain proofs, and bursting into tears, openly admitted the truth of what he had heard. His brother then said: "You deserve to die, and to be dragged with us to partake of the torments we suffer, because you have rashly laid hands on things which belong to our reprobate crew; no other living man ever dared to make such an attempt. But the mass you sang to-day has saved you from perishing. It is also permitted me thus to appear to you, and unfold to you my wretched condition. After I had conferred with you in Normandy, I took leave of you and crossed over to England, where, by the Creator's order, my life ended, and I have undergone intense suffering for the grievous sins with which I was burdened. It is flaming armour which you see us bear, it poisons us with an infernal stench, weighs us down with its intolerable weight, and scorches us with heat which is inextinguishable! Hitherto I have been tormented with unutterable suffer-

the priory of Ixworth in Suffolk. There is also a Robert Le Blond, but we are told that he was in possession of his manors in the time of Edward the Confessor, and therefore he could not be the brother of the young and vigorous priest of Bonneval, without a great difference in their ages.

¹ This curious passage proves that, notwithstanding the high reputation in which the school of Bec was held at this time, some, at least, of the Normans destined to ecclesiastical functions resorted to France (and probably to Paris) to complete their studies. It was the same at the period when Wace was engaged in his.

ings, but when you were ordained in England, and sang your first mass for the faithful departed, your father Ralph was released from purgatory, and my shield, which was a great torment to me, fell from my arm. I still, as you see, carry a sword, but I confidently expect to be relieved of that burden in the course of a year."

While the knight was thus talking, the priest attentively listening to him espied a mass of clotted gore, in the shape of a man's head, at the other's heels, round his spurs, and in great amazement said to him: "Whose is this clotted blood which clings to your spurs?" The knight replied: "It is not blood but fire; and it weighs me down more than if I had Mount St. Michael to carry. Once I used sharp and bright spurs when I was hurrying to shed blood, and now I justly carry this enormous weight at my heels, which is so intolerably burdensome, that I am unable to express the severity of my sufferings. Men ought to reflect on these things without ceasing, and to dread and beware lest they, for their sins, should undergo such chastisements. I am not permitted, my brother, to converse longer with you, for I must hasten to follow this unhappy troop. Remember me, I pray you, and give me the succour of your prayers and alms. In one year after Palm Sunday I trust to be saved; and by the mercy of the Creator released from all my torments. And you, consider well your own state, and prudently mend your life which is blemished by many vices, for know, it will not be very long. Now be silent, bury in your own bosom the things you have so unexpectedly seen and heard, and do not venture to tell them to any one for three days."

With these words the knight hastened away. The priest was seriously ill for a whole week; as soon as he began to recover his strength, he went to Lisieux and related all that had happened to Bishop Gilbert,¹ in regular order, and obtained, on his petition, the salutary remedies he needed. He afterwards lived in good health almost fifteen years, and I heard what I have written, and more which has escaped my memory, from his own mouth, and saw the mark on his face left by the hand of the terrible knight. I have committed the account to writing for the edification of my readers, that

¹ Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux.

the righteous may be confirmed in their good resolutions, and the wicked repent of their evil deeds. I now return to the history I have commenced.

CH. XVIII. *Prince Henry prepares for war in Normandy—he is besieged at Mount St. Michael by his brothers William Rufus and Robert Curthose—retires into exile in France—Serlo, abbot of Evroult, made bishop of Séez.*

IN the year of our Lord 1091, the thirteenth indiction, in the month of January, William Rufus, king of England, crossed over to Normandy with a large fleet, and upon hearing of his arrival Duke Robert abandoned the siege of Courci, and Robert de Belèsme and his associates retreated. The king remained in Normandy till August, and used his royal authority in tranquillizing such of the insurgents as were willing to listen to his advice. Meanwhile, Prince Henry, who had serious causes of complaint against both his brothers, and claimed some part of the ample territories of his glorious father, but could obtain nothing from their obstinate tenacity, collected troops in Brittany and Normandy, and putting Coutances, Avranches, and his other fortresses into a state of defence, prepared for war with all his might. But Hugh, earl of Chester, and his other adherents reflecting on his small means, and dreading the vast wealth and mighty power of William Rufus, deserted the illustrious prince while he was embarked in the war, and surrendered their castles into the king's hands. In consequence, about the middle of Lent,¹ King William and Duke Robert laid siege to Mount St. Michael, where they blockaded their brother, and reduced him and his troops for nearly fifteen days to great straits for want of water. The prudent young prince, seeing himself thus pressed by his brothers and deserted on all sides by his relations and friends, as well as by the neighbours with whom he was leagued, and also finding himself in want of almost all the necessaries of life, weighed well in his own mind the state of affairs, and reflecting on the variety of human mischances, determined on abandoning his rash enterprise and reserving himself for better times. At length, therefore, he demanded from the

¹ Lent commenced in the year 1091, the 26th of February, and ended the 13th of April.

besiegers free egress for himself and his allies from the Mount, which they willingly granted, permitting him to march out honourably with all his equipments.¹ Henry, having surrendered his fortresses, passed through Brittany, returning thanks to the Bretons, who alone had rendered him aid, and then crossed the borders of France. The illustrious exile spent not quite two full years in the Vexin, seeking an asylum in different places. Living in obscurity, he was contented with a suite consisting of only one knight, a clerk, and three squires. Thus a king's son learnt in exile how to endure poverty, that when he became king himself he might know how to compassionate the wretched and the poor, succouring them in their distress or penury, by his royal power or munificence, and, having himself experienced the lot of the humble, might kindly sympathize with them.

At this time Duke Robert ceded great part of Normandy to King William, and for nearly two years the country was free from hostilities. After the feast of Pentecost,² William the archbishop assembled at Rouen a synod of the bishops and abbots, and consulted with his suffragans respecting the bishopric of Séez. By the result of their deliberations, Serlo, abbot of St. Evroult, was chosen bishop and the see of Séez committed to him; much against his wishes. At length, on the tenth of the calends of July [22nd June] the archbishop summoned the monk just named to Rouen and gave him canonical consecration in the church of St. Mary, mother of God. The venerable Serlo bore worthily the burden of the episcopacy thirty-two years and four months,³ and laboured with zeal and ability for the benefit of the church of God both in prosperity and adversity. But he had some hard-

¹ Our author's account of the siege of Mount St. Michael by the king and the duke is very imperfect. To complete it, reference must be made to Wace, and more especially to Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury. *The first* furnishes us with the positions taken by the two divisions of the army; *the second* mentions William's departure, wearied by the length of the siege; *the third* supplies us with some traits of intrepidity and magnanimity in the king after he had been thrown from his horse in the *melée*, and his severity towards his young brother whom he was besieging, contrasted with the goodness and affectionate language of Robert.

² Whitsuntide fell that year on the 1st of June.

³ June 22, 1091—October 27, 1118.

ened and insolent men in his diocese, such as Robert de Bèlesme, Rotro de Mortagne and their fellows, who had cruel feuds with each other, frequently violated the peace of the church, dispersed by their hostile inroads the Lord's flock who were redeemed by the blood of Christ, and oppressed and made havoc of them by their various enterprises. Serlo boldly bared the sword of the word of God against these evil men, several times excommunicating them when they persisted in their iniquities, but he seldom or ever was able to teach wisdom or preserve in peace his rebellious subjects, so that during the whole period he held the see he was perpetually involved in tumults and disturbances, and on several occasions, when Robert's fury was highest, was compelled to become an exile in England or Italy, such was the state of alarm and distress in which he lived.

The abbey of St. Evroult, when their late ruler was raised to the bishopric of Séz being anxious about a successor, invited their former pastor to Ouche on the twelfth of the calends of August [the 21st July], and having observed a fast for three days, began to treat of the election of an abbot. There were present also three abbots, Fulk of Dive, Arnulf of Troarn, and Ralph of Séz.¹ Having read the lesson concerning the appointment of an abbot in the rule of St. Benedict, the lord Roger de Sap, was chosen abbot of St. Evroult. He was a monk of the same house, simple minded, eminent for his learning, his great worth, and gentle manners. Then Herman the prior, with Arnold de Tilleul, and several others conducted him to the duke's court, but were disappointed in their hope of finding him in Normandy. Secret conspiracies had been formed by the islanders against the peace and security of the realm, on receiving sudden information of which, both the brothers very unexpectedly passed over to England,² to the surprise of all the world. In consequence Herman returned to conduct affairs at St.

¹ Fulk, abbot of Notre-Dame de St. Pierre-sur-Dive.

Arnulph, abbot of Troarn, 1088—1112.

Ralph d'Escures, abbot of Séz, 1089—1110.

² The two brothers went to England in the early part of August, in consequence of the invasion of Northumberland by Malcolm, king of Scots. The irruption took place in the month of May; and before the arrival of William Rufus, Malcolm, finding a more determined resistance than he expected, had already retired to his own country with very little booty.

Evrout, while Arnold with the abbot elect followed the princes across the sea. On their arrival at the royal vill, called Windsor, they exhibited to duke Robert the act containing the election by the monks, confirmed by the authority of the bishop of Séz and the three abbots. The duke gave his willing consent to the appointment and committed to Roger before named, by delivery of the pastoral staff, as the custom then was, the monastic cure in exterior affairs. He also issued his mandate to the bishop of Lisieux, requiring him to perform all that was canonically necessary in the business. King William also at the same time received the monk and abbot elect with great courtesy and confirmed the grants of all that his father and his barons had formerly given to the abbey of St. Evrout, ratifying them of his royal authority by a fresh charter.¹

Having accomplished the object of their journey, Roger returned to Ouche on the fifteenth of the calends of January [18th December], and being received by the brethren with due solemnity, governed the abbey thirty-four years.² He admitted a hundred and fifteen postulants to be monks of that house. The changes of fortune were exhibited in their various lives; for some of them, being eminent for their virtues, with God's help, obtained the reward of their heavenly vocation, while others through the snares of Satan relapsed into the foul depths of sin to receive their deserts from the righteous Judge.

Six of the monks admitted by the venerable Roger we have seen become abbots, namely, Warin des Essarts, Geoffrey of Orleans, Gilbert de Glos, Robert de Pruniers,³ William de Bas, and Lewis. Of these, Warin succeeded his master, and governed the abbey of St. Evrout many years; Robert de Pruniers ruled well Thorney abbey in England,⁴

¹ This charter has not been preserved.

² This is not quite correct. It is very true that Abbot Roger survived till the year 1126 or 1127; but at his own request his successor was nominated on Ascension day, May 24, 1123.

³ "De Pruniers, or de Prunières, is a very common name of places in Burgundy, Languedoc, Dauphiny, La Touraine, Orleans, and Berri."—*Dubois*. "We think that this person was a native of Moutiers-en-Auge, one of the two churches of which belonged at this period to St. Evrout, and was called *Stus. Gervasius de Pruneleio*."—*Le Prévost*.

⁴ Robert was appointed abbot of Thorney (in Cambridgeshire), August 15, 1113.

Geoffrey of Orleans was abbot of Croyland¹ for nearly fifteen years; William Basset long governed the monastery of St. Benedict at Hulm;² and Lewis,³ when by a decree of their superiors, the canons were expelled from Bocheville, first established the monastic rule with five monks in the church of St. George the martyr. As for Gilbert de Glos, a man of noble birth and great eloquence, he was abbot of Lire for nearly ten years, much to its benefit. The monks of St. Evroult were thus drawn forth from the recesses of their monastery and raised to the ranks of the prelacy for the general good, that they might shine as lights set in a candlestick, and show the way of salvation to those who strove to enter the house of the Lord by the way of righteousness. But unfortunately, the disturbances in worldly affairs which take place from the negligence or misconduct of earthly princes often interfere with ecclesiastical order and monastic discipline, as was found by all who wished to devote themselves to a religious life in Normandy and on its confines in the time of Duke Robert and Philip king of France.

¹ *Eulandensi*, an error in the text for *Crulandensi*, there being no abbey of the former name in England. On the subject of Croyland Abbey, see before, pp. 95—98. Geoffrey of Orleans, after assuming the monastic habit at St. Evroult, under Abbot Mainier, was made abbot of Croyland in 1109. We have learnt before (p. 86) that Ordericus, on a kind invitation received from Abbot Geoffrey spent five weeks at Croyland, where he wrote, at the request of the monks, his abridgment of the life of St. Guthlac, together with an epitaph on Earl Waltheof (pp. 86, 103). This visit was quite recent when our author composed the fourth book of his History. He speaks of Wulfin, the prior, and Ansgot, the sub-prior, and it has been remarked by Mr. Stapleton, that the anonymous continuator of Ingulph, who conceals himself under the name of Peter de Blois, and wrote in the thirteenth century, treats them as his cotemporaries by a gross anachronism, in a letter written to Henry de Longchamps, abbot of Croyland, 1190—1196.

² Hulm, or Holm, an abbey at Horning, in the hundred of Tunstead, Norfolk, founded by Canute. William Basset (*Bassus*), or le-Bas, succeeded Conrad in 1127, and died in 1137. He gave to Richard Basset his relation (son of Ralph Basset, who succeeded his father as justiciary of England), the manor of Higham during his life.

³ Lewis, abbot of St. Georges de Bocheville, 1114—October 12, 1137.

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